

















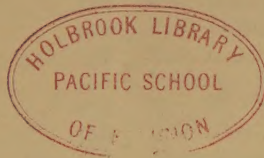
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# CONTENTS OF VOL. XII.

## CONTRIBUTORS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, M.A.	187, 281	Professor A. N. Jannaris, LL.D.	189, 333
Rev. Canon E. R. Bernard, M.A.	152, 536	Rev. John Kelman, jun., M.A.	111, 247, 513
Rev. Canon T. D. Bernard, M.A.	11, 127,	Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc.	43, 314,
	210, 307		328, 341, 422, 455, 557
Rev. J. Beveridge, M.A., B.D.	356	Professor Ed. König, Ph.D., D.D.	44, 143, 300,
Rev. Andrew N. Bogle, M.A.	479		375, 383, 566
Rev. G. H. Box, M.A.	235, 377	Professor R. Kraetzschmar, Ph.D.	93, 567
Rev. E. P. Boys-Smith, M.A.	380	Rev. A. S. Laidlaw, M.A., B.D.	258, 505
Professor Karl Budde, Ph.D., D.D.	39, 139,	Professor John Laidlaw, D.D.	143
	285, 525	Rev. J. C. Lambert, B.D.	90
Mrs. E. L. Butcher	191	Rev. R. A. Lendrum, M.A.	354
Rev. David S. Cairns, M.A.	199	Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., Phil. Dr.,	
Professor G. G. Cameron, D.D.	15	LL.D.	56, 115, 206, 268, 359,
Rev. P. A. Gordon Clark	155		417, 445, 518, 524, 550
Professor Henry Cowan, D.D.	235	Rev. Canon J. Moore Lister, D.D.	336
Rev. J. A. Cross, M.A.	334, 423	Rev. H. R. Mackintosh, M.A., Phil. Dr.	350, 449
Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D.	329	Rev. W. F. M'Michael, M.A.	431
Professor James Denney, D.D.	135	Rev. J. E. M'Ouat, M.A., B.D.	487
Ven. Archdeacon J. W. Diggle, M.A.	521	Rev. T. M'William, M.A.	77
Professor Marcus Dods, D.D.	161	Rev. D. S. Margoliouth, M.A.	45, 95, 237
Professor S. R. Driver, D.D.	187	Rev. William Marwick	401
Rev. David Eaton, D.D.	69, 542	Mrs. S. Robertson Matheson	187
Right Rev. C. J. Ellicott, D.D.	222, 364	Rev. George Milligan, M.A., B.D.	345, 444
Rev. George Ferries, M.A., D.D.	390, 501	Rev. James Moffatt, M.A., B.D.	423
Professor G. G. Findlay, B.A., D.D.	103, 445	Rev. W. Morgan, M.A.	23
Rev. J. Dick Fleming, M.A., B.D.	394	Rev. James Hope Moulton, M.A.	362
Professor R. V. Foster, M.A.	430	Rev. Wilfrid J. Moulton,	382
Rev. A. E. Garvie, M.A., B.D.	352, 538	Rev. L. A. Muirhead, M.A., B.D.	355
Professor Lucien Gautier, Ph.D.	478	Professor Eb. Nestle, D.D.	144, 236, 480, 527
Professor Georg Grützmacher, Ph.D.	439	Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A.	235
Rev. J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D.	378	Rev. Alex. B. Orr, M.A.	480
The late Rev. W. A. Gray	29, 171, 295, 466	Theophilus G. Pinches, M.R.A.S.	47
Rev. Canon Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart.	72,	Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D.	47
	139, 471	Professor G. V. Prašek, Ph.D.	225, 405
N. Herz, M.A.	109	Rev. George Milne Rae, D.D.	142
Professor Fritz Hommel, Ph.D., LL.D.	46, 96,	Professor W. M. Ramsay, LL.D., D.C.L.	157
	239, 288, 336, 384	Rev. John Reid, M.A.	312, 425, 479
Professor A. van Hoonacker, D.D.	383, 494	Rev. Canon J. Armitage Robinson, D.D.	277

	PAGE		PAGE
Professor W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D.	372, 478	Rev. D. Smith, M.A.	62, 161, 319, 414, 546
Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D.	28, 86, 155, 232, 276, 563	Professor J. G. Tasker	107, 254, 540
Rev. J. A. Selbie, M.A.	68, 70, 110, 166, 238, 255, 319, 453, 542, 556	Rev. John Taylor, Litt.D.	65, 164, 252, 318, 350, 450, 544
Rev. W. A. Shedd, M.A.	568	Rev. W. L. Walker	85
Rev. Mark J. Simmonds, M.A.	142	Rev. W. Warren, M.A.	431

## SUBJECTS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Abib	191	Difference Christ has made	312	Maran Atha	103
Acts, Date	334, 423	Divine Revelation in the Light of		Meneptah	49
Amen	289	O.T. Criticism	487	Nathanael	145
American Revised Bible	529	Ecclesiasticus	45	Newness	233
Amos, Book of	318	Egyptian Language and Writing	156	New Testament, Language of	341, 455, 557
Angel	289	Egyptians, Ancient	292	Nicodemus	210, 307
Anthropology, Pauline	258	Elijah the Tishbite	383	Nicolaitans	235
Apologetics in Criticism	372, 423, 478	English Church Union	530	Nippur	193
Apostle of Unity	277	Entre Nous	48, 191, 240, 336, 384, 528	'Not,' Rhetorical Use of	44
Archæology, Recent Biblical	28, 86, 155, 232, 276, 563	Eucharistic Sacrifice	197	Notes of Recent Exposition	I, 49, 97, 145, 193, 241, 289, 337, 385, 433, 481, 529
Ascension, Value of the	152	Ezekiel's Priests and Levites	300, 383, 494, 566	Old Testament, How to teach the	146
Ascents, Songs of the	62, 161	Faith and Science	390, 501	Paraclete	445
Atonement	5, 50, 205	Foreign Theology	65, 107, 164, 252, 314, 350, 420, 449, 538	Patience	205
Balaam	329	Galatians, Date of	157, 568	Paul, Conversion	434
Baptism in the Norwegian Church	356	Gethsemane	345	„ the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman	247, 513
Beersheba, Wells	386, 478, 531	God	482	Pauline Anthropology and Christian Doctrine	258, 505
Calvary, Site	533	Gospel	482	Petra	292
Canon in the Russian Church	453	Guilt-offering	452	Point and Illustration	205
Catholicity	438	High Place	292	Priests and Levites	300, 383, 494
Christ, Agony	345	Holiness	451	Priscilla and Aquila	169
„ Cleansing Temple	128	Holy Spirit	142	Quotations in St. Matthew and St. Mark	187, 281
„ Doctrine of the Resurrection	256	„ Christ's Name for	445	Religion and Magic	401
„ Irony	481	House, The Father's	29	Rending the Garments	337
„ Judæan Ministry	11	In Memory	187	Requests and Replies	47, 161, 210, 444
„ Miracles	2	Incarnation, St. Luke and the	222	Resurrection, Jesus' Doctrine of	256
„ Name for the Holy Spirit	445	Israelites, Earliest Language	96, 143	„ of Life and of Judgment	364
„ Names in St. John's Gospel	480	Jesuits	442	Ritschl in English	135
„ Preaching	3	Jesus Christ	540	Romans, Address and Destination	481
„ Resurrection	294, 340	Jonah, Book of	77	Sabaoth	318
'Christian'	530	Judaism and Christianity	244	Salt of the Earth	111
Christianity, Nature of	23	Judæan Ministry of Jesus	11, 127, 210, 307	School of Paris, New Evangelical Science and Faith	390, 501
Church	236	Kingdom of God, Gospel of	85	Sennacherib's Second Expedition	225, 405
'Churchman'	531	„ „ Idea of	352	Servant of the Lord	68, 170
Commentary, Great Text	20, 87, 132, 229, 272, 304, 398, 475, 498, 561	„ „ St. Paul's Equivalent	380	Sheshbazzar	255
Conference at Oxford	99	Laughter, Biblical	546	Simplicity	205
Contributions and Comments	39, 90, 139, 187, 235, 281, 333, 372, 423, 478, 524, 566	Law of Spiritual Repair	171	Sin, Grounding of	505
Creation and Geology	439	Laying on of Hands	454	Sinaitic Palimpsest, What have We gained in the?	56, 115, 206, 268, 359, 417, 518, 550
Crete	28, 292	Letters, Ancient	290	Son of Man	51
Criticism	97	Levites	300, 383, 495	Song of the Three Holy Children	527
„ and Archæology	149	Logia, Internal Evidence	72, 139	Songs of the Ascents	62, 161, 414
„ „ Revelation	487	Logos	290	Suffering with Christ	521
„ „ Roman Catholic Church	238	Longsuffering	330	Susa	155
„ „ in its Bearing on Teaching	53	'Lord' and 'the Lord' in the Gospels	425, 479	Symbolo-Fidæism	52
Cups, The Three	295	Love	205		
Daniel, Greek Words in	237	Loyola, Ignatius	439		
„ Language	351	Maccabees (1), Original Name	93		
Deuteronomy, New View of	15	Magic and Religion	401		
		Mampsis	288, 336		
		Manna	387		



# CONTENTS.

v

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Sympathy . . . . .	205	Theology of St. John and St. Paul	205	Week . . . . .	70
Syro-Phoenician Woman	319, 384, 430	Tishbite . . . . .	383	Westcott, Bishop . . . . .	536
Talmud, Date . . . . .	95	Urim and Thummim . . . . .	147, 165, 195, 196	Writing, Babylonian . . . . .	290, 291
Temple, Cleansing . . . . .	128	Way of Life . . . . .	466	Zeal . . . . .	129
Theological Students, Dearth of	385			Zerubbabel . . . . .	255

## BOOKS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Abbey, Divine Love . . . . .	179	Burwash, Manual of Christian Theology . . . . .	264	Flemming, Book of Enoch . . . . .	420
Abbott, Clue . . . . .	175	Butler, How to study the Life of Christ . . . . .	326	Forman, Works of John Keats . . . . .	461
„ Corrections of Mark . . . . .	459	Calderwood, Life of Henry Calderwood, LL.D., F.R.S.E. . . . .	178	Forsyth, Taste of Death . . . . .	367
„ Ancient Hebrew . . . . .	409	Calkins, Parables for our Times . . . . .	35	Frazer, Golden Bough . . . . .	221, 401
Adams, Mosaic Tabernacle . . . . .	176	Camus, Vie de Jésus Christ . . . . .	420	Frere, History of the Book of Common Prayer . . . . .	369
Adeney, Century's Progress . . . . .	409	Carlaw, Donald Cargill . . . . .	82	Fuller, In Terra Pax . . . . .	323
„ St. Luke . . . . .	462	Carus, History of the Devil . . . . .	327	„ Wrongs of Indian Womanhood . . . . .	182
Aiken, Dhamma of Gotama . . . . .	218	Cavalier, Preacher's Dictionary . . . . .	217	Garnier, The True Christ and the False Christ . . . . .	215
Allen, Life of Phillips Brooks . . . . .	326	Chamberlain, The Child . . . . .	219	Gaster, Hebrew Illuminated Bibles . . . . .	553
Alexander, Son of Man . . . . .	175	Chambers, Man and the Spiritual World . . . . .	38	Gibson, Mission Problems and Mission Methods . . . . .	464
Annandale, Concise Dictionary . . . . .	460	Chang Chih-Tung, China's Only Hope . . . . .	265	Gilbert, First Interpreters of Jesus . . . . .	484, 509
Anthony, Introduction to the Life of Jesus . . . . .	38	Charles, Ascension of Isaiah . . . . .	120	„ Revelation of Jesus . . . . .	435
Archibald, Trend of the Centuries . . . . .	511	Clapperton, First Steps in New Testament Greek . . . . .	323	Giles, Manual of Comparative Philology . . . . .	462
Atkinson, Christian Conference Essays . . . . .	175	Clark, Witnesses to Christ . . . . .	460	Gledstone, George Whitfield . . . . .	122
Atonement in Modern Light . . . . .	5	Clemen, Niedergefahren zu den Toten . . . . .	421	Gloag, Evening Thoughts . . . . .	261
Bacon, Introduction to the New Testament . . . . .	217	Cobern, Commentary on Old Testament . . . . .	552	Goldie, Calabar and its Mission . . . . .	413
Baentsch, Exodus-Leviticus . . . . .	316	Commerce and Christianity . . . . .	183	Gore, Body of Christ . . . . .	368
Bakhuyzen, Adamantius . . . . .	420	Cooke, Palestine in Geography and History . . . . .	323, 411	„ Church and the Ministry . . . . .	264
Baldensperger, Judaism and the New Testament . . . . .	422	Courtenay, Great Awakening . . . . .	461	Gould, Biblical Theology of the New Testament . . . . .	82
Ballard, Miracles of Unbelief . . . . .	184, 552	Cowan and Love, Music of the Church Hymnary . . . . .	460	„ Religion of the First Christians . . . . .	555
Banks, Hidden Wells of Comfort . . . . .	367	Creighton, Counsels for Church People . . . . .	325	Granger, Soul of a Christian . . . . .	123
Baptist Pulpit . . . . .	185, 327, 465, 512	Cumming, After the Spirit . . . . .	177	Green, Old Testament Hebrew . . . . .	371
Barbour, Thoughts . . . . .	215	Dalman, Christianity and Judaism . . . . .	465	Gregory, Textual Criticism . . . . .	314
Baron, Ancient Scriptures and the Modern Jew . . . . .	217	Daubney, Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church . . . . .	70	Griffiths-Jones, Ascent through Christ . . . . .	81, 263
Barnes, Missions before Carey . . . . .	552	Davis, Dictionary of the Bible . . . . .	38	„ Types of Christian Life . . . . .	262
Bate, History of the Church . . . . .	553	Day, Social Life of the Hebrews . . . . .	370	Gunkel, Genesis . . . . .	315
Batten, Old Testament from the Modern Point of View . . . . .	508	Deissmann, Bible Studies . . . . .	338, 362, 388, 433	Gurney, Living Lord and the Opened Grave . . . . .	367
Beeby, Doctrine and Principles . . . . .	183	Denio, Supreme Leader . . . . .	84	Guthe and Batten, Ezra and Nehemiah . . . . .	463
Beet, Romans . . . . .	121	Dietrich, Jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter . . . . .	544	Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism . . . . .	262
Bernard, Works of Joseph Butler . . . . .	179	Diggle, Short Studies in Holiness . . . . .	82	Hall, Messages of Jesus . . . . .	367
Bertholet, Leviticus . . . . .	451	Douglas, China . . . . .	84	Harnack, Das Wesen des Christentums . . . . .	23, 326
Bible, Century . . . . .	410, 509	Driver, Book of Daniel . . . . .	175	Harris (J. R.), History of the Ferrar-Group . . . . .	328
„ Two-Version . . . . .	81	Drummond (R. B.), Apostolic Teaching and the Teaching of Christ . . . . .	3, 35	„ (J. T.), Writings of the Apostle Paul . . . . .	462
Biblical Illustrator . . . . .	265, 510	Drummond (H.), Stones Rolled Away . . . . .	81	Hastie, Kant's Cosmogony . . . . .	179
Bowen, Crises in English Church . . . . .	83	Drury, How we got our Prayer-Book . . . . .	265	Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible . . . . .	1, 169, 255
Bradley, Love of God revealed by Man's Redemption . . . . .	289	Eck, The Incarnation . . . . .	411	Hatch and Redpath, Concordance to the Septuagint . . . . .	120
Brooke, Religion in Literature and in Life . . . . .	178	Edersheim, The Temple . . . . .	182	Heart of the Empire . . . . .	554
Broomhall, Martyred Missionaries . . . . .	325	Encyclopædia Biblica . . . . .	241	Hebrew and English Lexicon . . . . .	322
Brown, Horæ Subsecivæ . . . . .	186	Falconer, From Apostle to Priest . . . . .	176	Heidelberg Catechism . . . . .	218
Browne, Trilog Dictionary . . . . .	459	Fenton, New Testament in Modern English . . . . .	180	Heinrich, Der zweite Brief an die Korinther . . . . .	69
Bruce, Sermons on the Sacrament . . . . .	182	Fleckner, Translation of Isaiah . . . . .	465	Herkless, Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders . . . . .	466
Bullen, With Christ at Sea . . . . .	263				
Burkitt, Two Lectures on the Gospels . . . . .	289, 324				
Burn, All in Christ . . . . .	325				
„ Life of Christian Service . . . . .	183				
„ Reasonable Service . . . . .	460				
Burton and Mathews, Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ . . . . .	326				



	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Herzog, Realencyklopädie . . .	107, 540	Macgregor, G. H. C. Macgregor	178	Pierson, George Müller of Bristol	180
Hobson, The Social Problem . .	412	M'Hardy, Savonarola . . .	466	Potwin, Here and There in the	
Hocking, The Church and New		M'Intosh, Is Christ Infallible		Greek N.T. . . . .	482
Century Problems . . . . .	263	and the Bible True? . . .	321	Powicke, Henry Barrow and the	
Holzingcr, Exodus . . . . .	164	Macintosh, Rabbi Jesus . .	460	Exiled Church of Amsterdam	120
Hommel, Aufsätze und Abhand-		Mackintosh, First Primer of		Prayers for the Christian Home .	464
lungen . . . . .	110, 563	Apologetics . . . . .	220	Preacher's Magazine, vol. xi. .	264
Hore, History of the Church of		Mackenzie, Manual of Ethics .	81	Present Day Papers . . . . .	35
England . . . . .	182	Mackie, Bible Manners and		Priesthood and Sacrifice . . .	98
Horne, Rock of Ages . . . . .	511	Customs . . . . .	81	Pro Christo et Ecclesia . . .	369
Hort, Village Sermons . . . . .	264	Maclachlan, David Livingstone .	413	Pullan, Books of the New Testa-	
Hovey, Manual of Christian		Maggs, Spiritual Experience of		ment . . . . .	371
Theology . . . . .	413	St. Paul . . . . .	411	Pulsford, Infoldings and Unfold-	
Hühn, Old Testament Quotations	355	Map of Palestine . . . . .	556	ings . . . . .	460
Hunt, Salvation beyond Death .	370	Margoliouth, Defence of the		Purves, Christianity in the Apos-	
Jacobus, A Problem in New		Biblical Revelation . . . .	216	tolic Age . . . . .	266
Testament Criticism . . . . .	38	Marsh, Christian Worker's Equip-		Pusey, Spiritual Letters . . .	324
Jack, Daybreak in Livingstonia .	181	ment . . . . .	180	Read, Life Triumphant . . .	553
James, Human Immortality . .	508	Marti, Das Buch Daniel . . .	350	Rhees, Life of Jesus of Nazareth	219
Philosophy of Dissent . . . .	176	" " " " Jesaja . . . . .	65	Richard, Philip Melancthon .	37
Jerdan, For the Lambs of the		Martin, Textes religieux assyriens		Robertson, Voices of the Past .	119
Flock . . . . .	124	et babyloniens . . . . .	232	Roberts, History of Confession .	322
Johnson, Colloquies of Erasmus .	177	" " " " Tora of Moses . .	408	Robertson, John A. Broadus .	408
Jones, Dynamic Faith . . . . .	461	Masterman, First Epistle of St.		Robinson, Old and New Cer-	
Jowett, Sermons on Faith and		Peter . . . . .	123	tainty of the Gospel . . . . .	266
Doctrine . . . . .	325	Matheson, Studies of the Portrait		Unity in Christ . . . . .	368
Jülicher, Introduction to the New		of Christ . . . . .	82	Rogers, History of Babylonia and	
Testament . . . . .	449	Medley, Christ the Truth . .	122	Assyria . . . . .	276, 409
Kautzsch, So-called Popular		Miller, Golden Gate of Prayer .	122	Roose, Book of the Future Life .	183
Book of Job . . . . .	109	Moberly, Atonement and Person-		Ross, Congregational Independ-	
Kennedy, Old Highland Days .	465	ality . . . . .	371	ency in Scotland . . . . .	324
" " Second and Third		Moffatt, Historical New Testa-		Rutherford, Key of Knowledge .	463
Epistles to the Cor-		ment . . . . .	242, 372, 423, 478	Sacred Songs . . . . .	555
inthians . . . . .	37	Moody, Life of Dwight L. Moody	125	Salmond, Christian Doctrine of	
Kennett, Hebrew Tenses . . . .	408	Morgan, Spirit of God . . .	82	Immortality . . . . .	408
King, Letters and Inscriptions		" " " " Ten Commandments .	409	Saunders, Schopenhauer . . .	459
of Khammurabi . . . . .	276, 290	Morley, Oliver Cromwell . .	186	Schulof, Law of Forgiveness .	410
" " Reconstruction in Theo-		Moule, Evangelical School in the		Scott, Evangelical Doctrine Bible	
logy . . . . .	369	Church of England . . . .	370	Truth . . . . .	410
Kirk, Life of Joseph . . . . .	143	Muss-Arnolt, Theological and		" " Terra Firma . . . . .	413
Klostermann, Origen . . . . .	420	Semitic List for 1900 . . .	465	Selby, As the Chinese see us .	512
Knight, Inter Amicos . . . . .	412	Nash, Higher Criticism of the		Selwyn, Christian Prophets . .	122
Komensky, Labyrinth of the		New Testament . . . . .	123	Seraphim, Soothsayer Balaam .	329
World . . . . .	554	Nave, Index-Digest of the Holy		Sime, William Herschel . . .	176
König, Stilistik, Rhetorik, u.s.w.	68	Scriptures . . . . .	185	Simpson, Fact of Christ . . .	121
" " Hebräisch u. Semitisch .	542	Neibuhr, Tell el-Amarna Period	464	" " Minor Festivals of the	
Kreyenbuehl, Ev. der Wahrheit	538	Nestle, Introduction to Textual		Anglican Calendar . . . . .	371
Kuyper, Work of the Holy Spirit	512	Criticism of Greek		Sinker, Essays and Studies . .	175
Lacey, Elements of Christian		N.T. . . . .	266	Skeat, Concise Etymological Dic-	
Doctrine . . . . .	511	" " Novum Testamentum		tionary . . . . .	482, 507
Lake, Text of the New Testament	125	Greece . . . . .	414	Slater, St. Matthew . . . . .	410
Landberg, Dialects of South		Newbolt, St. Matthew's Gospel .	266	Smith, Modern Criticism and the	
Arabia . . . . .	384	Newman, Manual of Church		Preaching of the Old Testa-	
Latham, Risen Master . . . . .	293	History . . . . .	262	ment . . . . .	323
Lawlor, Thoughts on Belief and		Nowack, Judges and Ruth . .	317	Smyth, Truth and Reality . .	261
Life . . . . .	323	Ogilvy, Elements of Darwinism .	411	Soames, Eating the Bread of Life	465
Lazarus, Ethics of Judaism . .	411, 509	Owen, I say unto You . . .	37	Spiers, Present Advent . . . .	322
Lee, Popular Misconceptions as		Paine, Evolution of Trinitarian-		Spurr, Jesus Christ To-day . .	512
to Christian Life and Doctrine	84	ism . . . . .	436, 508	Spurgeon, All-round Ministry .	182
Lennox, Henry Drummond . .	463	Parker, City Temple Pulpit . .	36, 367	" " Anecdotes . . . . .	124
Lillie, Buddha and Buddhism . .	81	" " Studies in Texts, vi. .	123	" " Metropolitan Taber-	
Little, Christianity and the Nine-		Passmore, Things beyond the		nacle Pulpit, xlv. . . . .	265
teenth Century . . . . .	36	Tomb . . . . .	36	" " Sermons . . . . .	124
Loofs, Outlines of Church History	254	Paterson, Bard of Bethlehem .	216	Stalker, Seven Deadly Sins . .	462
M'Clymont, St. John . . . . .	509	" " Book of Numbers . . .	218	Stephens, History of the English	
M'Connell, Evolution of Immor-		Peabody, Jesus Christ and the		Church . . . . .	510
talities . . . . .	509	Social Question . . . . .	411	Stevens, Messages of the Apostles	120
M'Crie, Church of Scotland . .	369	Peloubet, St. Matthew . . .	460	Stewart, Academic Gregories .	413
M'Curdy, History, Prophecy, and		Pember, The Church, the		" " Thirteen Homilies of St.	
the Monuments, iii. . . . .	412	Churches, and the Mysteries .	508	Augustine . . . . .	176
Macfayden, Alfred the West		Phillip, Songs and Sayings of		Stone, Christ and Human Life .	368
Saxon . . . . .	262	Gowrie . . . . .	219	Stout, Manual of Psychology .	460



	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Stubbs, Pro Patria . . . . .	220	Twentieth Century New Testa- ment . . . . .	265	Westcott, Lessons from Work . . . . .	483, 510
„ Social Teaching of the Lord's Prayer . . . . .	121	Waggett, Age of Decision . . . . .	368	White, Studies in the Old Testa- ment . . . . .	36
Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica . . . . .	263	Wakeman and Pullan, Reforma- tion in Great Britain . . . . .	37	Whittaker, Neo-Platonists . . . . .	366
Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek . . . . .	216	Walker, The Reformation . . . . .	261	Whyte, Bible Characters . . . . .	181
Taylor, From the Dungeon to the Palace . . . . .	124	Wallace, Studies: Scientific and Social . . . . .	267	Wiedemann, Realms of the Egyptian Dead . . . . .	370
„ Heb.-Greek Cairo Geni- zah Palimpsests . . . . .	322	Walsh, Romeward Movement in the Church of England . . . . .	180	Wilkinson, Book of Job . . . . .	325
Thackeray, Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought . . . . .	179	Waters, What is Truth? . . . . .	215	Williams, Thy Kingdom Come . . . . .	82
Thompson, Reports of the Magi- cians and Astrologers of Nine- veh and Babylon . . . . .	28	Watson, Doctrines of Grace . . . . .	121	Wilson, Truths New and Old . . . . .	177
Tigert, Theism . . . . .	408	Watt, Social Morality . . . . .	367	Winckler, Geschichte Israels . . . . .	252
Travers, From an Invalid's Window . . . . .	464	Webb-Peplow, Christ and His Church . . . . .	37	Winter, Keep to the Right . . . . .	183
		Weiss, Idea of the Kingdom of God . . . . .	352	Winterbotham, Sermons . . . . .	2
		„ Johannine Epistles . . . . .	354	Wright, Psalms of David and the Higher Criticism . . . . .	181
		Wernle, Anfänge unserer Religion . . . . .	542	Wynne, Church in Greater Britain . . . . .	511
				Zwemer, Arabia the Cradle of Islam . . . . .	83

HEBREW WORDS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
אֲבִינִים . . . . .	165	בְּרִיָּאָה . . . . .	233	טָרִי . . . . .	233	קוֹ . . . . .	141, 567
אֹר . . . . .	110	הַבֵּיעַ . . . . .	141	יְהוָה . . . . .	316	קֹל . . . . .	567
אִירִים וְתַמִּים . . . . .	147, 195	הַתְּפִאָר . . . . .	165, 316	יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת . . . . .	318	קֶנֶה . . . . .	378
אִזְכָּרָה . . . . .	452	חֲדָשׁ . . . . .	233	כָּפָר . . . . .	452	קִרְבֵּן . . . . .	452
אֶרֶץ אֲפִים . . . . .	330	חֲדָת . . . . .	233	מִשְׁחָה . . . . .	452	קָרַע . . . . .	338
אֶשֶׁם . . . . .	452	חֲפָאָת . . . . .	452	סוּמְפָנִיה . . . . .	237	שָׁחַת . . . . .	380
בְּרִי . . . . .	139	חֲרִין . . . . .	139	עַפְלִים . . . . .	378	שְׁמוּעָה . . . . .	233
בֵּר . . . . .	110	חֲשֵׁן מִשְׁפָּט . . . . .	165	פְּסִנְטָרִין . . . . .	237		

GREEK WORDS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
ἄλλος . . . . .	90	ἐάν, ἄν . . . . .	363	μακρόθυμος-la . . . . .	330	πρᾶντης . . . . .	333
ἀμφοτέροι . . . . .	144	εἰ μήν . . . . .	363	μονογενής . . . . .	333	πρόσφατος . . . . .	233
ἀνάμνησις . . . . .	100	εἰς . . . . .	43	μορφή . . . . .	485	σχοινία . . . . .	128
ἀνοχή . . . . .	330	ἐπιούσιος . . . . .	71	νέος . . . . .	233	συμφωνία . . . . .	237
ἄνωθεν . . . . .	212	ἕτερος . . . . .	90	παράκλητος . . . . .	445	τέλος . . . . .	161
ἁπέχω . . . . .	43	ζῆλος . . . . .	129	πεισίθησις . . . . .	444	τόκος . . . . .	43
ἁραβών, ἀραβών . . . . .	363	καί . . . . .	431	πιστεύω . . . . .	98	τόρευμα . . . . .	238
ἀρτιγέννητος . . . . .	233	καινός . . . . .	233	πίστις . . . . .	444	ὑπάρχων . . . . .	486
βατταλογέω . . . . .	60	καινότης . . . . .	233	πλήρης . . . . .	333	ὑπομονή . . . . .	330
γλεθκος . . . . .	233	κατεργάζομαι . . . . .	339	πνεῦμα . . . . .	381	χρηστότης . . . . .	330
δοκίμιον . . . . .	389	κύριος, ὁ κύριος . . . . .	425				

TEXTS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Gen. iv. 9 . . . . .	245	1 Sam. v. vi. . . . .	378	Job. xxxi. 26 . . . . .	110	Ps. liii. . . . .	285
xlix. 21 . . . . .	46	1 Kings. xi. 1 . . . . .	293	xxxiii. 24 . . . . .	5	cxx. -cxxxiv. . . . .	62
Ex. i. 16. . . . .	165	2 Chron. xxv. 14, 15, 20 . . . . .	293	Ps. xii. 7 . . . . .	139	cxxix. . . . .	414
iii. 12 . . . . .	164	Job iii. 19 . . . . .	109	xiv. . . . .	285	cxxx. . . . .	161
xxviii. 15 . . . . .	165	xi. 6 . . . . .	109	xix. 4 . . . . .	140	Is. i. 4 . . . . .	66
Lev. i. . . . .	152	xxi. 30. . . . .	109	xix. 5 . . . . .	141, 567	i. 5, 8 . . . . .	67

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Is. xxxiv. 15 . . . . .	336	Mark iv. 1, 16 . . . . .	116	Luke xvi. 6, 11, 16, 19,	268	John xii. 11, 12, 14, 48	419
xlvi. 13 . . . . .	239	iv. 12 . . . . .	187	20, 25 . . . . .	268	xiii. 1, 4, 11, 34 . . . . .	419
Ezek. i. 1-3 . . . . .	39, 375, 525, 566	v. 2, 4, 10, 12, 13, 23	116	xvii. 10, 21, 24, 28,	268	xiv. 1, 4, 14, 22 . . . . .	419
xvi. 3 . . . . .	232	vi. 14, 20, 33, 37, 47,	116	36 . . . . .	268	xiv. 2 . . . . .	29
xliv. . . . .	494	48, 53, 55 . . . . .	116	xviii. 1-8 . . . . .	194	xiv. 16, 17, 26 . . . . .	445
xliv. 6-15 . . . . .	300, 566	vii. 4, 6, 8, 13, 24,	116	xviii. 5, 16, 17, 20,	269	xv. 26, 27 . . . . .	446
Dan. v. 25, 28 . . . . .	351	26, 31 . . . . .	116	24 . . . . .	269	xvi. 3, 16, 18, 25,	419
vii. 13 . . . . .	51	vii. 6, 7, 10 . . . . .	187	xix. 15, 22, 25, 33,	269	26, 27, 28, 30, 31	419
xii. 13 . . . . .	466	vii. 24-30 . . . . .	319	39, 43 . . . . .	269	xvi. 7, 8 . . . . .	446
Amos ii. 6 . . . . .	377	viii. 10, 13, 32 . . . . .	116	xx. 9, 11, 16, 17,	269	xvii. 5, 7 . . . . .	419
vi. 9, 10 . . . . .	235	ix. 3, 12, 27, 29, 36,	117	24, 34, 36, 37, 46	269	xvii. 11, 12, 13, 14,	420
viii. 6 . . . . .	377	39 . . . . .	117	xxi. 6, 21, 23, 25,	269	23, 24, 25 . . . . .	420
Matt. i. 22, 25 . . . . .	59	ix. 48 . . . . .	187	26, 29 . . . . .	269	xviii. 1, 3, 5, 10, 12,	518, 519
i. 23 . . . . .	283	ix. 50 . . . . .	111	xxii. 6, 7 . . . . .	269	24 . . . . .	518, 519
ii. 2 . . . . .	59	x. 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 16,	117	xxii. 14, 16-21, 20,	270	xviii. 15, 17, 18, 19,	519
ii. 6, 15 . . . . .	283	19, 21, 40, 42, 50	117	43, 44, 68 . . . . .	270	22, 23, 27, 28 . . . . .	519
iii. 3, 4, 10, 15 . . . . .	59	x. 7, 8 . . . . .	187	xxii. 18 . . . . .	295	xix. 41, 42 . . . . .	520
iv. 8, 9, 11, 16, 17,	59	x. 19 . . . . .	188	xxiii. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11,	270	xx. 1, 6, 7, 8, 10,	520
22, 24 . . . . .	59	xi. 6, 8 . . . . .	117	12, 15, 17, 18, 20,	270	11, 12, 16, 17, 18,	520
iv. 24 . . . . .	60	xi. 9, 17 . . . . .	188	23 . . . . .	270	19, 25, 26, 27 . . . . .	520
v. 22, 25, 30, 32, 47	60	xii. 10, 11, 26, 29,	188	xxiii. 25, 34, 36, 37,	271	xx. 4-8 . . . . .	294
vi. 5, 7 . . . . .	60	30, 31, 36 . . . . .	188	38, 42, 48 . . . . .	271	xx. 29 . . . . .	382
viii. ix. . . . .	471	xii. 18-27 . . . . .	256	xxiv. 1, 10, 11, 17,	271	xxi. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8,	550
viii. 5, 8, 13, 24 . . . . .	60	xii. 38 . . . . .	117	29, 31, 51, 52 . . . . .	271	9, 13, 15, 16, 17,	550
ix. 13 . . . . .	282	xii. 44 . . . . .	118	John i. 1-3 . . . . .	291	18, 22, 23, 25 . . . . .	550
x. 22 . . . . .	161	xiii. 8, 9, 10 . . . . .	118	i. 14 . . . . .	147, 291, 333	Acts i. 10 . . . . .	434
x. 23 . . . . .	60	xiv. 12, 14, 19, 25,	118	i. 34, 38, 40, 41, 42,	359	xi. 26 . . . . .	530
xi. 10 . . . . .	283	41, 56, 57, 58, 65	188	44 . . . . .	127	xix. 14, 16 . . . . .	144
xii. 2, 35, 47 . . . . .	60	xiv. 27 . . . . .	188	ii. 13-22 . . . . .	129	xxiii. 27 . . . . .	336
xii. 18 . . . . .	283	xiv. 41 . . . . .	481	ii. 17 . . . . .	129	xxiv. 15 . . . . .	364
xiii. 11, 12, 13, 15, 35	60	xv. 3, 7, 28, 34, 39,	118	ii. 17, 23, 24, 25 . . . . .	359	xxvi. 28 . . . . .	532
xiii. 45, 46, 55 . . . . .	61	40, 42, 43, 47 . . . . .	118	ii. 19-22 . . . . .	130	Rom. v. 11 . . . . .	5
xiii. 13-15 . . . . .	281	xv. 34 . . . . .	188	iii. 1-15 . . . . .	210, 307	v. 13 . . . . .	505
xiv. 2 . . . . .	61	xvi. 1, 3 . . . . .	118	iii. 6, 8, 13, 15, 18,	359	v. 15 . . . . .	258
xv. 4, 89 . . . . .	281	xvi. 8, 9-20 . . . . .	119	20, 23 . . . . .	359	viii. 17 . . . . .	521
xv. 13, 14, 27 . . . . .	61	Luke i. 35 . . . . .	222	iii. 12 . . . . .	51	i Cor. xi. 23-34 . . . . .	479
xv. 21-28 . . . . .	319, 384	i. 47, 49, 53, 54,	206	iv. 5 . . . . .	359	xiii. 12 . . . . .	71
xvi. 2, 3, 13 . . . . .	61	63, 64 . . . . .	206	iv. 6, 8, 23, 25, 27,	360	xvi. 22 . . . . .	103
xviii. 1, 17, 22 . . . . .	61	ii. 5, 14, 15, 35, 36,	206	30, 36 . . . . .	360	2 Cor. viii. 9 . . . . .	484
xix. 4, 9, 16, 18, 20	61	39, 41, 42, 43,	206	iv. 19-22 . . . . .	189	Gal. i. 6, 7 . . . . .	90
xix. 18, 19 . . . . .	282	49, 51 . . . . .	206	iv. 38-v. 5 . . . . .	445	Eph. iii. 12 . . . . .	444
xx. 14, 16 . . . . .	61	iii. 4, 5, 6 . . . . .	206	v. 12 . . . . .	360	iv. 12, 13 . . . . .	277
xxi. 9, 33 . . . . .	282	iii. 9, 12, 14, 23 . . . . .	207	vi. 4, 10, 11, 13, 18,	361	Phil. ii. 5-8 . . . . .	485
xxi. 31, 32, 44 . . . . .	61	iv. 17, 18, 27, 29,	207	32, 39, 42, 46, 47,	360	ii. 12, 13 . . . . .	338
xxii. 4, 24, 35 . . . . .	61	38, 39, 43, 44 . . . . .	207	63, 64 . . . . .	360	iv. 15-18 . . . . .	43
xxii. 24, 32, 37 . . . . .	282	v. 19 . . . . .	207	vi. 69, 70, 71 . . . . .	361	Col. iii. 10 . . . . .	171
xxii. 37 . . . . .	62	vi. 20, 21, 25, 29,	207	vii. 1, 12, 14, 21,	361	i Tim. i. 11 . . . . .	431
xxiii. 13, 27 . . . . .	62	35, 38, 40, 42, 48	207	32, 35, 36, 37, 40,	361	Heb. i. 1, 2 . . . . .	20
xxiv. 2, 30, 36 . . . . .	62	vii. 24, 29 . . . . .	207	41, 45, 48, 49, 50	361	i. 14 . . . . .	87
xxiv. 15 . . . . .	282	vii. 28 . . . . .	312	vii. 53-viii. 11 . . . . .	361	ii. 10 . . . . .	132
xxv. 1 . . . . .	62	viii. 36, 43, 45 . . . . .	207	viii. 13, 16, 20, 34,	417	ii. 14, 15 . . . . .	229
xxvi. 27, 28, 50, 51,	62	ix. 20, 23, 37, 39,	208	47, 52, 54, 56, 57	417	iv. 9 . . . . .	272
70, 71 . . . . .	62	45, 48, 61 . . . . .	208	viii. 57 . . . . .	417, 480, 524	iv. 15 . . . . .	304
xxvii. 4, 9, 16, 17,	62	ix. 31 . . . . .	50	ix. 4, 7, 17, 18, 19,	418	v. 7 . . . . .	349
24, 28, 33, 46, 56	62	x. 1, 16, 17, 22, 23,	208	22, 23, 24, 25, 30,	418	v. 7, 8 . . . . .	398
xxvii. 9, 10 . . . . .	283	34, 35, 41 . . . . .	208	33, 35 . . . . .	417	ix. 13, 14 . . . . .	475
xxvii. 46 . . . . .	282	x. 41, 42 . . . . .	389	ix. 36, 38 . . . . .	418	xi. 1 . . . . .	498
Mark i. 2 . . . . .	188	xi. 3, 4, 11, 13, 15,	208	x. 6, 12, 14, 15, 20,	418	xi. 13 . . . . .	561
i. 3 . . . . .	189	36, 53, 54 . . . . .	208	26, 29, 30, 33, 35	418	Jas. i. 18 . . . . .	437
i. 21, 28, 32, 33, 34	115	xii. 1, 9, 14, 15, 18,	209	xi. 1, 16, 25, 31, 33,	418	i John iii. 9, 19 . . . . .	355
ii. 27, 28 . . . . .	115	27, 29, 39, 46, 53	209	37, 39, 41, 43, 45,	418	v. 6 . . . . .	355
iii. 8, 11, 15, 17, 18	115	xiii. 11, 35 . . . . .	209	46, 48, 49, 55, 57	418	Rev. vii. 9 . . . . .	338
iii. 34 . . . . .	116	xiv. 12, 13, 21 . . . . .	209	xi. 24-26 . . . . .	256	x. 5, 6 . . . . .	431
		xv. 13, 25 . . . . .	268	xii. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 . . . . .	418	xiv. 4 . . . . .	437



# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE third volume of the DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE has been issued, and a copy has been sent for review. It contains 896 pages, while vol. ii. contained 870, and vol. i. 863. Its first word is KIR, its last PLEIADES. There is a map of St. Paul's travels to illustrate Professor Findlay's article PAUL; and a double-page plate of Jewish coins to illustrate Professor Kennedy's article MONEY. The articles chiefly illustrated in the text are LAMP, MUSIC, and PILLAR. There is also a full-page engraving of the Moabite Stone.

After JESUS CHRIST (the glory of this book, as befitting) the greatest biographies are those of PAUL and PETER, and both are found in this volume. The former is written by Professor Findlay of Headingley College, Leeds, the latter by Dr. Chase, Principal of the Clergy School in Cambridge. Other biographies of some length are LOT by Professor Driver, MARY by Professor Mayor, MOSES by Professor Bennett, and NERO by Professor Cowan. With the article on MOSES Professor Bennett has been singularly successful, for it is a most difficult subject. Mr. Bennett has also written the article on MOAB, and given the most exact and complete account of the MOABITE STONE that probably exists.

But there is no need that we should enumerate the articles. The greater are not more faithful

than the less, though they are likely to attract more attention, and even the greater cannot all be named. It is enough to say that the geographical work—mainly by Professor Ramsay, Sir Charles Warren, and Colonel Conder—is of more importance than usual in this volume, and that within the limits of this volume fall some of the greatest subjects in Biblical Theology, the subject of the LAW, for example, of which the Old Testament portion has been written by Dr. Driver, and the New Testament portion by Dr. Denney.

One volume yet remains, and with it undoubtedly some of the finest work in all the Dictionary. Its first article will be PLEROMA by Professor Lock. Soon after will be found a great article on Hebrew POETRY by Professor Budde, after that, PRAYER by Canon Bernard of Salisbury, PREDESTINATION by Professor Warfield, PRIESTS AND LEVITES by Professor Baudissin, PROPHECY by Professor A. B. Davidson, PROPHET by Professor Driver, who will also write SABBATH and SON OF MAN, PSALMS by Professor W. T. Davison, PSYCHOLOGY by Professor Laidlaw, REDEMPTION by Professor Adams Brown, who will also write SALVATION, REGENERATION by Professor Bartlet, RELIGION by Principal Stewart, ROMAN EMPIRE by Professor Gwatkin, SACRIFICE by Professor Paterson, SATAN by Principal Whitehouse, SEMITES by Professor M'Curdy, SEPTUAGINT by Professor

Nestle, SERMON ON THE MOUNT by Professor Votaw, SHIP by Admiral Blomfield, SIN by Canon Bernard, SINAI by Professor Rendel Harris and Mr. Chapman, SOLOMON by Professor Flint, SON OF GOD by Professor Sanday, and many more.

The first of our Lord's miracles, according to St. John, was the turning of water into wine at Cana of Galilee. And the second was the healing of the nobleman's sick son, which was also wrought at Cana of Galilee. The identity of place is an obvious link of connexion between the two. But in his new volume of *Sermons*, published by Messrs. Oliver & Boyd, Canon Winterbotham endeavours to show that to St. John's mind these two 'signs' had a far more important connexion than that. They had a connexion or sequence, he believes, of a moral and spiritual character. He feels that St. John would not otherwise have recorded them or placed them first in his series of seven. For he did not select his seven at random.

Canon Winterbotham has discovered two notes that are common to these two miracles. The first is *unwillingness*. In St. Mark's Gospel and elsewhere we discover an occasional sign of distress, or of a holy impatience; it is St. John that records the plain expression of unwillingness with which Jesus began that long series of miracles which led Him on to notoriety, to conflict, to crucifixion—the three stages of His martyrdom. It was at the beginning that this unwillingness was shown. 'For, if a man is at all unwilling to embark upon any course of action—a course, I mean, from which there is no turning back—it is at the beginning that he will manifest his reluctance. Afterwards, if he be a true man, he will not express unwillingness to do what has to be done, although an occasional sign of impatience or distress will be likely to escape him.'

'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' It is the language, says Canon Winterbotham, of grieved expostulation. For He knew she loved

Him tenderly, though not wisely. She was putting Him under constraint to do that from which He most shrank, and the constraint was all the more irresistible that it was so gentle, so humble. 'How many men there have been whose woman-kind have placed them in the most false positions, and compelled them to take the most fatal steps, and all with the pleasantest of smiles, with the gentlest of entreaties, with the most disinterested motives!' In the days that came after, when the prophecy was fulfilled that 'a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also,' Canon Winterbotham thinks that its pain was partly due to the recollection that she herself had started Him upon that career of miracles which could have no ending but the cross.

The note of unwillingness is clear enough in the first miracle. In the second it is found in the expostulation, 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe.' It is an expostulation that could scarcely have been addressed, Canon Winterbotham thinks, to the distracted father, whose only answer would still be the broken cry, 'Sir, come down ere my child die.' It was not addressed to the father, nor scarcely to anyone then present, but, as it were, to us. 'Out of this page of the gospel story our Lord looks upon us as One who does not know what to do, as One who sees Himself forced to begin at the wrong end, as One who *can* control the powers of nature and arrest the course of disease, but *cannot* alter the perversity, the ignorance, the foolishness of the men for whom He cares. He demands your sympathy and mine. He vouchsafes to let us into the secret of His embarrassment, His sorrow. He bids us see in what a false position He—the Saviour of the world—is placed.'

The second note which Canon Winterbotham finds common to these two miracles he calls *humanity*. Later, however, he calls it indulgence, and indulgence is what he means. He means that in both these miracles our Lord is seen

permitting things that He could not encourage. At the marriage feast they were merry. They were very merry indeed, and drank wine freely. Happily for them the horrid curse of ardent spirits was unknown, their drink was the light wine of the country. Still they drank freely and were very merry. Now it must be evident, says Canon Winterbotham, that our Lord had no personal sympathy with these merry-makers. He would much rather they enjoyed themselves in a better and higher way. And yet He supplied them with more wine, and wine of a more generous vintage than they could afford.

‘He came,’ says Canon Winterbotham (whose words must be quoted verbatim for a moment, so delicate if not impossible is the situation he has raised), ‘He came to reveal the Father to the world, He came to save our souls, to die for them upon a Cross: He began His miracles by giving more and better wine to a company of people who were thinking of anything *but* their souls—who were eating and drinking and making merry! Dear Lord! as He listened to the laughter, and the buzz of voices, and all the well-known sounds of harmless merriment and frank enjoyment, did He not smile and sigh at once, to think how *easy* it is to make these children of men happy, if one has the wherewithal—to make them happy, much as the bird is happy on the bough, or the beast in its stall: how *difficult* it is to make them happy in any higher and more enduring sense? Did He not smile and sigh at once to think that *He* who came to preach the Cross, who came to give eternal life to as many as believed in Him, should have to begin by replenishing the wine-cups of the children of the bride-chamber?’

The greatest snare of the preacher is the desire to be original. The greatest snare of the theologian is to speak of Christ as if He were altogether such an one as ourselves. And when these snares lie together, as they often do, it is

only alert unsleeping vigilance that escapes them. For the easiest path to originality is to place our Lord in situations of human weakness or perplexity, to describe Him slowly developing His mental and spiritual capacity, or gradually comprehending the work that He had to do.

But originality is one of the least of human accomplishments. No great preacher was ever original. The Hebrew prophet had to eschew originality as if it had been sin. He had to be in the prophetic succession. He had not only to utter the things which God gave him to utter, but he had to utter the same things as the prophets who went before Him. St. John knew that Caiaphas was a prophet when he said that it was expedient for one man to die for the people, not merely because one man did die, but because Isaiah and all the prophets had prophesied so aforetime. Caiaphas was a prophet because he was in the succession.

The only lawful originality is the preacher's self. It is the only originality that the poet has—the preacher in verse. Did not Shakespeare find all his matter in books that were written before him? And Burns? After showing the extent to which Burns drew upon the store of the past, just as Shakespeare did for his material, Mr. Henley adds, ‘He cannot fairly be said to have contributed anything to it except himself.’

This was the originality of our Lord Himself. Our manuals of Christian Evidence used to contain a chapter on Christ's originality. And as we read we felt the ground slipping away from beneath us. Saying after saying had been traced to some earlier preacher and had to be given away. And it never was impressively shown that Christ Himself remained. He was not original as the modern preacher craves to be. Like Caiaphas He was in the succession. If Caiaphas said it was expedient that one man should die, Jesus said the Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for many. ‘In the highest plane of human



life,' says Mr. Drummond in his new *Kerr Lecture*, 'in the highest plane of human life, to the cravings of the human heart after God and the truth about God, what Jesus contributed, His most original gift, that which imparted a new vitality to all that had ever been said before, was Himself. But then it follows that His teaching could not but be original. The personality gave it character and power.'

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So Jesus becomes our example in His preaching as well as in His life. There are three features of His preaching, says Mr. Drummond, that are of fundamental importance. They are Repetition, Accommodation, and Progress.

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The most striking example of Repetition which Mr. Drummond mentions is the Sermon on the Mount. For he believes that what St. Matthew gives was delivered on one occasion, and what St. Luke gives was partly a repetition of St. Matthew's given on some other occasion, and partly new matter given on the same or on some third occasion. And why not? Our Lord's ministry covers three tracts of country and three great stretches of preaching. First there is the public ministry in Jerusalem and Judæa, told by St. John; next a similar ministry in the far north, on both sides of the Sea of Galilee, told by all the Synoptists; and then a ministry south of the Sea of Galilee, and covering both sides of the river Jordan. What was to hinder our Lord repeating in one place the teaching of another?

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And if in the examples of repeated teaching or work there are striking resemblances, who will wonder at that? Who would be surprised to find two very similar cases in a physician's diary? In the recent Spanish-American War, two Spanish fleets were destroyed by two American fleets, the one at Santiago in the West Indies, the other at the other side of the world, in Manila Bay of the Philippines, and under the extraordinary conditions that in the one case no life was lost on the American side, and in the other only one.

Accommodation is an unsavoury word. But there is nothing offensive in Mr. Drummond's use of it. He simply means that Christ took pains to make His purpose clear, His influence tell. Mr. Drummond quotes from Dr. Robertson's *German Student Life*: 'Explain to me Hegelianism, Hermann.' 'You could not understand it, Louisa.' 'Nay, say rather that you are not able to explain it; for it seems to me that what one understands himself, he ought to be able to explain to another.' 'Yes, to one who can also understand; I could not explain it, for instance, to a crow!' 'No, but one crow could explain it to another crow, if he understood it himself. They seem to understand each other's cawing when their college meets in the ploughed fields.' Christ became man for this among other things that He might explain God to us, and He was able to do it so that we understood. He would explain, for example, that God is love, and He gave not a definition of love, but a concrete example. 'Herein is love—that God sent His Son to be the propitiation.'

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Christ accommodated Himself to all, outcast and Pharisee alike, that He might do the best for them that was possible. And Mr. Drummond believes it is the missing of this principle of accommodation that has caused Tolstoy to run into his extravagances. 'Sell all that thou hast' was good for the rich young ruler, because riches was the one thing that came between him and eternal life. But the ties of home or the delights of study may mean far more to another man, and that is what he may be asked to sacrifice for Christ.

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But the third is the most important of these three features of Christ's teaching—the progressive unfolding of the truth. In spite of all difficulty as to date, duration of ministry, or even sequence of event, Mr. Drummond believes that we can trace the progress of Christ's teaching and see it pass from point to point. In the earlier part the keynote is the Kingdom of God. Then in the

Parables of the Kingdom its pre-eminently spiritual character is suggested, later the Kingdom becomes a comparatively rare term, except in private intercourse with His disciples, or where He is breaking new ground. In its place is found teaching about Himself. Then, when the disciples have realised that He is the Christ, the Saviour of the world, He initiates them into the inevitable issue of His career, the Crucifixion. Last of all come the apocalyptic scenes, crowding the closing pages of St. Matthew's Gospel.

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It seems that the doctrine of the Atonement is not now preached as it used to be. Tennyson confesses to God that

Our little systems have their day,  
They have their day and cease to be.

What are these little systems? Are they the doctrines of Christianity? And is the great doctrine of the Atonement one of them? It was the centre of all belief to our evangelical fathers. But other truths have come to the front in our day—the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man, the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, our Lord's conception of the Kingdom of Heaven. To the Atonement, says Professor Adeney, preachers in this country make but meagre reference; preachers in America, says Dr. Munger, often leave it untouched. Has the doctrine of the Atonement had its day and ceased to be?

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Professor Adeney says (and Dr. Munger agrees with him) that the neglect of the doctrine of the Atonement is due to the difficulty of understanding it. Men do not deny the fact of the Atonement, but they despair now of finding a working theory of it. So they preach the fact and leave the theory alone. But, says Professor Adeney, a fact that is treated in this way, isolated from thought, detached from any system of related facts, unexplained and unjustified, sinks into neglect. Its bare affirmation is no better than the statement of a dead dogma. It gradually

withers and finally perishes of intellectual starvation. It is therefore not that the doctrine of the Atonement has had its day and ceased to be. Its eclipse is temporary, and is due to our own intellectual cowardice. We must recover a working theory.

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Sometime last year the editor of the *Christian World* requested seventeen representative theologians to write down their theory of the Atonement. What they wrote appeared week by week in the *Christian World*, and now the seventeen articles have been republished by Messrs. James Clarke in a single convenient volume under the title of *The Atonement in Modern Light*. Three of the seventeen theologians are Continental: Professors Frédéric Godet of Neuchâtel, Adolf Harnack of Berlin, and Auguste Sabatier of Paris. Three are American: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. Washington Gladden, and Dr. T. T. Munger. The rest are British: Dean Farrar of Canterbury and Dean Fremantle of Ripon, Professor Adeney of New College, London, Principal Cave of Hackney, Professor Dods of Edinburgh, Dr. Forsyth of Cambridge, Dr. Horton of London, Dr. Hunter of Glasgow, Mr. Campbell of Brighton, Mr. Silvester Horne of Kensington, and Mr. Bernard Snell of Brixton. They may not be representative of the Churches. Perhaps we could scarcely have expected that. But they are representative of theology. Between Dr. Hunter and Dr. Cave there is room for almost every shade of opinion on the doctrine of the Atonement, and almost every shade of opinion is expressed here. If it is possible to find a modern working theory of the Atonement, we should find it in this book.

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The word Atonement has two meanings, both of which are found in our Authorized Version. In Ro 5<sup>11</sup> it signifies reconciliation, in the margin of Job 33<sup>24</sup> it signifies the means of reconciliation. The difference of meaning arises from the derivation. There was an Old English word, onement, which meant harmony. To set two persons at onement was to reconcile them. When the word



atonement was taken from that idea it meant reconciliation. But meantime a verb 'atone' had sprung up, with the sense of appease or make amends. And when atonement was taken directly from that verb, it expressed not the reconciliation itself, but the means by which the reconciliation was effected. The latter is the sense in which the word is now used in theology. When we speak of the doctrine of the Atonement, we speak of *the means by which* Christ restored the broken harmony between God and man. This was the way in which the editor of the *Christian World* understood the word when he invited his representative theologians to describe their doctrine of the Atonement. And this was the sense in which they all responded, except one.

Dr. Hunter of Glasgow does not believe in the Atonement. He does not believe that there is anything to atone for. Without saying so, he uses the word throughout in the old and obsolete sense of harmony. And he says that as the harmony between God and man has never been broken, there is no room for an atonement, there is no room even for a reconciliation. 'The race of mankind,' he says, 'has never been more one with God than it is to-day.

In Adam's fall

We sinned all

is theory, not fact. The Christian doctrine of Atonement is not bound up with any such unscientific and unhistorical positions. It is the rise, not the fall, of man with which the study of history makes us acquainted.'

Dr. Hunter does not say that we are all in perfect harmony with God. But in so far as we are out of harmony he says that that is due to our imperfect development. Complete harmony is effected through self-development and self-realisation. There is no need for an atonement for sin, since no man has sinned. Professor Harnack says, 'Christianity is the religion of redemption, because it is the religion of forgiveness.' But Dr. Hunter sees nothing in man to forgive. 'The

sense of sin,' he says, 'is not the sign of degeneration, but of a moral uprising.' There is no need of reconciliation and no room for Atonement. 'There is no other way of Atonement than the way of obedience—every man's free obedience to the Divine laws of his being and life.'

All the rest believe in the forgiveness of sins. And what is much more remarkable, all the rest believe that in some way or other the forgiveness of sins depends on Christ. The doctrine of 'free forgiveness,' as it is called, is not the doctrine of any of these writers. Dr. Horton used to say, though he has retracted it in this article, and the Dean of Canterbury still says, that we cannot trace the connexion between Christ and the forgiveness of sins, or, in other words, that we have the fact, but cannot discover the theory of the Atonement. But all hold that Christ made an atonement, that He lived and died for our sins according to the Scriptures.

Now, if we may consider these seventeen representative theologians sufficient to cover all the varieties of belief in our day regarding the Atonement, there are just three ways of stating the connexion between Christ and the forgiveness of sins. The forgiveness of sins follows immediately upon repentance. Probably we are all agreed upon that. Very well, we repent as soon as we see that God loves us. And it is in the life and especially the death of Christ that we see that God loves us. That is the first way.

Mr. Snell says that the work which was given Christ to do was the manifestation to men of the love of God. When He did that He became our Redeemer. The service, says Professor Harnack, which Christ rendered for sinners during His mission had the single object of convincing them that forgiving Love is mightier than the Justice before which they tremble. 'God is love,' he says; 'He has always been Love, and will remain so. The consolation of the gospel of Jesus consists in this, that He has revealed unto us God

as eternal Love. Far be the thought from us that God has been turned from wrath to love, and that something had to be paid or sacrificed in order that He might love and forgive.' 'Christ's Atonement,' says Dr. Gladden, 'is the reconciliation of man to God, and the method of reconciliation is revelation.'

Christ's revelation of the love of God was by means of His life, but chiefly by means of His death. His death has no separate significance, however. Its supreme efficacy lies in the fact that it was the end and climax of His life of suffering. His death, says Mr. Snell, was the culmination of His lifelong obedience, the supreme proof of His fidelity to the Father. He made the complete sacrifice by doing the will of God *to the end*. Not only in His sufferings, says Dr. Gladden, but also in His whole life He reveals God to men. 'Our Lord,' says Dean Farrar, 'did not speak by any means habitually, or exclusively, of His death, but always represented it as a part of, and in one sense the culmination of, His voluntary self-sacrifice.'

So then, according to this theory, the power of the Cross lies in this, that it is the clearest revelation of the love of God to men. Of course its suffering and the suffering of Christ's whole life was real suffering. It is not a mere dramatic spectacle. Dr. Lyman Abbott says that of all theories of the Atonement that which represents the crucifixion of Christ as a dramatic spectacle, devised to produce an emotional effect upon a world of spectators, is the least deserving of intellectual or spiritual effect. But it was only suffering. There was no vicariousness in it. Mr. Silvester Horne expresses the whole theory in an unmistakable illustration: 'One has often said of some rake of a son, If he could only look into his mother's heart and see it bleeding and broken; if he could see his sin in the one who loves him most and best, how his sin has been her crucifixion, then he would be overwhelmed in penitence and shame, and led to reformation. If the world

could look into its Father's heart, and see its sins borne by Him, then it would begin to hate sin and come broken-hearted to His love. This is surely the power of the Cross.'

But that theory does not satisfy everyone. Amongst these representative theologians there are some who believe that there is more in the power of the Cross than that. They do not deny the revelation that lies in the sacrifice of Christ. But if it were revelation and nothing more, they doubt if the world would be redeemed thereby. We shall certainly say when we are redeemed that we love Him because He first loved us. But that is not the same as to say we loved Him because we saw that He first loved us.

There is, moreover, this serious objection to the theory that the sacrifice of Christ was simply an exhibition of the love of God. It seems to make the forgiveness of sin too easy. It seems to make sin itself too slight. Now whatever Christ did, He did not belittle sin. Mr. Campbell says that the sense of guilt is deeper now than ever it was before, and that that is due to the influence of Christ. He says that even between the Psalmists and the Christian saints there is in this respect a great difference. The contrition caused by the influence of Christ strikes a deeper note and contains a new ingredient. The sorrow for sin of the Christian saint manifests itself in a larger charity towards others as well as in a keener severity towards self. But it is felt that the immediate pardon of sin upon the sight of the sufferings of Christ could not have produced this deeper sense of sin. If pardon may be had at so cheap a price, sin is not so exceeding sinful. Even the cry of a Hebrew psalmist, 'Against Thee only have I sinned,' would become unintelligible to a Christian saint; it might even be described by him as morbid self-mortification.

It is true that God is love and Christ came to declare it. But, as Dr. Forsyth puts it, '*God is Love*' has in the New Testament no meaning apart

from the equally prominent idea of righteousness, of God as the author and guardian of the moral holy law.' 'It is an immoral love,' he says, 'that has no moral hesitation about mercy.' In the way of a 'free pardon' of sin there lies the moral law of God. To prevent the sinner from lightly esteeming his sin, to prevent us all from lowering the love of God to a sentimental affection unworthy of even an earthly father, we must believe that satisfaction has to be made to the majesty and inviolability of the law of holiness.

For, after all, it is not forgiveness that is the first consideration; it is restoration to righteousness. In the Cross of Christ, therefore, righteousness must be as clearly revealed as love. 'The question,' says Dr. Dods, 'is not whether God desired to forgive, but whether it was possible for Him to forgive without at the same time introducing to men's minds a deeper reverence for righteousness. Constituted as men are, mere impunity would lead to further transgression, to disbelief in the reality of law and righteousness. Forgiveness, in order to be safe from abuse, must reach men in such a way as shall more deeply impress them with the value of righteousness than their own punishment would have done.'

It might be said that the whole life of Jesus being a manifestation of holiness and of communion with God, would by its exquisite beauty awaken a similar desire after righteousness on the part of all who witnessed it. But even if that were so,—and it is difficult to assert that it is so, in the face of our Lord's treatment when on earth,—still there is something more than that to be done. Says Professor Godet, 'If this homage rendered to the majesty of goodness could exert in human hearts a hunger for holiness, it was not sufficient to repair the outrage offered to the Divine authority by human disobedience. Against this disobedience, flaunting itself so shamelessly in the world, there was need of a further protest than this simple example of a perfectly holy life; there needed a definite repudiation of this revolt

of the creature, one which should constitute a solemn disassociation from it of the human will. This decisive condemnation of sin could alone restore to the Divine holiness the glory which had been obscured and the authority that had been disowned.'

So the second theory of the Atonement is that the sacrifice of Christ was a satisfaction to and a vindication of the outraged moral law of God. In the striking language of Dr. Forsyth, it is the theory that 'God took the broken law of His holiness so much to heart that it entailed the obedience in agony and death of the Holy One.'

Are all these writers, then, content with that? No, it is not personal enough. There is danger lest this law of holiness be conceived as absolutely impersonal, even as something outside of God to which God Himself in Christ had to make restitution. That would be a calamity indeed. With one bound we should be back at the oldest heresy again. For if the Son of God had to pay a penalty to an impersonal law, He might with as much dignity pay it to the Devil, as Origen said He did.

Besides, there is in Scripture a very large number of passages which clearly point to a change that has to be wrought in God Himself, or at least in the attitude of God toward us. There is a Greek term which is used five times in the New Testament in the sense of rendering God favourable (Lk 18<sup>13</sup>, Ro 3<sup>24</sup>, He 2<sup>17</sup>, 1 Jn 2<sup>2</sup> 4<sup>10</sup>). There are also such moral attitudes attributed to God as indignation and wrath. St. Paul even speaks of men in their natural condition as 'children of wrath.' Manifestly, then, God has to be turned from His wrath. He has to be and is changed from displeasure into pleasure. This is accomplished in the Cross of Christ. So that, while it is never to be forgotten that God Himself set forth Christ to be a propitiation, there is a sense in which He Himself is propitiated thereby.



If the difficulty is raised that to speak of a change in God from anger to delight, is to deny His unchangeableness, the answer is at hand. The change is not in the character of God, but in his attitude towards man. It is His unchangeableness that makes it possible. He is not unchangeable as a stone is unchangeable, His unchangeableness is moral. He is unchangeably righteous. And therefore when the wicked turn from their wicked way, the Lord repents Him of the evil that He thought to do unto them.

More serious is the difficulty that if it is Christ that makes the satisfaction, then it is with Christ that God is well-pleased, and not with the sinner. But to that also the Scripture answer is at hand. Christ identified Himself with sinful man, He condemned sin in the flesh. 'As the Jewish high priest'—we quote this impressive passage from Godet—'who, in the Holy of Holies, before the Ark, symbol of the Divine throne, confessed the sins of the whole people personified in Him ; so Jesus, in communion with the human family of which He had by the fact of His birth become a member, Jesus, the only righteous, the only One whose conscience was at the height of the Divine holiness, in the deepest depth of His being, condemned human sin as God condemned it. By an unfathomable prodigy of love He entered into the horror of the sins, of which He was each day witness, as though He had Himself been the responsible author of them ; and in the perfect union of His conscience with the Divine holiness, in this *rencontre intime* between God and Himself, He pronounced the condemnation to death of human sin, a sentence destined to be ratified later by the united conscience of all humanity.'

But then, if this is true, the other great step is true also. If God made Him to be sin for us, we are made the righteousness of God in Him. If it is a substitution at all, it is a double substitution. He who once saw Jesus under the curse of the Law, now sees us in Him free from the curse of the Law. Only, as Christ's act was a moral one

when He associated with us in our sin, ours must be a moral choice also when we are found in Him. 'He who aspires to salvation,' says Dr. Godet, 'must associate himself by faith in that travail of soul accomplished in the heart of Christ when He consented to be made sin for us ; he must look upon his sin with the same sense of reprobation ; unite himself with the sorrowing confessions of Jesus, with His humble appeal to the Divine mercy, when, before His Father, He judged sin as God judges it, and pronounced its sentence of death as God Himself pronounces it.'

For, as the Dean of Ripon says, 'the effect of the Atonement is not primarily to save men from punishment and misery and to bring them into happiness, but to save them from alienation, and to bring them into moral union with the righteousness and the love of God.' This vital point is strongly and often urged by Professor Sabatier. 'It is not enough,' he says, 'that Christ dies for us, it is also absolutely necessary that, as St. Paul says, we die with Him, that our faith and repentance make redemption actual in our conscience, effacing in us, as by a death, the consequences of sin, and creating in us, as by a kind of moral resurrection, a new life.'

This is the third theory. It seems to enjoy all that the first enjoys—the power of Christ's example. It seems to preserve all that the second urges—the vindication of the moral law. It adds to these God's personal interest in the Atonement. It tells us what the Atonement did for God as well as what it did for man. Its chief exponent in this volume is Professor Godet of Neuchâtel.

One thing remains. What did this penal substitution of Christ consist in ? Did He endure an exact equivalent of suffering for all our sin ? Mr. Campbell says, and puts his words in italics, that 'every consequence of human sin is felt in the experience of Christ.' Dr. Horton asks, 'Why should it be thought a thing incredible that in a three hours' agony of the spirit of such an one as

Jesus, something should have been effected which would apply to all time, even retrospectively, to all the human race with which He was connected, to the whole creation in which it took place?' The words of both theologians are carefully chosen. They exclude the gross and terrible pictures drawn by the imagination of an older and still popular theology. But they are needless, and perhaps misleading. As Dr. Forsyth expresses it, 'We are now agreeing to see that what fell upon Christ was not the equivalent punishment of sin, but the due judgment of it, its condemnation.'

Was it that punishment for sin which deserved to fall on us? Professor Sabatier claims it as a special advantage of the ethical or 'example' theory, that it does not separate the penalty from the sin. The sinner bears his own punishment. He says that it would be unjust to punish the innocent; and, more than that, impossible, for the simple reason that an innocent person cannot have the conscience of a guilty one. Now, it has to be confessed that the idea of the Father having punished the Son, is a familiar one in popular penal theology.

He knew how wicked man had been,  
He knew that God must punish sin,  
So, out of pity, Jesus said  
He'd bear the punishment instead.

But it is only a misrepresentation. It is no more essential to the penal theory than to the ethical. As Dr. Forsyth reminds us, we must distinguish between that which touched Christ's consciousness and that which touched His conscience, between that which is penal and that which is penitential. The suffering which Christ endured was penal in that it was due to sin, but it was not penitential, for it was not due to His sin. There is no such thing, says Dr. Forsyth, in the moral world as substitutionary punishment. We still bear the punishment of our sins, and the worst punishment we can bear is to see the penalty we brought on Christ—whether we see it with faith in a saving way, or without faith to our deeper condemnation.

But more than that, and of much more practical moment, our Lord's Atonement did not consist in the sufferings which He bore, 'It is absolutely imperative,' says Mr. Silvester Horne, 'that we should be clear in our minds that the vital and effectual factor in the Atonement is not the sufferings of Christ, but the love and holiness of Christ.' 'The element of reparation in the Death of the Cross,' says Professor Godet, 'did not consist in the unspeakable sufferings which accompanied it. That lay in the silent and absolute submission with which they were endured.' Mere suffering, suffering merely undergone, does not reconcile, it is suffering accepted as just. 'The child who revolts against its punishment has offered no reparation at all.'

What did the penal substitution of Christ consist in? It consisted in His obedience. No doubt the obedience of Christ, under the conditions in which it was rendered, involved suffering, suffering even unto death. He was made sin for us. The wages of sin is death. The sting of the suffering of sin is alienation from God. 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' The abandonment to which God delivers over the sinner had at that moment become Christ's portion.

Still, it was not the suffering but the obedience that made the restitution. '*Non mors sed voluntas placuit*,' says St. Bernard. 'There is a vast difference,' says Dr. Forsyth, 'between suffering as a condition of Atonement and suffering as the thing of positive worth in it, the thing which gives it its value. We are beyond the idea,' he hopes, 'that there was any saving value in the mere act of dying, apart from the spiritual manner of it. It is not a mere fact,' he says, 'but the person in it, that can mediate between soul and soul.' In this, says Professor Sabatier, there lies the vital distinction between the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifices of the Law. 'In the old sacrifices the victim is devoted to death *contrary to its will*; it is recalcitrant under the knife of the sacrificer. In the sacrifice of Calvary the Victim is not



devoted; He devotes Himself.' And if we should fail to see how this perfect obedience of Christ can be of any advantage to us, Professor Adeney suggests the analogy of intercessory prayer. 'Why should a mother pray for her son, except that the

devotion of one soul may bring blessing to a kindred soul? But St. Paul goes farther in profound mysticism, teaching that faith in Christ is union with Christ, and never dissociating the work of Christ for us from the life of Christ in us.'

## The Judaean Ministry of Jesus.

BY THE REV. T. D. BERNARD, M.A., CANON OF WELLS.

How little is known of the first stage of our Lord's ministry! and yet how decisive it proved! It was the first act in the grand sad drama, and the earnest of its end. 'He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.' Then was tested and proved His relation with 'the Jews' at the centre of their national life. Then were laid the foundations of all else that happened at Jerusalem, and of all that was done there at the last; and the issue of that effort was the departure to the freshness and freedom of the Galilean life and of the ministry which we know so well. Yet the evangelists who record that ministry make no mention of the previous work, and scarcely give an intimation of it. Only we are told that 'when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, He departed into Galilee' (Mt 4<sup>12</sup>, Mk 1<sup>14</sup>, Lk 4<sup>14</sup>). 'He departed,' but from what place? and where had He been, and what had been His work up to the time that John was cast into prison? It is left untold; yet the same writer records the words, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together?' in a narrative which has made no previous mention of any work at Jerusalem or even of any visits there. These are tokens of the larger knowledge present to the mind of the evangelist, and of his definite limitation of purpose.

It is in the Fourth Gospel, which records later scenes in Jerusalem, that we have the mention and the estimate of this earlier ministry. Yet even there it is given briefly, and in an almost casual manner, which scarcely impresses its real importance. The general account of it is little more than the setting of two selected incidents, the act and prophecy in the temple, and the interview with Nicodemus. It may be useful to

offer now some considerations on this general account, and hereafter on each of these incidents.

There is nothing accidental in the brief manifestation of the Son of God. Christ presents Himself to His people on a deliberate plan, but one that judiciously adapts itself to the response or the perversity of men. His mission in the flesh has the same starting-point as His message in the spirit, 'beginning at Jerusalem.'

He had gathered disciples and confirmed their trustful faith by the first miracle, significant of the change He came to make, and which, being wrought in a family circle, was also a gracious farewell to private life.

'After this He went down to Capernaum, He, and His mother, and His brethren, and His disciples: and they continued there not many days.'

Having chosen this place to be the centre of work in Galilee whenever He should return, He proceeded to open His mission to His people at the headquarters of the nation, amid the concourse and animation of the Passover. Here was the first ministry. Its activity and effect are told us, but not the details. Passing by the two incidents which are related, and leaving them for separate treatment, we observe a frequent mention of the signs which He did, in 'beholding which, many believed on His name,' which convinced the more candid of the Pharisees that He was 'a Teacher sent from God,' which impressed also those who came from other parts; as later on we read that 'when He came into Galilee the Galileans received Him, having seen all the things that He did in Jerusalem at the Feast; for they also went unto the Feast' (4<sup>45</sup>). The signs were, as always, and as indeed we are told, the accompaniments of the teaching, and of the proclamation of the coming

kingdom of God. They were also the supports of that presentation of Himself to the faith of men, which is fully expressed in the first subsequent visit to the same scene of action, recorded in chap. 5, the language of which is sufficient to show how far the mission of the Son from the Father had been already revealed in Jerusalem.

The ministry was not confined to the city. After a time 'came Jesus and His disciples into the *land of Judæa*, and there He tarried with them, and baptized' (3<sup>22</sup>). He tarried (*διετρεβεν*), spent time; and the time must have been considerable, as appears from all that occurred. Large numbers resorted to Him, professed disciples were multiplied, and baptisms administered by the hands of the original disciples became so numerous as to awaken the jealousy of the followers of John (3<sup>26</sup>) and the hostility of the Pharisees (4<sup>1</sup>).

The work of the Baptist was not ended, but his scene of action was changed. No longer 'beyond Jordan,' but 'in *Ænon* near to *Salim*, where there were many waters,' he continued his ministry, and men 'came, and were baptized.' This *Salim* which is mentioned as defining the locality must be the same which is described in the earliest tradition by its measured distance from *Scythopolis*, and which is noticed by recent travellers (Robinson, *Tristram, Palestine Exploration*) in this connexion. It could not be the alternative *Salim* of *Jos 15*<sup>32</sup> (adopted by *Hengstenberg, Godet, and others*). Far to the south of *Judah*, and on the edge of *Edom*, it was distant from *Herod's* observation and dominion; whereas the *Salim* on the confines of *Samaria* and *Galilee* was within easy reach of his capital at *Tiberias*, where all public action would be known and canvassed. *Herod* 'feared *John*, knowing that he was a just man and an holy,' and it seems as if in uneasy curiosity he had sought an interview, in which he heard the words which *Herodias* would find her time to avenge, 'It is not lawful for thee to have her.' Perhaps *John's* removal northwards was connected with the public appearance of *Jesus* in *Judæa*; and he might well pursue his work, as it was still serviceable for its purposes, and he had received no intimation that his mission was over. But the contemporary baptism by *Jesus*, as a feature of His *Judæan* ministry, is more remarkable. It was, it seems, the same as that of *John*, a baptism of repentance for remission of sins in preparation for the coming kingdom. But on the part of those who

sought it from Him rather than from the Baptist, it must have expressed some recognition of those claims to which *John* had testified, and to which their own hearts responded. Why was it adopted thus provisionally, being no part of the Lord's permanent action? We cannot say; only we can see that it publicly associated the first stage of his ministry with the work of the Precursor. When the one ceased so did the other, and then a broad interval separated this earlier rite from the Sacrament instituted by the risen Lord in His commission to the Church for ever. Christian baptism, including all that the provisional baptism expressed, is also the initiation into the Church and body of Christ, with inheritance in its powers and promises, as contained in the revelation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

The baptisms thus administered, not only at a distance but now in *Judæa* itself, awoke fresh discussions 'about purifying,' that great subject of Jewish law, custom, and thought. The question was agitated between disciples of *John* and a Jew, presumably learned in such matters, who appears to have found new arguments in the action of *Jesus*. They carried their difficulties to their master, feeling sore that his methods should be appropriated and his influence superseded by another. 'Rabbi,' they said, 'He who was with thee beyond *Jordan*, to whom thou hast borne witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to Him.' They spoke with the natural exaggeration of jealousy, and they received an answer which showed the truth of the situation, and disclosed the deep secrets of their Master's soul.

*John* answered, saying, 'A man can receive nothing, except it have been given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but, that I am sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, who standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice. This my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease.'

Noble and touching words! on which it would be delightful to dwell, as a study of a great character, and for the profit of their deep instruction. But they are cited here as evidence of the activity and power of the Lord's *Judæan* ministry. There is a sound to which *John* is listening, the sound of spiritual movement, the sound of a voice which awakens it; and if the company



of believers, the little band of hope which is gathering, is in part of his own preparation, that is as it ought to be. 'He that hath the bride is the bridegroom.' The friend who has done his part in the preliminaries, standing to listen for the bridegroom's voice, rejoices greatly when he hears it. 'This,' he says, 'is my joy, and it is now fulfilled.' All the same he foresees and accepts the future of the one ministry and of the other. 'He must increase;' in fact He has done so, through all the world and all the ages. 'But I must decrease.' He recognised it as the necessary incident of his work as a precursor; but how quickly it came! and how worthily! Not by gradual effacement, but by a sudden arrest for a word of faithfulness and truth, he who had swayed multitudes and moved the nation was in the prime of his powers lost to the world in imprisonment, silence, and death.

'When John was cast into prison' the Lord ended his Judæan ministry. From that event the Synoptics date His departure into Galilee. John gives another reason for the change in the scene of action. 'When the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John, He left Judæa, and departed again into Galilee' (4<sup>1</sup>). It is evident that the arrest of the Baptist by Herod was followed by proceedings of the Pharisees against Jesus. It was time, they thought, to end these unwelcome movements, so disturbing to Judæic prejudice, so dangerous to the predominant party. One mighty influence has been silenced by the royal power within its own jurisdiction. The other in a region under a different rule may equally be crushed by the exertion of hierarchical authority. The Lord was forced to the conclusion that He 'would not walk in Judæa, because the Jews sought to kill Him' (7<sup>1</sup>). If He remained there the end would be precipitated before its time. So this first stage of ministry was closed, only to be taken up again in brief visits at the feasts, visits made with ever-increasing danger.

How long must we suppose this ministry to have lasted? Considering the decisive importance of the issue to the nation, we should expect that full time would be given to the great experiment. Reviewing the facts which have been mentioned, we see that they naturally imply that so it was. There is one expression which may seem to fix its duration, but not with certainty. In the

passage from Judæa to Galilee, at the well of Sychar, we hear the words, 'Say not ye there are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest?' That might be the citation of a common proverb as dating from seed-sowing to harvest. But the interval named is too short, and no such proverb is known, and the word 'yet' more naturally betokens an observation that might be made at the moment. Such is its natural character, and in that case (since the harvest lasted from the middle of April to the end of May) the words would be spoken in January or February, giving some nine or ten months for the sojourn in Jerusalem and Judæa, dating from arrival there at the previous Passover (see Westcott, *in loc.*).

Whatever the length of time, it was sufficient to give that people their opportunity and to test their disposition. The result was clear: 'His own received Him not.' The general mind was cold and antipathetic to His teaching; large classes were antagonistic from interest or bigotry, and the representative powers of the nation were rancorous and plotting His death. It was a world of which the Lord could say, on the whole, 'It hateth Me, because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil.' Yet was it a mingled world, with its varieties of character and its side of promise. When it has been said, 'No man receiveth His witness,' the remembrance occurs of those who did so; 'He that received His witness, sealed that God is true,'—that is to say, he attested by such reception his own personal sense that this witness of Christ was according to the truth of God's nature and of His previous promises.

There were, there naturally would be, some who received it with uncertainties, with limitations, with imperfect apprehensions, with adhesion that would prove insecure. So it is said, 'when He was at Jerusalem at the Passover, during the feast, many believed on His name, beholding the signs which He did. But Jesus did not trust (or commit) Himself unto them, for that He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify concerning man; for He knew what was in man' (3<sup>23-25</sup>).

This believing is described as a believing 'on His name,' and as the consequence of 'beholding the signs.' Both expressions suggest a faith that might often prove unsound. Faith based mainly on miracles may have an imperfect estimate of

the person who wrought them, and the name may represent a Messiah after their own ideas. Such faith might be more deep or more shallow, might grow in truth and elevation, or might prove a mistake at last. Doubtless these differences existed among the adherents thus described, and as time went on, fresh tests brought them to light; as when offence was caused by hard sayings, and 'many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him' (6<sup>60</sup>). Impressions easily received often easily fail. It is the observation of experience, that 'it is mysterious and humiliating to find so often in the history of missions that first converts disappoint the missionary' (*History of the C. M. S.*, vol. ii. p. 602). Such failures are various, betraying some the weakness, some the falseness of the mind.

The saddest case before us is that of the Judæan apostle (the only one, as it seems). Judas, son of Simon, surnamed Iscariot, as belonging to Kerieth, a township in Judæa, must have adhered to the Lord during His ministry in that region, and followed Him in the departure to Galilee. There, as a forward and capable disciple, he might seem fit for inclusion among the chosen twelve. But, whatever were the reasons for the selection, St. John is careful to note that it was not made under a mistake. 'Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed, and who should betray Him' (6<sup>64</sup>). If this man's faith depended on miracles, where would it be when, at the great crisis, miracle gave no help? If it was faith in a name, where would it be when he saw that the name did not mean what he had once supposed? When faith had thus proved false, he was left to his native meanness, to the temptation of the hour, and to the influence of his former masters in Jerusalem. Up to that time his faith may have appeared to his fellow-disciples as real as their own; but from the first, the Lord, who knew them all, read him as he was.

To penetrate character and motive, to know what men are, and to forecast what they will prove, is a rare power even in the partial and doubtful measure in which some persons may possess it. In its true character it rises from observation and experience, but more from an inward fellowship with truth and goodness, an instinctive perception of the worth of words and semblances, a sense of the difference between feelings, however at the time sincere, and

principles that become part of life, and from a sympathy which understands and allows for the changing processes of thought. To a perfect human nature such a power would belong in an extraordinary degree, and this was one of the spiritual endowments which dwelt in the Son of Man. It is apparent in the synoptic narratives; but St. John loves to record his own observation of it on various occasions, and the impression which it made on his mind. For ourselves, we are mostly guided in our relations with others, not so much by the judgment of knowledge as by half-conscious impressions; and we have every reason to be careful that the mind which receives them should be free from egoistic and perverting influences, and possessed by truth and charity, and under habitual reference to the only Searcher of hearts.

Doubtless there is admonition for us in what is said of our Lord's conduct. In the words, 'He did not commit, or trust, Himself to them,' the evangelist appears to have noticed a reserve towards persons, and a guarded action on occasions when he should himself have expected more ready confidence; conduct which (as he saw afterwards) preserved the cause of truth from being compromised by the faults or foolishness of men. It is a lesson which may well be studied, especially by those who have responsibility in guidance of affairs, for the honour of the Word intrusted to them, and in the interest of souls under their influence.

More pleasant it is to end this review of the earliest ministry by reverting to the mention of those in whom it bore sound and lasting fruit. We may be sure that the seed sown found good soil here and there, in some cases perhaps with a secret vitality to be afterwards disclosed to sight. Of the 'many who believed on His name,' of the many who were baptized, a fair proportion became a genuine nucleus of the future Church. Tokens of the presence of unnamed followers appear by accident, as in the owner or keeper of Gethsemane, the man who willingly lent the ass and colt at the word 'the Lord hath need of them,' or the master of the house where the Last Supper was held, and which was the probable place of assembly where the risen Lord appeared. There were thoughtful and convinced disciples, like Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, whose position held them back till events forced them



into action. And conspicuous above all is the family in Bethany, the sisters and the brother whom 'Jesus loved,' and whom we seem ourselves to know so well. He who knew what was in men knew their true hearts and pure affections, and the sincerity with which in that house He was revered as Master, loved as Friend, and believed in as 'the Christ, the Son of God, which cometh into the world' (II<sup>27</sup>). Here He found a ready welcome and a congenial home. Here it was joy to receive Him, to minister to Him, and

to sit at His feet and hear His word. Here were shed the precious tears of sympathy for human grief, and here was wrought the crowning miracle at the grave. To this door the Lord turned His steps when He came to die at Jerusalem, and under this roof, through the week of conflict and suffering, He had at night His last lodging upon earth. So then in this house at Bethany we can end our review of the Judæan ministry, and feel that, amid surrounding disappointments, we here find rest to our souls.

## A New View of Deuteronomy.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. G. G. CAMERON, D.D., ABERDEEN.

IN his second volume of *Old Testament Theology* Professor Duff of the United College, Bradford, has given a new and peculiar explanation of the origin of Deuteronomy.<sup>1</sup> Years ago, Wellhausen, with characteristic confidence, announced that, to scientific critics, Deuteronomy no longer presented an unsolved problem.<sup>2</sup> His critical penetration, great as it is, did not foresee what was to be disclosed at Bradford. Either the great German savant made a mistake, or Professor Duff is not a scientific critic according to the Wellhausen standard.

The subject announced in the title of this second volume of *Old Testament Theology* is 'The Deuteronomic Reformation.' But the greater part of the book is used for a transcription (in English) of the Jehovistic and the Elohist documents. The real discussion regarding the Book of Deuteronomy, which, according to Dr. Duff, was the 'Charter of the Reformation' under Josiah, is postponed, and will be given in another volume. In these circumstances, detailed examination of the solution of the Deuteronomic problem proposed by Dr. Duff is out of the question. The ground on which the opinion rests

has not been properly exhibited. The arguments by which it is to be supported still lie (largely) in the womb of the future. But the proposed explanation itself has been announced with sufficient distinctness. And it may be of some interest and advantage to direct attention to it at once. All that is intended in this paper is to state the impression—formed after a somewhat hurried reading of the book—regarding Professor Duff's proposed solution of a difficult problem.

To the critic the Book of Deuteronomy may be regarded either as a godsend or as a thorn in the flesh, according to the point of view. If the date of the book and the occasion of its production could be conclusively proved, the history of Israel might be more satisfactorily constructed (or reconstructed) than it has been in some of the books which have been recently produced. But for proof there is little else than conjecture, and conjectures are nearly as numerous as the critics. It is true that critical opinion is in substantial agreement as to the time when the Deuteronomic legislation became *operative*. But the exact date when the code was prepared, and the circumstances which led to its production, are matters of dispute, and, till this dispute is settled, the Book of Deuteronomy cannot be used with confidence in a scheme for the reconstruction of the history of Israel. Of the various opinions which have been propounded regarding the origin of Deuteronomy, it may be of some interest to place that of Ewald alongside of the new solution suggested by

<sup>1</sup> *Old Testament Theology; or, The History of Hebrew Religion*. Vol. ii. The Deuteronomic Reformation in Century VII. B.C. By Archibald Duff, LL.D., B.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the United College, Bradford, Yorks. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Prolegomena*, Eng. trans., 1885, p. 9.

Dr. Duff. According to both these critics the book was produced in another country than Judæa. In other respects their opinion differs widely. Ewald held that Deuteronomy was written in Egypt by an Israelite who had fled for safety to that country during the persecution by Manasseh. This explanation by the great German scholar is a mere conjecture, and lacks probability. That a work so important as Deuteronomy—a legislative code, intended to revolutionize the arrangements for worship in Israel—was written in Egypt by a person utterly unknown, and afterwards *accidentally* brought to the temple in Jerusalem, discovered there, and used in support of the reformation under Josiah, can scarcely be accepted as a reasonable solution of the Deuteronomic problem. If inspiration is of any value in the discussion, it is difficult to discover any real support for such a view.

Dr. Duff also holds that the author of Deuteronomy lived beyond the bounds of Judæa, and that the bringing of the book to Jerusalem, and its discovery there, were, to all intents and purposes, matters of accident. He says that the Jews found the book 'lying unnoticed in their temple.' And then he adds: 'Quite possibly, when Sargon ruined Samaria, a hundred years before, someone escaped to Jerusalem carrying the book, either as a chance bit of saved wreckage, or as a dearly loved treasure. Was it the writer himself who fled and saved it? It was someone who let it come ultimately to the Zion temple and to the storehouses and library there' (pp. 25, 26). As between these two views the degree of probability is in favour of Ewald's. It is not at all improbable that Jewish fugitives, desirous of escaping death at home, sought safety in the country where, long before, their fathers had been held in bondage. Egypt was not hostile to Judah in the days of Manasseh. And some of these fugitives—pious members of the O.T. Church—may very well have recorded in writing their thoughts regarding the miserable condition of Israel in their day, and their hopes for the future. The difficulty is to believe that such a book as Deuteronomy arose in this way, especially if (as critics very generally hold) its most distinctive legislation was intended to abrogate an important prescription for worship which had been in force, with divine approval, till that time.

Dr. Duff's view is that while Deuteronomy

became the charter of Josiah's reformation, the promotion of a reformation in Judah was very far from being the aim of the author. He belonged to the northern kingdom, and wrote his book before that kingdom was overthrown. His object was to centralize worship in the northern kingdom, and to make Shechem the central sanctuary. [The volume is supposed to have made its way to Jerusalem, and to have been found there in the manner already indicated.] But, apparently, Shechem was to be the central sanctuary not merely for the northern tribes, but for all Israel. Around it the hopes of the chosen people should gather. The promise given to the world in Israel should have fulfilment through Shechem. Dr. Duff does not say this in so many words; but does the following sentence suggest anything less than this?—'It (Deuteronomy) was written, we hope to show, as an emendation of the Elohist's Moab Code, with the hope of erecting Shechem into the sole sanctuary and centre of all government.' Alas for the writer's hope! 'It was used to make of Zion such a centre and sanctuary' (p. 491).

What Dr. Duff's views are regarding the authority of Holy Scripture—inspiration, and such-like questions—forms no part of the subject in hand. But it may be fair to assume that, if inspiration and authority are admitted in any real sense, Deuteronomy is not the least worthy of the Old Testament books to be regarded as inspired and authoritative. It was written with a view to the centralization of worship. And Dr. Duff admits that centralization was in the air in the eighth century B.C., a hundred years before Josiah's reformation: 'The eighth century B.C. was pervaded with this tendency [towards centralization of worship]; and all Hebraism, including northern greater Israel as well as the southern little Judah, was on the way towards such a plan of centralization' (p. 25). Was there nothing more than a tendency? Hezekiah's reformation took place about the time when the unknown fugitive from the northern kingdom 'let Deuteronomy come to the Zion temple.' That reformation has received scant justice at the hands of the critics. If the Old Testament record regarding Hezekiah, and the procedure he adopted in the work of reformation, is substantially trustworthy, a mere tendency of the time is not sufficient to explain the action of so pious a king. Did Hezekiah, perchance, peruse the book brought by the fugitive from the north,



and use it (not the advice of Isaiah) in support of a movement for centralization a century before Josiah? And has Dr. Duff, through this new view of his, shown how the difficulty connected with Hezekiah's reformation may be removed?

But here it must be noted that there was centralization before the days of Hezekiah,—centralization, not as Dr. Duff finds it in E under the law of Ex 20<sup>24</sup>,—in a form which supplies a basis for the Deuteronomic legislation (p. 480), but actually realized in the history of Israel. Centralization created a difficulty of a very serious kind to Jeroboam 1. at the formation of the northern kingdom; cf. 1 K 12<sup>26ff.</sup>: 'And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to offer sacrifices in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and return to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and he said unto them, It is too much for you to go up (R.V.m., "ye have gone up long enough") to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan. And this thing became a sin: for the people went to worship before the one (R.V.m., "each of them"), even unto Dan.' In these words it is obvious that a general practice is referred to. And an important question must be answered. Why should these northern tribes—the most northerly—go up to Jerusalem to worship, if centralization had not yet been prescribed? There were localities within the northern kingdom whose connexion with the early history of the chosen people constituted a claim to the reverence of the tribes such as Jerusalem could not present, and rendered it all but certain that, if the law of worship did not require centralization, these places would be found in the foremost rank of local sanctuaries. Is it in the least degree likely that the proud tribe of Ephraim, so jealous of the position it claimed for itself, would have gone to Jerusalem if the services of the Cultus might, with equal propriety and legality, have been performed at Bethel or Shechem—places within the borders of the tribe? The importance of this centralization for the life of the chosen people may be inferred from Jeroboam's conviction that, if it was persevered in,

the maintenance of his newly formed kingdom would prove a hopeless task. Not less significant is the testimony of Scripture that, in his method of dealing with this difficulty, Jeroboam sinned and made Israel to sin (cf. 1 K 12<sup>80</sup> 13<sup>34</sup> 14<sup>16</sup> 15<sup>30, 34</sup> 16<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 17<sup>21</sup>).

—According to Dr. Duff, the object of the author of Deuteronomy was to erect Shechem into the sole sanctuary and centre of all government. Why Shechem? No doubt Shechem was well known in connexion with the ancestral history of Israel. It was a place of importance to Abraham, the first of the Patriarchs (cf. Gn 12<sup>6</sup>).<sup>1</sup> Abraham having entered Canaan from the east, made his way across the country to Shechem. The intervening plain supplied pasture for his flocks. Ebal and Gerizim formed noteworthy landmarks towards which the march was directed. Jacob, coming from the same quarter in the east, took the same path to the west, and settled for a time in the neighbourhood of Shechem. His stay here brought little credit to him or his. The patriarchal connexion with Shechem was not free from reproach. Other places had a more honourable patriarchal record, and might have been fitly thought of as a centre for the religious praxis of the people. Still, Shechem was closely bound up with the early patriarchal history; and it was brought into special prominence at the close of the life of Joshua. It was here that he delivered his farewell charge to the tribes of Israel (Jos 24<sup>1ff.</sup>). The situation was as suitable as could have been chosen for such an occasion. 'The view from Mount Ebal virtually covers the whole land, with the exception of the Negeb. All the four long zones, two of the four frontiers, specimens of all the physical features, and most of the famous scenes of the history are in sight.'<sup>2</sup> The land was not wholly conquered at Joshua's death. But conquests had been made on every side. And the last words of the great leader to the men who had followed him from victory to victory were appropriately spoken at a place of which the memory was sacred, and from which so extensive a view of the land was obtained. But where is the evidence that Shechem was intended to serve

<sup>1</sup> Does Dr. Duff mean that the transaction reported in Gn 15<sup>1-5</sup> took place at Shechem? cf. p. 480b.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, by Professor G. A. Smith, D.D., LL.D., F.C. College, Glasgow, pp. 120<sup>ff.</sup>; cf. the promise to Abraham at Bethel (Gn 13<sup>14ff.</sup>).

as a central sanctuary for the tribes of Israel in Canaan? No doubt Deuteronomy, which prescribes centralization, points to Mount Ebal as the site of the sanctuary where the people—met in solemn assembly—were to listen to the blessings and the cursings (Dt 27<sup>1st</sup>, cf. Jos 8<sup>30th</sup>). According to Dr. Duff, Shechem is mentioned as a great sanctuary by the Deuteronomists:<sup>1</sup> 'They' (the Deuteronomists) 'never mention Zion or hint at it in any remote way' (p. 25). Professor Smith (*Hist. Geog.* p. 334<sup>n</sup>), to whom Dr. Duff refers in this connexion, calls attention to the same fact: 'That the only sanctuary mentioned by the Book of Deuteronomy should be the capital of Samaria, is surely an element to be taken into consideration of the question whether that book arose out of an agitation in favour of a central sanctuary at Jerusalem. If it did, it is strange that Ebal is so honoured, while Jerusalem is not once mentioned.' Quite so. But if the date of Deuteronomy should turn out to be pre-Davidic—not to say Mosaic—any reference to Zion or Jerusalem as a central sanctuary would create an inexplicable anachronism. To hint at the possibility of a pre-Davidic date for Deuteronomy will, no doubt, be ridiculed by advanced critics at present. But Dr. Duff has brought the date a century nearer David than Wellhausen allows. And who can tell what the next critic may discover and disclose? If the mention of Zion or Jerusalem in a pre-Davidic Book could only cause perplexity, it is, to say the least, surprising that there is no reference, direct or indirect, to the ecclesiastical and religious position of Zion in a book which (leaving out of account, for the moment, Dr. Duff's view, and following that most commonly accepted) was written in Judæa (or Egypt?) in the days of Manasseh or Josiah. No doubt the book is written in the name of Moses, and professes to belong to the Mosaic period. But critics tell us that Semitic peoples were familiar with books of that kind. Accordingly, those to whom this book was addressed, whose religious and moral life it was intended to influence, quite understood the situation. Criticism proceeds on that assumption. So let it be. If, however, the people were familiar with literary productions of this kind, would they have expected the writer to

take such pains to cover up his tracks, and to conceal the period to which he actually belonged? Perhaps they would. It is not for us dull-witted Occidentals to conjecture how an Oriental people would deal with such a case (always excepting our critics with imaginations). But to return to the view of Dr. Duff,—the subject in hand,—it occurs to our Western common sense that the acceptance of the new Deuteronomic legislation in Jerusalem would not be likely to be furthered by the selection of the capital of the apostate Jeroboam (cf. 1 K 12<sup>25</sup>) as the sanctuary at which the worship of Jehovah was to be centralized.

But was it Jehovah-worship that was to be centralized at Shechem? The calf-worship set up by Jeroboam and not suppressed by the house of Jehu (cf. 2 K 10<sup>29</sup> 13<sup>2</sup> etc.) was the state religion at the time when, according to Dr. Duff, Deuteronomy was written. Of this worship Bethel was the centre (cf. 1 K 12<sup>32, 33</sup> 13<sup>1</sup>, Am 7<sup>10-13</sup>). Presumably, the intention of the author of Deuteronomy was to use the book for a reformation of religion—as it was afterwards used in Jerusalem. Shechem (not Bethel; was the latter too closely identified with Jeroboam's idolatry?) was to be made the central sanctuary for Israel, and the centre of all government. In other words, the hopes of Israel, and of the world, were to gather about the rebellious house of Jeroboam, not about the house of David. Does Dr. Duff mean that? Is his conception of Jewish history, with its Messianic promise and New Testament fulfilment, such that a successful effort at reformation in the northern kingdom would have made Shechem the centre of religious life and the source of spiritual instruction for the world? No doubt the effort failed. But that does not meet the difficulty. The position assigned in the record to the house of David must be fairly dealt with. Isaiah (not to refer to other statements at present), near the beginning of his public ministry,—most probably before the date that Dr. Duff would claim for Deuteronomy,—declared that Zion was the seat of Jehovah's universal dominion, and that the *Torah* for the world was to proceed from it (Is 2<sup>1-4</sup>, cf. Mic 4<sup>1-4</sup>). If Dr. Duff's view of the origin of Deuteronomy is correct, an unknown author—and reformer—in the northern rebellious kingdom endeavoured to gain for Shechem what, according to Isaiah, belonged to Zion. The Book of Isaiah is, in many respects, a remarkable one.

<sup>1</sup> Note the expression. The book is not by a single author. The number of hands engaged in the composition will probably depend on the subjectivity of the critic.



But so is the Book of Deuteronomy. The latter reveals the mind of God as distinctly as the former. And if the Bible has any just claim to be an authoritative Book, the question of authority is raised here. Dr. Duff, no doubt, will settle the matter fairly between the unknown Israelite who does his best for Shechem, and Isaiah who supports Zion.<sup>1</sup> But it is not easy to conjecture his line of argument. It might, of course, be urged that the northern tribes cut themselves off from the inheritance of the promise which was connected with the house of David. If there were any evidence in support of that opinion, it is not easy to see how Dr. Duff could avail himself of it. Because his Deuteronomist (omitting, for the moment, the plurality of authors) is the successor of the Elohist. Deuteronomy is an emendation of the Elohist's Moab Code (Ex 21-23). Indeed, that Moab Code (as Dr. Duff calls it) may be regarded as the Elohist's Deuteronomy.<sup>2</sup> But the Elohist's document as given by Dr. Duff in this volume closes with 2 S 7, which definitely assigns the Messianic promise and inheritance to the house of David (cf. pp. 449-451). The somewhat remarkable attempt on the part of the Elohist's successor, in the Book of Deuteronomy, to transfer to Shechem and the rebellious kingdom in the north what his leader had assigned to David and his successors in Judah, requires explanation, and the explanation will be looked for with interest.

Deuteronomy, according to Dr. Duff, failed in its purpose in the northern kingdom. There is no evidence that a book of this kind, produced in Israel while the kingdom was still standing, was ever heard of either at Shechem, or at any sanctuary of the ten tribes. But it is assumed that someone (Who? Should we not have some information about a person employed in so important a work?) brought the book to Jerusalem, and gave it to those who had charge of the books in the Zion-temple. Afterwards, its contents

having become known, it was made the charter of Josiah's reformation. That is to say, a book, written for the express purpose of setting Shechem in opposition to (rather, one should say, over) Zion as the centre of religious instruction for the world,—and having failed in that purpose,—was accepted in Zion as a properly-accredited code, and used to overthrow a divinely sanctioned law of worship which had been in force since the time of the Exodus from Egypt. Now the Jews of Jerusalem either knew or they did not know the author of this book and the occasion of its production. If they did not know, is there any likelihood that such a work would have been accepted as an authoritative legal document, and used to effect a revolution in the religious practice of the chosen people? To critics, the Jews of Jerusalem are much too like a nose of wax. But these Jews must be reckoned with. They were as truly men of like passions with ourselves in the days of Josiah the king, as in the days of Jesus the Christ. And it needs more than conjectures or assertions to produce the conviction that the contemporaries of Jeremiah in Jerusalem were overawed by a document which abrogated a sacred practice sanctioned by Moses and continued since his time,—which proposed to exalt Shechem over Zion,—and of which the author was absolutely unknown. If they did know who wrote this book and why it was written, the authorities in Jerusalem went purposely past their own teachers, and abrogated the ancient prescription as to the place of worship on the authority of a teacher of the rebellious kingdom; and this, although the book in which that teacher's instructions were engrossed had utterly failed in the purpose for which it had been written a century before, and appears to have been saved—as a piece of wreckage might be saved—when the northern kingdom was swallowed up by the Assyrian Empire.

It is more than doubtful whether the leaders of Judah would use a book with such a history for the important work of Josiah's reformation. And it is not likely that a book worthy of the authority claimed for the books of Holy Scripture was brought to bear on the life of the Church in the manner suggested. Dr. Duff's explanation of the origin of Deuteronomy is not the most probable that has been offered. This volume does not settle the controversy.

<sup>1</sup> On this point it may be worth while to recall our Saviour's words to the woman of Samaria—a native of the district so highly honoured by Dr. Duff: 'Ye worship that which ye know not: we worship that which we know: for salvation is from the Jews' (Jn 4<sup>22</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> P. 396. The original Deuteronomy (Ex 21-23). N.: 'The original Book of the Covenant, which is indeed the original Elohist's Deuteronomy,' etc.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

HEBREWS I. 1, 2.

'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son' (R.V.).

### EXPOSITION.

WHILE forming a suitable introduction to the whole writing, the opening paragraph is at the same time the first instalment of an apologetic argument designed to show the superiority of Christ, and by consequence of the Christian religion. Therein the writer institutes a contrast between Christ and the Hebrew prophets as agents of divine revelation.—BRUCE.

THERE is a certain contrast between God's revelation in Old Testament times and that given through the Son. Contrast, however, is not the main thing; the revelation through the Son is the natural sequel and perfection of that wide and varied revelation begun of old and carried on through many ages. The rhetorical balance of the sentence may be exhibited thus—

God, having spoken	spake
of old, in sundry portions	at the end of these days
and in divers manners	
unto the fathers	unto us
in the prophets	in His Son, whom He made,
	etc.

In one respect, between the Old Testament revelation and the New there is resemblance, in other points there is difference. They are alike in this, that both were spoken by God; they differ as to their time, their manner, the persons to whom, and the agents through whom, they were spoken. And perhaps in each of these points there is something that implies the superiority of the New over the Old, though they are both parts of one system.—DAVIDSON.

'God.'—In this one word, which admits the divine origin of Mosaism, the writer makes an immense concession to the Jews. Such expressions as St. Paul had used in the fervour of controversy—when, for instance, he spoke of 'the Law' as consisting of 'weak and beggarly elements'—tended to alienate the Jews by utterly shocking their prejudices; and in very early ages, as we see from the 'Epistle of Barnabas,' some Christians had developed a tendency to speak of Judaism with an extreme disparagement, which culminated in the Gnostic attribution of the Old Testament to an inferior and even malignant deity, whom they called 'the Demiurge.' The author shared no such feelings. In all his sympathies he shows himself a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and at the very outset he speaks of the Old Dispensation as coming from God.—FARRAR.

'Of old time.'—The word is rare in N.T., and always describes something completed in the past. Here the

thought is of the ancient teachings now long since sealed.—WESTCOTT.

'Unto the fathers.'—The fathers are the Church and saints of Israel's past, for the writer is a Hebrew speaking to Hebrews; and 'to us' means to men posterior to the advent of Christ. God's speaking to the fathers extended over many ages, just as the succession of prophets did, in whom He spake; for though His revelation of the covenant, the chief word that He spake of old, was made through Moses, the greatest of the prophets to Israel of the Exodus, He raised up prophets of every age to expound and enforce it. But His speaking to us was bounded by the brief term of the Son's life upon earth. The words 'to us' might indicate the finality of the revelation given in the Son, for 'we' are they on whom the ends of the world are come (1 Co 10<sup>11</sup>), and God's design was that 'they' without 'us' should not be made perfect.—DAVIDSON.

THE Epistle, though apparently identifying Christendom with the Hebrew Church, is manifestly universalistic in spirit. No one who considers the freedom with which the writer speaks of Levitical institutions as weak, useless, doomed to pass away, can imagine him having any difficulty about recognizing Gentile Christianity without regard to circumcision, any more than one who understands the spirit of Christ's teaching can think of Him as attaching religious importance to the Jewish national rite, although in the Gospels, as in this Epistle, there is no express indication of opinion on the subject.—BRUCE.

'In the prophets.'—The chief point of difference lies in the words 'in the prophets' and 'in His Son, whom He made heir,' etc. The 'prophets' are all who served God in the work of revelation, all who spake from God (1 P 1<sup>21</sup>). Though knowing the secret of the Lord (Am 3<sup>7</sup>), they stood related to Him only as servants and as sustaining an office; the Son who has spoken to us stands to God in the closest relation of nature.—DAVIDSON.

'By divers portions and in divers manners.'—The phrase does not indicate any inferiority of the Old Testament revelation to the New, arising from its fragmentariness and the colour it received from circumstances, and the many prophetic minds through whom it came. The expression rather signals the variety and fulness of the Old Testament Word of God. In another point of view, indeed, these words might indicate defect: the Old Testament revelation being given in sundry portions, was not final and complete; and being given under diverse forms, it was not simple and homogeneous. And to this there might be a superiority expressed in 'at the end of these days'—the old partial way having given place to fulness and unity, and the old many-coloured manner having disappeared before the simplicity of perfect truth. This idea, however, was hardly in the writer's mind.—DAVIDSON.

THE 'many parts' of the preparatory training for Christianity may be symbolized (though they are not absolutely coincident with them) by the periods of the patriarchs, of



Moses, of the theocracy, of the kingdom, of the captivity, of the hierarchy, as Israel was enabled to assimilate the lessons provided providentially in the national life of Egypt, Canaan, Persia, Greece.—WESTCOTT.

THE 'many manners' of the older revelation were Law and Prophecy, Type and Allegory, Promise and Threatening; the diverse individuality of many of the Prophets, Seers, Warriors, Kings, who were agents of the revelation; the method of various sacrifices; the messages which came by Urim, by dreams, by waking visions, and 'face to face.' The mouthpiece of the revelation was now a Gentile sorcerer, now a royal sufferer, now a rough ascetic, now a polished priest, now a gatherer of sycamore fruit. Thus the separate revelations were not complete but partial; and the methods not simple but complex.—FARRAR.

'At the end of these days.'—In the minds of men then living the duration of the world and the life of the Church was divided into two great epochs, 'this age' and 'the age to come.' The latter was identified in a general way with the times of the Messiah. Within the former, namely, 'this age,' a minor distinction could be drawn between 'of old,' the past, and 'these days,' the present. In the former God spake in the prophets; in the other, even at the end of the other, in His Son. The expression, 'at the end of these days,' implies that these days were nearly ended; Christ's appearance marked the close of the age to which they belonged. Not that it closed at once when He appeared, nor had it closed when this author wrote; it would close definitively when Christ should come again the second time without sin unto salvation. But in the minds of all saints then living, His second coming was imminent, and therefore His first manifestation is considered to mark the close of these days.—DAVIDSON.

'In His Son.'—The absence of the article fixes attention upon the nature and not upon the personality of the Mediator of the new revelation. God spake to us in one who has this character that He is Son. The sense might be given by the rendering *in a Son*, if the phrase could be limited to this meaning ('One who is Son'); but 'a Son' is ambiguous.—WESTCOTT.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### Criticism of the Bible.

*By the Ven. James M. Wilson, M.A., F.G.S.*

How does God speak to us? In many ways, but this verse shows what the apostles, who knew Christ's mind, thought of the way in which the Bible is God's revelation. It anticipates what critics say to-day. We are only beginning to understand it.

I. God's teaching is continuous. The same God who taught the fathers one lesson teaches us a further one. As children at school have first elementary teaching, then more advanced,

God taught the world by consecutive revelations to the fathers and then in the end of the days by His Son. The Epistle teaches, and it is the most important lesson of criticism, that God's revelation of Himself to the world is progressive.

2. *By divers portions.*—Truth is not revealed all at once, but 'in many fragments,' as men are able to bear it. The truth is therefore incomplete at any one time and mixed with what is temporary. The understanding of this removes objections to the Bible on the ground of discredited science, sanction of slavery, the low moral standard of even those held up as saints, etc. The Bible is not a perfect ethical treatise, but an account of how God educated His great family, the human race. He has revealed His truth 'in divers portions,' and He is still educating the world. 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now,' said Christ. He has come, and He will not come again, but His Holy Spirit will in time teach us all things. There is more light still to come from His life and words, and with more obedience and more love we shall understand Him better.

3. *In divers manners.*—How did God reveal Himself to the fathers? Revelation is not limited to an audible voice, or even to secret promptings of heart. God taught Israel by the slavery in Egypt, by the wanderings, by conquest. He taught them by kings and prophets and priests; by the Captivity, which cured them of idolatry; by sacrifices foreshadowing something higher; by the Levitical Law. Their whole history was an education and a revelation. Revelation is manifold and varied as well as progressive. Not only in the Bible of the Church, but in science and history is God revealed. This diversity of revelation is an important truth.

Some people treat the Bible as one book, written at one time, and all parts as equally binding. They regard it as the revelation, instead of the history of the revelation of God to man. Others in reaction from this treat it as a collection of fables. The truth lies with neither. We are taught by the writer to the Hebrews, and by our Lord Himself, and the lesson is being rediscovered by criticism, that the Bible is the history of a partial, fragmentary, progressive revelation, contained not in word only, but in the record of the history of the nation, given 'by divers portions and in divers manners.'

## II.

## Revelation and its Limits.

*By the Rev. Alexander Brown.*

The opening words of the Epistle state the subject it discusses—the contrast between two revelations, and the position of the writer is that the old is supplanted by the new.

1. God reveals Himself to men. The great mass of mankind have always believed in a God, or gods who communicate with men. Of this the race has always felt conscious need. The spiritual and eternal are far from man in his natural state. Surely a good God must be the teacher and guide of the creatures He has created.

2. God spake to the fathers in the prophets. The writer does not look beyond the Jewish nation, but we must not limit the divine revelation to one people. God is the teacher of all, dealing with each according to its capability, and the uses it can serve in the development of humanity. Revelation to certain chosen men seems partial. Why not to all? God does speak to every listening soul, but special revelations are given through those peculiarly fitted to convey them.

3. In divers portions and in divers manners. One prophet heard a voice, another saw a vision, another was stirred by an impulse to speak God-given thoughts. God used each man according to his gifts, in divers manners. And not all at once did the truth burst upon the Jewish nation. They received it bit by bit. They were educated during centuries for their mission. Their prophets saw but a fragment of the truth. They did not always see the perfect meaning of the message they delivered. Their message, then, was not perfect. 'Prophecies shall fail,' said St. Paul, for the prophets only 'knew in part.'

4. Truth is an evolution, a gradual development, always incomplete. O.T. prophecy must be superseded by something more perfect. But a perfect revelation requires a perfect vehicle. The servant-prophet must be displaced by a Son. That Son is Jesus Christ. And His revelation, too, will be progressive; for as the Church grows in knowledge and the fulness of His Spirit, it will penetrate farther into His truth.

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE spirit of God has dwelt with man from the beginning, and has spoken to him with many voices. Man could find

God symbolized in so many forms of nature, and could approach Him through so many and such devious ways, only because He was truly revealed in them all, and had made them a means of communion with Himself. Christianity demonstrates itself to be a farther step in man's journey Godward by its ability to produce in each of its disciples a noble character. Other creeds produce here and there an exceptional one of lofty spirit, while the multitude still plod their deaf and heedless way. Spiritual progress is a discipline for the production of character; where worthiest character is produced there is the fullest revelation of God. Equally true and tender, an epitome of the spiritual history of mankind, is the personal witness of the saintly William Ellery Channing, who tells us how, when he had sought all the noble teachers—Lao Tsze, and Kung-Fu-Tsze, with Zoroaster and Buddha, Plato and Epictetus,—'hand in hand they brought me up to the white marble steps, and the crystal baptismal font, and the bread-and-wine crowned communion table,—ay! to the cross in the chancel of the Christian temple,—and as they laid their hands in benediction on my head, they whispered, Here is your real home.'—G. R. PIKE.

BEAUTIFUL is the night in which the moon and the stars of prophecy and types are shining; but when the sun rises, then we forget the hours of watchful expectancy, and in the calm and joyous light of day there is revealed to us the reality and substance of the eternal and heavenly sanctuary.—A. SAPHIR.

GOD is not dumb, that He should speak no more!

If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness

And find'st not Sinai—'tis thy soul is poor!

There towers the Mountain of the Voice no less,

Which whoso seeks shall find,—but he who bends

Intent on Manna still and mortal ends,

Sees it not,—neither hears its thundered lore.

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,

And not on paper leaves or leaves of stone

Each age, each kindred adds a verse to it,

Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan,

While swings the sea, while mists the mountains shroud,

While thunder's surges burst on cliffs of cloud,

Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit.—LOWELL.

As you read their works, you can feel how strongly the minds of such as Augustine, Luther, Wesley, and Swedenborg are under the impulsion of certain divine ideas; but if you are not simply a committed partisan, you can see sorrowful, and sometimes ludicrous and painful instances where their personal prepossessions are limiting God's spirit and giving an erroneous tinge to what they teach in the sacred name. A perfect revelation requires a perfect vehicle of communication. Revelation through prophets will be human, very human, and God will seem often very like to a man in His changefulness, His passionate wrath, His partisan affections; and hence the moral difficulties which so many feel with Old Testament revelation. The truth uttered must, so far, be affected by its medium, as the



sunlight is by the air through which it shines. Hence the need for an incarnation—a man who is no mere man, no fragmentary chip of human nature, no bondsman of peculiar prejudices, no slave of passion, no theological partisan; but a fresh new nature, partaking constitutionally of so much of God that the holy Divine Spirit will be able to dwell there without measure, and utter, through sinless lips, the whole unvarnished truth of holy love and infinite power, working out an unlimited salvation for the human race.—A. BROWN.

ONE great Voice august  
Is speaking always in this world of men;  
Speaking direct—no need of word or pen—  
Mystic and yet so clear!

Do you hear a Voice  
Calling sweetly, softly through the years;  
Through the wrong and sorrow, through the tears  
Of a wasted life?

Have you heard a Voice  
Resonant in times of hot, mad sin,  
When the chalice of the heart within  
Dripp'd with poisoned wine?

Have you heard a Voice  
Whispering sadly as the soul stoop'd down,  
Grovvelling to some baseness,—its fair crown  
Dimm'd and blurr'd with shame?

Have you heard a Voice  
Calling gladly as the soul arose,  
Patient and strong, brave to endure all blows  
In this world's strife?  
Looking up to heaven with quiet smile,  
Feeling some omnipotence the while,  
Bearing up the life?

'Tis the Voice of God,  
Sweet, appealing as in Eden's grove;  
Sternly warning in His righteous love,  
'Tis the Father's Voice.

Ay, the Father's voice,  
Calling ever, always, through the years,  
Through all wrong and sorrow—through all tears—  
Calling children home!—A. NORRIS.

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## Harnack on the Nature of Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. W. MORGAN, M.A., TARBOLTON.

THIS book, by the well-known author of the *History of Dogma*, is made up of a series of lectures delivered during the past winter to the students of all faculties in Berlin University. The task which Professor Harnack sets himself is to answer the question, What is the Christian religion, and to distinguish those elements that are essential and enduring from the temporal and local elements that have, in the course of its history, been mixed

up with it. He has accomplished his task in the most brilliant fashion. The book is a great book, and cannot fail to exercise a deep and wide influence. It exhibits an originality and insight, a mastery of the history of ideas, a power of lucid, and often glowing, expression,—the whole suffused with the deepest Christian piety—a combination of qualities as splendid as it is rare. One rises from the reading of this book with a deeper sense of the high and enduring significance of Christ's gospel, and with a new religious impulse.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Wesen des Christentums*. Von Adolph Harnack. Leipzig, 1900; London: Williams & Norgate.

Although not cast in apologetic form, it is, as a matter of fact, the most powerful apology for the Christian religion, and for the Protestant conception of it, that has seen the light for many a year.

The author's method is the historical one. Through an examination of the historically changing forms under which the gospel has appeared, he seeks to bring out its valid and permanent content. Naturally the life and teaching of Christ Himself form his starting-point. But as every great creative personality first reveals part of its nature in those in whom it works, Harnack proceeds further to consider the experience and witness of the first generation of Christ's disciples. From this he passes to the later products of the Christian spirit, to the Church of the second century in its development into Catholicism, to Greek Catholicism, Roman Catholicism, and finally to Protestantism. In a book so packed with matter—every sentence being significant—it will not be possible to give anything but the barest outline of its contents.

Harnack accepts the narrative of the Synoptists as substantially historical. The Gospels are neither party-writings nor mythical products of a later age. Unhistorical elements do indeed enter,—the idea of the fulfilment of prophecy has not been without influence, the marvellous element is augmented, and the infancy stories show at points the touch of imagination,—but these troublings do not reach to the heart of the narrative, and they are easily corrected by comparison of sources, and by critical judgment. In this connexion Harnack presents us with a most interesting excursus on the subject of the miraculous. He rightly emphasizes the fact that the modern and strict conception of miracle, as involving a suspension or breach of natural law, was altogether foreign to the Gospel writers, who had neither our conception of inviolable law, nor our knowledge of what is possible and what impossible, of what is rule and what exception. Any extraordinary occurrence, viewed in the light of Divine Providence, was for them a miracle. The faith element that underlies belief in the miraculous is simply this,—that we are not helplessly shut up in an inexorable necessity, but that there is a God who reigns, and that all forces and laws are only the angels and ministers of His grace. We can so meet these laws and forces with an inner power of divine life, as that all shall work for the best. In particular events this experience is always felt as a miracle. A religious man may have such

conviction and experience, and still hold by the inviolability of nature's laws. The historicity of particular miracle narratives is not a question of faith or of metaphysic, but of historical evidence. And, in weighing this evidence, we have to bear in mind that we are by no means acquainted with all the forces that are operative in the world. Particularly is this true with respect to the action of soul on body. We may not believe that a tempest was stilled by a word; but that, through the power of Christ, the lame walked, the blind saw, the deaf heard, there is no reason to doubt. For the rest, Christ was far from attaching to His miracles any decisive importance as factors in His work.

Unlike Ritschl, Harnack does not gather up Christ's teaching under a single architectonic idea. Rather he finds three such ideas, which may be so conceived as to contain within their circuit the whole proclamation. These ideas are: The Kingdom of God and its coming; God the Father and the infinite worth of the human soul; and, last, the better righteousness and the commandment of love. Behind each of them, giving it its significance and power, lies the person of Christ Himself. Speak, that I may see thee!

With regard to the first of these conceptions, Harnack finds the distinctively Christian element in the character of the Kingdom as a present fact in the world—a power working inwardly and secretly, God in the human heart judging and saving. The dramatic elements in the picture—the thrones and the day of judgment—Christ took over from contemporary Judaism; and they must be interpreted in the light of His own distinctive ideas. The purely inward character of the Kingdom appears when we consider what Christ meant by its coming. The Kingdom comes when He heals, but above all, when He forgives sin. The call to the sinner is the decisive thing. Everything external and merely future is here stripped off. There is a new creation, a new humanity; and the Kingdom is at once the power and the goal. In its light the meaning and purpose of life first disclose themselves.

Our recognition of the infinite worth of the human soul is dependent on our knowledge of God as the Father. Judged from a natural point of view, the soul can claim no such value as Jesus claimed for it. We are exalted above heaven and earth, because we can look up to the Lord of



heaven and earth, and say, 'My Father.' Plato, indeed, recognized the worth of the soul, but it was as over-against matter; and he meant the knowing soul, and spoke to the cultured. Christ was the first to recognize that every soul is precious in God's sight.

The gospel can also be exhibited as an ethical message without emptying it of its significance. The main characteristics of Christ's ethical teaching are found in the fact that He places the seat of morality in the heart, that He traces it back to the one root-motive of love, and that He looses it from its connexion with statutory religion. There is, however, one decisive point at which Christ connects morality and religion. This point is the grace of humility, which is not so much a single virtue, but rather pure receptivity, the expression of inner need, longing for God's grace and forgiveness, openness towards God. Such humility—and it is only another expression for the love of God—is the enduring disposition of the good, and that out of which all goodness springs and grows.

The character of Christ's teaching is further brought out in the discussion of six great questions that have never ceased to agitate the minds of men regarding it. These questions are: The Gospel and the World, or the question of asceticism; the Gospel and Poverty, or the social question; the Gospel and Civil Law, or the question of the earthly order; the Gospel and Work, or the question of culture; the Gospel and the Son of God, or the question of Christology; the Gospel and Doctrine, or the question of knowledge.

With respect to the second of these questions, Harnack lays stress on the fact that Christ did not involve Himself in economic and transient relations by promulgating any social programme for the extirpation of poverty and misery. Precepts about such matters must soon have become antiquated. And yet never has there been a religion with so powerful a social message, or that has identified itself so closely with it. And this because Jesus took seriously the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and made the maxim a religious one. With these words He entered into all the concrete relations of life—into the world of hunger, poverty, and misery.

Christ has sometimes been criticised for His indifference to the ideal goods of life other than the religious. Strauss complained that the gospel had no feeling for culture and progress. Harnack

has some wise words on the subject. We receive thankfully what progress brings; and yet we know that our inner situation, the questions that move us, and the fundamental relations in which we stand, are not essentially altered by it. We feel ourselves in the old position, and must resort to the same springs of power our fathers sought. We must win a home in the kingdom of God—the kingdom of the eternal and of love. 'Mankind advances; man remains ever the same.'

The question of Christology is that round which theological interest especially gathers. Here Harnack deals with Christ's self-witness. It is a mistake to set up a doctrine of Christ's person between the soul and Christ Himself. To formulate such a doctrine, independent of His gospel, lay outside Christ's view. He wished no other faith in His person, and no other kind of attachment to Himself, than that which is included in keeping His commandments. Christ's self-witness is summed up in the two titles, Son of God and Son of Man. With respect to the first, the knowledge of God as the Father is, rightly understood, the whole content of the Son name. Two things must, however, be kept in view. Christ was convinced that He knew God as no one before Him, and that it was His divine vocation to communicate, through word and deed, this God-knowledge, and therefore God-Sonship, to others. In this consciousness He knew Himself as *the* Son; and could say, 'My God,' and 'My Father,' expressing in that address something which belonged only to Himself. How He came to the consciousness of the uniqueness of His relation to God, and of the mission involved in it—that is His secret, and no psychology can make it clearer.

Notwithstanding Wellhausen, Harnack believes that Jesus described Himself as the Messiah, and that the title Son of Man has this meaning. What significance had the Messianic name as applied to Jesus? It was, says Harnack, the necessary means, in order that He who was called inside Jewish history should succeed in winning absolute recognition. It was as the Messiah that Christ was *first* set on the throne of history. Having affected this, the mission of the idea was exhausted. When the Church was no longer Jewish but Gentile, the Messianic name speedily passed into the background, to make way for other categories more significant for the Greek mind.

If we ask what place Christ occupies in His gospel, Harnack answers that He enters into it, not as a constituent, but as its personal realization and power. He calls men to Himself, because it is His to lead them to God; and *that* not only through His word, but still more through what He is and does, and finally through what He suffers. This is no dogma, but the expression of a fact.

The second half of Harnack's book deals with the historical course of the Christian religion, from the Apostolic Age downwards. He finds three main elements in the bond that held together the early community. There was a common recognition of Jesus as the risen Lord; each individual had come into vital relation to God; there was a common life in purity and brotherhood, and a common expectation of the speedy return of their Master.

Most suggestive is the discussion of the question as to the meaning of the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord. Christ was Lord because He was the authoritative teacher whose word is the rule of life; but still more because He had offered His life for them, and because they were convinced that He was risen from the dead, and seated at the right hand of God. The adoration paid to Christ here received its content, and on this ground Christology grew up. In the first two generations everything was said of Christ that men could say. He was hailed as exalted to the right hand of God, as the Judge of all flesh, as Conqueror of death and sin, as the Prince of life, as the Power of a new life, as the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The Messianic conception allowed them to set Christ on the throne of God without endangering monotheism. Such an estimate of Christ was the result of the impression produced on His disciples, in the first place by His personality and teaching, and in the second place by His death for our sins, and His resurrection. The latter confirmed the former. In this connexion the significance of the death and the resurrection comes up for discussion.

Harnack considers the death under three aspects. It is first of all an offering or sacrifice. The old sacrificial system, though it had fallen into decay, corresponded to a genuine religious need, and a deep religious thought lay at the heart of it. (It must be said that the writer has left the precise character of this thought in much vagueness.)

This need found its satisfaction in Christ. Those who regarded His death as an offering ceased to bring the old sacrifices. Further, while confessing the untenableness of all substitutionary *theories*, Harnack, in the spirit of Is 53, recognizes in Christ's death a real vicarious element. Whoever looks into history must recognize that not words but deeds, and not merely deeds, but deeds of self-devotion, and not merely deeds of self-devotion but the surrender of life, has decided the great advances in history. The more morally sensitive a man is, the more certainly will he, in the face of the great transactions in history, feel such sufferings as vicarious, and relate them to himself. Finally, Christ's death was an atonement. Here again Harnack confesses the futility of all theories; but none the less he maintains that no 'rational' reflection will blot out from the moral consciousness of mankind the conviction that unrighteousness demands punishment, and that, when the righteous suffer, a convicting and purifying atonement is accomplished. This belief springs from the depths in which we all feel ourselves as one, and is indestructible. Through the sufferings of death Christ has done something decisive in the world's history, and done it for us.

It is in his treatment of the resurrection that Harnack will be felt to have departed most widely from orthodox lines. Only it is to be kept in mind that the divergence does not in any sense relate to a matter of faith, but concerns merely the value of certain historical evidence. The New Testament itself, Harnack maintains, distinguishes between the Easter message of the empty grave and the appearances of Jesus on the one hand, and the Easter faith on the other. Although it attaches the highest value to that message, it requires the Easter faith without it. The disciples at Emmaus are reproached for their unbelief, although they had not yet received the message; and to Thomas it is said, 'Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed.' It is a mistake to regard belief in Christ's resurrection as if it were based on the reports of His empty sepulchre, and of His bodily appearance after death. The Easter faith is the conviction that the Crucified has triumphed over death, and that He lives as the first born among many brethren. It is faith, not in the credibility of any testimony, but in the righteousness and power of God. In any case, from Christ's grave has arisen the in-



vincible belief in the overcoming of death, and in eternal life. Appeal is sometimes made to Plato, to the Persian religion, to late Judaism. But all that would have perished, and has perished. The conviction that Jesus lives is the foundation of all our hope.

In discussing the second bond of fellowship among early Christians, Harnack remarks with astonishment on the largeness of their spiritual freedom. When one considers the place that Christ occupied in their lives, one would expect that their piety would take the form of absolute subjection to His words, leading to a kind of free servitude. Paul and Acts show it otherwise. The words of Jesus are revered, and yet the individual Christian is set in a wholly personal relation to God; he knows himself inspired by the Divine Spirit, and in this consciousness he dares to think and to act independently. This commingling of obedient submission to Christ with freedom in the Spirit, is one of the mightiest characteristics of the Christian religion, and the seal of its greatness.

The subject of the place and work of the Apostle Paul is treated with much insight and appreciation. Paul was neither the perverter nor the founder of Christianity; but the man who understood the Master, and carried forward His work. His historical greatness consists above all in the fact that it was he first spoke the word that the old order was abolished and a new order begun. It is true that, before Paul's missionary activity, nameless Christians in the Diaspora had received Gentiles into the new community, and had put aside the statutory forms of the law with the explanation that they were to be understood, not in a literal, but in a spiritual and symbolic manner. Freedom from historical Judaism might possibly have gradually been won in this way, but the result was not certain. So long as the word, 'the old is annulled,' remained unspoken, there was always the danger that it might return in the next generation, in all the hardness and tyranny of its literal signification. Paul made the breach, and cleared the ground for the new order. And this momentous service he was able to perform, because he had reached a new conception of the gospel. It was he who first definitely conceived the gospel as the message of an *accomplished* redemption, and of a salvation already present. He proclaimed the crucified and risen Christ,

who has brought us access to God, and therefore righteousness and peace. The apocalyptic element passed from the centre to the periphery. Moreover, this new religion belonged to the individual, and therefore to all. The barrier between Jew and Gentile was broken down. Finally, it was Paul who brought the gospel under the great schema of spirit and flesh, inner and outer life, life and death. He, the born Jew and Pharisee, gave it the speech that made it intelligible not only to Greeks but to mankind, and that enabled it to enter into combination with the whole spiritual capital historically won. So doing he laid the foundation of Western culture. The work of Alexander fell to the ground, Paul's work remains. That some of his conceptions, when developed apart from Christian experience and according to a logic of their own, led men far from the simplicity and spirituality of the gospel, can, in view of the facts, hardly be denied. Harnack points out the directions in which such perverse development proceeded. But all this cannot fairly be charged as a fault against the great apostle. With Paul himself the moral and spiritual reality is ever the main thing, and the intellectual form is only the vehicle for its expression. All we can say is, that while the danger could not attach to Christ's own words, Paul's formulation was not so secure against it.

Space forbids us to follow Harnack in his review of the subsequent history of the Church. In many ways it appears as a story of decadence and perversion. The second century saw the triumph of Greek intellectualism. By the sixth the ritual of the Church had been to a large extent paganized. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the author has an eye for nothing but the darker aspects of the picture. He is quick to recognize and appreciate the elements of truth underlying even the forms and formulas most alien to the spirit of the gospel, to recognize also whatever historical justification these last may possess. It would be hard to find a more succinct and yet comprehensive characterization of the three great Churches that divide the realm of Christendom, or a fairer estimate of their past services, and their present strength or weakness. It is to be hoped that the translation, which we understand is in course of preparation, will not be unduly delayed.

## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

I NOTE with satisfaction that a young English Assyriologist, Mr. Campbell Thompson, has turned his attention to the much-neglected subject of Babylonian astronomy. In two handsome volumes on *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum* (London: Luzac & Co.) he has published a large number of astronomical and astrological texts, and has at the same time cleared up the meaning of many of the technical terms used in them. His work thus constitutes a distinct step in advance in our knowledge of these difficult texts. With the exception of the important articles of Epping on the later Babylonian astronomy and Hommel's criticism of Jensen, little has been done for them from an astronomical point of view since the contributions of Mr. Bosanquet and myself to the Royal Astronomical Society (with which, by the way, Mr. Thompson does not seem to be acquainted). It was time, therefore, that the stores of material in the British Museum should be made public; if ever we are to obtain a really satisfactory knowledge of the early astronomy of the Babylonians, it can only be through their help. What can be done by a comparison with classical tradition has been shown by Mr. Robert Brown.

One of the words upon the explanation of which Mr. Thompson is to be congratulated is *ribu* 'earthquake'; another is the Sumerian *tiranna*, which he has demonstrated must mean 'the rainbow.' I am not so sure of his interpretation of the technical term *tarbatsu* in the sense of 'halo,' but I can suggest nothing better for it.

Mr. Thompson's philology, however, seems in advance of his astronomy. He is too much inclined to follow Jensen, whose views in regard to the planets are accepted in spite of Oppert and Hommel. And the identification of the star Dilgan or Iku with Virgo has involved him in a series of difficulties. One of the few points connected with early Babylonian astronomy which are astronomically certain is that Dilgan is Capella.

On the geographical side also one or two corrections are necessary. The Mannâ of the Assyrian inscriptions is the Minni of the Old Testament, westward of Lake Urumiyeh, and has

nothing to do with Van or Biainas, the Urardhu (Ararat) of the Assyrians. The Tel el-Amarna tablets, again, have proved that the word formerly read Akharu, and translated 'the West,' should be Amurru, 'the Amorite(s)'; it has therefore no connection with the western frontier of Babylonia. Subartu (or Suri), moreover, was not a district in northern Babylonia, as is stated in the Introduction, but the country towards the sources of the Euphrates, which subsequently came to include the whole of northern Mesopotamia.

These, however, are small matters, and have but little bearing on the general purport of the book, the value of which is enhanced by its excellent indices. Those who wish to know what the astrological lore of Babylonia was like cannot do better than study it.

Mr. A. J. Evans' startling discoveries in Krete have gone far to confirm the view that it was the original home of the Philistines. The beautiful frescoes found by him in the 'Palace of Minos' seem to make it clear that the Keftu of the Egyptian monuments were, at all events primarily, the cultured inhabitants of that island in the 'Mykenæan' epoch. It is necessary, therefore, once more to revert to the old theories which connected the Keftu with the biblical Caphthor. None of the old explanations, however, of the difference between the two names can stand in face of my discovery in 1894 of the hieroglyphic form of Caphthor.<sup>1</sup> This shows that the final consonant was an integral part of the name. I would accordingly suggest that it represented a suffix, perhaps of the genitive plural or of the gentilic adjective. If the language spoken by the 'Mykenæan' Kretans was a form of Greek, such a suffix could be easily explained.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. W. Max Müller ('Studien zur vorderasiatischen Geschichte' in the *Mittheilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, v. p. 5) complains that I have 'buried' the discovery in 'periodicals.' So far, however, is this from being the case that I published it, along with the further discovery of the name of the Casluhim, in the third edition of my *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1894), p. 173, as well as in *Recent Research in Bible Lands* (p. 123), which latter book was published in America, at Philadelphia, in 1896.



It is just possible that Krete is the Alasia of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The prevalent belief at present is that Alasia is Cyprus. This is based partly on the reference of the king of Alasia in one of his letters to 'the working of copper' (*ebis eri*), partly on the fact that in the Golénischeff papyrus the captain of an Egyptian vessel, when leaving Dor for his own country, was carried by contrary winds to Alasia. But the working of copper does not necessarily mean mining; it might refer to the manufacture of bronze objects, which Mr. Evans' excavations show to have been largely carried on in Krete. And St. Paul's voyage in Ac 21<sup>1-3</sup> makes it evident that ships could sail direct from Lycia to Phœnicia. Against the identification of Alasia with Cyprus is Gn 10<sup>4</sup>, which distinguishes Elishah or Alasia from Kittim or Cyprus. Classical tradition associated Krete and Lycia together, and it is therefore noteworthy that one of the Tel el-Amarna letters describes the Lukki or Lycians as having made a raid on the coast of the Delta along with subjects of the king of Alasia whose vassals the Pharaoh considers

them to be. The statement in another letter that the kings of the Hittites and of Shinar (Sankhara) had intrigued with the king of Alasia would be quite as explicable of Lycia as of Cyprus, like the mention of Kinakh[khi] or Canaan, which also occurs.

A connexion has been suggested between Alasia and the title of 'Alasiote,' which is given to Resheph-Apollo in a bilingual Phœnician and Cypriote inscription (Tamassos II.). But the first letter is doubtful in both the Phœnician and Cypriote texts, and the fact that the name is written אֱלִישָׁה (Elishah) in the Phœnician text excludes Alasia or Elishah altogether. I would rather propose to see in Alasia the Ἀλῆιον πεδῖον of Homer (*Il.* vi. 201), where the Lycian king Bellerophon is said to have wandered. Ἀλῆιον presupposes an original Ἀλάσιον.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I find it difficult not to believe that Ἀλάσιον, like Alabanda, Hali-karnassos, and the Kretan Phalanna, is connected with the Karian *ala*, 'horse,' when we remember the close connexion that existed between Bellerophon (who was also called Hippo-noos) and the horse.

## The Father's House.

BY THE LATE REV. W. A. GRAY, ELGIN.

'In My Father's house are many mansions.'—John xiv. 2.

As I intend taking these words in a wider sense than the ordinary one, I would like to make it plain at the outset that I do not exclude the ordinary one,—far less contradict it. I know how dear the common interpretation is to many, bound up as it is with the teaching of bygone instructors, and the scenes and the sayings of Christian deathbeds. And, therefore, I would wish you to understand that in bringing before you anything that is new, I am not asking you to part with anything that is old—the old comfort, the old sweetness, the old spell. If it pleases you to believe that the Father's house means heaven, and the many mansions the varieties of accommodation, employment, and blessedness, which heaven provides, believe it still. The thought is true in itself. And it has a place, too, in the meaning of the text. Only I have sometimes had

the feeling that the idea is a broader one. What if the Father's house should be looked at as something wider even than heaven,—heaven I mean in the material and local sense in which we usually employ the expression. What if it should enclose both heaven and earth, throwing its ample roof over each, and so making of twain one.

This is quite consistent with the context. For observe how the words come in. The disciples had just awakened to the truth that Christ was to leave them. And they were filled with sorrow on account of it. He was going, they thought, to a different sphere. He was removing, they imagined, to a distant bourne. Henceforth they would be cut off from Him, and He from them, by the wide deep gulf that divides between the known and the unknown, the seen and the unseen, the temporal and eternal. 'Nay,' says the Saviour (according

to the view we are taking); 'ye do err. Ye do err if you think of a different sphere. Ye do err if you think of a distant bourne. I am only passing from one chamber to another, in the same residence,—the same canopy above us, the same walls around us. In My Father's house are many mansions. Tarry here, among the mansions it provides for you on earth, while I go yonder to the mansions it reserves for Me in heaven, to prepare a place for you in the meantime, and ask you to follow Me hereafter. No, I shall not be far off from you,—in another existence, in another home. Your home and My home are one, only our posts, our stations, our mansions, are for the time being separate. Soon even these will be blended together, and ye shall be for ever with each other and for ever with Me.'

Cannot you fancy Christ implying some such conception as this in using the words of the text? It would add to the impressiveness of the saying, if we suppose (what is not so unlikely) that while speaking He looked out through the lattice, and pointed to the blue midnight sky, with its glittering assemblage of worlds, each in its own order, each in its own place. 'Many apartments,' He might say, 'but one dwelling-place,—the one abode of the one Creator,—the one palace of the one King,—My Father's house.'

What I want to develop from the text, then, is the thought of the breadth and expansiveness of the kingdom of God, not of its shelter and service on earth merely, and not of its shelter and service in heaven merely, but the shelter and service that are common to both. The house of God may be looked at in various aspects. The house of God may be treated from various standpoints. But whatever be the aspect, and whatever be the standpoint, the house of God is marked by one quality—room. It has a place for every sort of nature, every mode of work, every kind of gift, and every stage of progress. Let us beware of ever thinking otherwise. Else we may limit God's purpose, interfere with His ends, mistake the meaning and the claims of His kingdom, by declaring those to be outside of His house we should have been careful to keep in. That, then, is the thought I would like to bring before you. I take the Father's house to be the sphere of the Father's presence, the Father's favour, and the Father's care, which you may look at sometimes on its earthly side, and sometimes on its heavenly,

but whose characteristic—take it on which side you will—is inclusiveness, amplitude, room. And room whether we speak of its provisions and arrangements here, or its provisions and arrangements yonder.

1. We test the Father's house then first by the *space* it includes. We look at it topographically. And we say that, considered, to begin with, as the Divine residence,—the dwelling-place of God's Son, the habitation of His Spirit,—the Father's house is a house of many mansions. There may be a difference between the earth and the stars. There may be a difference between the stars and the heaven of heavens beyond them. But it is a difference that is less than the connexion, when we think that round earth and stars and heavens alike there is a band that draws all into unity,—even the presence and the presidency of one and the self-same Sovereign,—one and the self-same God.

And it is good to remember and realize this. There are times when the universe oppresses us—its vastness, its solitude, its callous and un pitying indifference. Perhaps some of you recollect how the feeling finds expression in the words of a great German writer. 'I dreamed,' he says, 'and this was the dream I dreamt. I went through the worlds. I mounted to the suns. I flew with the galaxies through the wastes of heaven. And I cried, "Oh, God, where art Thou?" There was no reply. I descended into the abyss, as far as being casts its shadow. And I cried again, "Tell me, where art Thou?" But I heard only the everlasting storm, which no hand guided. I saw only the gleaming rainbow which no hand hung. And when I looked up to the immeasurable space for the Divine eye, there was only an empty black eye socket. I was an orphan, alone with the universe, alone with myself.' He attained to a truer standpoint. He came to a better mind. He awoke from his morbid visions to the healthy consciousness of one who could say, 'O God, Thou hast searched me, and known me! Whither shall I go from Thy presence? Whither shall I flee from Thy Spirit? If I ascend into heaven, Thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and fly to the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shalt Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand uphold me.' Better still, he realized at the same time, that the eye that looked down on him was



the eye of an infinite pity, the hand that upheld him was the hand of an infinite love.

So we come back to the thought we were speaking of. What is the universe to the Christian? How should he look at it? How should he think of it? We know what the universe is to some. It is a storehouse of force, with none to direct the force. It is an assemblage of wheels with none to guide the wheels. Or it is a prison with its bondage. Or it is a mystery with its terrors. But what is it to the Christian? It is the Father's house. From base to topstone, it is the building that He has made. From outmost porch to inmost recess, it is the sanctuary that He fills. The distance between earth and heaven is the distance between footstool and throne. 'Is not earth My footstool,' it is said, 'and heaven My throne?' And that distance cannot be great if each is appropriated by the same occupant, and if each is covered by the same robe. Or to turn to the figure of the text, the distance between earth and heaven is the distance between one suite of rooms and another. That distance cannot be great if each is set apart for the same inmates, and each is sheltered by the same roof. There is comfort as I say in the thought. It gives a softened aspect to removal, a kindlier character to death, when we realize that the change involved in it is not a change from the house to the outside void, but a change within the house itself, from a lower mansion to a higher. Hence the words of the hymn—

Come, let us join our friends above,

That have obtained the prize,  
And, on the eagle-wings of love,  
To joy celestial rise.

Let all the saints terrestrial sing  
With those to glory gone;  
For all the servants of the King,  
In earth and heaven, are one.

One family, we dwell in Him,  
One Church, above, beneath,  
Though now divided by the stream,  
The narrow stream of death.  
One army of the living God,  
To His command we bow;  
Part of His host hath crossed the flood,  
And part is crossing now.

2. But again we may test the Father's house not only by the space it includes, but by the *characters* it contains. We may look at it not only topographically but socially. And we say it is a

house of many mansions, with room for all types of temperament—all kinds of service. Even in an earthly household, there are different mansions—that is, if the life of it be natural, and the heads of it be wise.

There is a mansion for the active member, whose line lies in minding the things of the house. There is a mansion for the studious member, whose happiness consists in sitting in the corner with a book. There is a mansion for the grown-up lad, who can sympathise with his father in his interests, and help his father in his work. There is a mansion, and a very royal one, for the little child, who rules the household with his baby wishes, sways the circle with his baby hand.

And yet, what men recognize and allow for in the family, they are sometimes slow to discover and lay account with in the household and the Church of God. 'Lord, bid my sister that she come and help me.' So spoke Martha about Mary, the busy jealous of the contemplative. 'Why was not this ointment sold for so much and given to the poor?' So spoke the disciples—the prosaic envious of the poetic; the sticklers for utility envious of the lovers of beauty. There may be something of the self-same intolerance still. With what impatience, and even contempt, do some narrow-minded Christians express themselves as to others less commonplace and matter-of-fact than themselves. 'They are only dreamers of dreams,' they say. 'They are only singers of songs. They are only painters of pictures. They are only devisers of ornament,—taken up with unpractical interests, absorbed in unproductive pursuits. Let them quit their privacy and testify on public platforms. Let them leave their retirement and debate in Church courts. Let them try to raise money. Let them take a turn among the slums. Lord, bid them come and help us, who are doing the real work, effecting the real good.' Is there not an intolerance of this kind? I think I have heard of it. I think I have seen it myself. As if the cause of Christ did not need the dreamers—the men of imagination and of vision, who set us the pattern of our work! As if the cause of Christ did not need the singers—the men of music and of melody, who give us heartening and good cheer at our work! As if the Church of Christ did not need the beauty-lovers—the men of sentiment, susceptibility, and artistic taste, who refine and adorn our work. Let the

practical draw to the practical, if they will. They can best understand the practical. They can most benefit by the practical. But let not the practical look down on the visionaries, if their eye be directed to heaven, if their mind be busy with God. In the Father's house are many mansions. Somewhere among the multitude they will find a niche to occupy, somewhere they will find a circle to bless. He who has kindled the light will assuredly provide the candlestick. He who has imparted the gift will assuredly make scope for the exercise.

3. The next thought is closely akin. We may test the Father's house not only by the space it includes and the characters it contains, but also by the *occupations* it allows for and sanctifies. We pass from the local and the social to the industrial side of God's kingdom. And we say that, considered as a sphere of activity,—to which activity may be brought, in which activity may be carried on,—the Father's house is a place of many mansions.

Some years ago an eminent minister, not of our own Church or country, published a book on *The Kingdom of God*, in which he propounded a bold and sweeping idea. When we speak of the kingdom of God, we limit the thought to what is purely religious. We connect it with the appointments of religious worship, the propagation of religious truth, the transaction of religious service. In fact, we speak of the kingdom of God as being very much the same thing as the Church. This writer took another standpoint. He put forward another interpretation. He struck another note. The kingdom of God, he said, is coextensive with the whole wide field of human activity,—takes in the whole wide area of human energies and human life. The Church and religion proper is only a department of the kingdom,—a great department, it is true, an all-important department, but nothing *more* than a department. There are other departments as well. There is the department of politics. There is the department of literature. There is the department of art. There is the department of science. In all these God's kingdom is apparent. By all these God's kingdom comes. Each shows a different side of His character. Each helps a different portion of His plan. Such is the conception of the writer we speak of. I think he errs in putting religion so distinctly by itself. I think he gives encourage-

ment to the false idea that, independent of religious worship, and independent of religious belief, a good statesman, a good writer, a good tradesman, is a subject of the kingdom of God, fulfilling the kingdom's conditions, qualifying for the kingdom's rewards. I think he should have put religion more definitely in the centre, and classed as subjects of the kingdom, only those who are working from religion as their basis, with religion as their spring. If he had said that the kingdom of God needs religion as its medium,—seeks religion as its end,—and that the religion that it needs and seeks annexes all spheres of life, politics with their questions, literature with its treasures, art with its beauties, science with its discoveries, then the position would have been sound, the lesson true. For religion ought to annex things such as these. And it should be the aim of religious men and women to see that it does annex them. The great rule with regard to all such employments is, not to suspect them, not to draw off from them, not to consign them to the world's occupancy and leave them to the world's care, but to lift them to a higher level and transact them in a holier way, as duties that are fixed by the Father's appointment, carried on in the precincts of the Father's house. For in the Father's house there are many mansions. And the Saviour, who prepares a place for you in the mansions above, has also prepared for you a place in the mansions beneath, where your daily life may be spent, and your daily duty be done, in the love of God, the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost.

For every Christian man is a priest, and the work he performs is his sacrifice. Are you offering that work on the altar? That is the question. We hear much in these days about priests. Some imagine that none can be priests save those who have an official religious calling. Others, who acknowledge all Christians to be priests, confine the priesthood to the exercise of directly religious functions,—such as prayer and praise, and the offering of religious vows,—the giving of religious gifts. There is a higher and a nobler view to be taken than that! *All Christians are priests in all acts*, if these acts are done in a religious spirit. You are not only a priest while at Church,—in the worship you render, and in the gifts you present,—you are a priest in your everyday tasks, in the industries you pursue, in the work you turn out. That is, if you lay your industries and your work



on the altar. Why should not you? Why should not the teacher be a priest,—his sacrifice, daily instruction well given? Why should not the scholar be a priest,—his sacrifice, daily lessons well learnt? Why should not the physician be a priest,—his sacrifice, visits punctually made—remedies conscientiously tried? Why should not the salesman be a priest,—his sacrifice, transactions honestly made? Why should not the clerk be a priest,—his sacrifice, figures carefully counted? So, common occupations may be turned to spiritual sacrifice,—daily work be turned to temple worship. And never shall our trade life be purified,—redeemed from the selfishness that besets it,—in which each man thinks only of his own, till society has attained to the principle. A good deal is being said of this selfishness, and the extent to which men of business persuade themselves that the principles of commerce are one thing, and the principles of brotherhood are another. All honour to those who bring the claims of brotherhood to the front, and preach the duty of goodwill and self-sacrifice towards our neighbour. But there is a higher rule even than that of goodwill and self-sacrifice towards our fellows. And that is the priesthood in all things unto God. Once get a hold of this, grasp it, act on it, and men's duty to their brethren is clear, men's duty to their brethren is safe. It will be readily acknowledged. It will be cheerfully done. Well, friends, the point I am making is this, that whatsoever is pure, whatsoever is lovely, whatsoever is fit and fair, in the secular sphere, religion approves and appropriates, so that it is secular no longer, but sacred. In the Father's wide-spreading house there are many mansions, and what is good for a man can never be bad or unsuitable for a Christian and a saint.

Children, a word to you. Do you ever imagine that religion is a dull thing? Do you ever imagine that in entering the Christian fold and assuming the Christian ties, you are parting with innocent pleasures, forfeiting harmless amusement? Let no one persuade you of *that*. Do you know a text which says, 'The streets of the city shall be full of boys and of girls playing in the streets thereof'? What city? The city and kingdom we are speaking of—the city and kingdom of God. According to the thought of the prophet, the city and kingdom of God has room and space for diversion. Ay, and diversion is nowhere so hearty,

diversion is nowhere so safe, as when it is carried on within the city of God. I believe that among the many mansions of the Father's house, the children may find mansions to play in, and that in their pleasures as well as their task-work, they too may be priests unto God. This is true with regard to the mansions below. And what of the mansions above? Does not Christ prepare *these*, so that whatever changes death brings to the little children, it will leave to them their guileless interests, retain for them their simple joys. What provisions will be made for these interests, what channels will be opened for these joys, we do not know, and we cannot tell. But all will be very familiar. All will be very home-like. Leave the happiness of the little children in heaven with Him who, when on earth, said, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' He will see to their comfort. He will care for their welfare. He will arrange for their spheres,—a lot for themselves at the end of the days. In the fold above there is room enough and to spare. In the Father's house are many mansions. We may leave them in the tracts of immensity with confidence, assured that they are not waifs, assured that they are not strays,—left roaming in bewilderment and solitude, but each with their own post and each with their own room, while the self-same Father is over all.

We might pursue the thought. We might test the Father's house not only by the *space* it includes, by the *characters* it contains, and the *occupations* it allows for and sanctifies, we might test it by the differences of *doctrine and of worship it shelters*. We pass at this point from the local, social, and industrial sides to its ceremonial and theological side. And we say, that considered as a spiritual temple erected for spiritual ends and inhabited by a spiritual people, the Father's house is a house of many mansions. Most certainly, it has mansions for all who, calling Jesus Lord, keep the words which He says, looking for the mercy of God unto eternal life. The great, the overwhelming majority of these are undoubtedly in connexion with our Christian organizations. But I do not—I dare not—unchristianize some who are still without,—souls here and there, who hold the Christian position and conform to the Christian spirit, but are not yet within the visible Christian fold. Cannot we claim the Master's authority in so saying? When

the disciples forbade one who was doing Christ's work, in his own department, on his own road,—on the ground that he followed not with them,—Christ said, 'Let him alone. None that does miracles as *he* does, can speak lightly of Me.' It is a lesson that is needed still. Christianity is wider than the Churches. And there are those here and there who, though not within the Christian society, may, notwithstanding, be within the Father's house.

And if Christianity is broader than the Church as a whole, still more must we hold it to be broader than the Churches in particular,—this one or that one, as our lot may appoint us. Orthodoxy, so-called, may be less than religion. Purity of worship, so-called, may be less than sincerity of life. There is a standing in the Father's acceptance,—there is a place in the Father's heart, for some who in faith are far from ourselves. We may rule them forth of the bounds of our ecclesiastical charity, we cannot rule them beyond the shelter and the safety, the privileges and provisions of the Father's house. I had a talk some time ago with a minister of a foreign Church. As we walked together on the hills, we discussed the points that distinguished us, and amongst others, discussed the meaning and the bearing of the sacraments. We went over these points in detail, the higher view that he held, the intermediate view that I held, the lower view that others held, yet all of them perfectly compatible with loyalty to the Saviour's person, fidelity to the Saviour's work—I remember how the conversation finished. Slackening his pace, and speaking slowly, in such broken English as he could command, my friend ended thus: 'Yes,—Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli,—they had each their own way of thinking, they had each their own way of speaking. But I have read that in the Father's house there are many mansions—space for all. And if they have each their separate room, they are all beneath the same roof.'

True, I do not depreciate sound doctrine. Let us prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. But we see only through a glass darkly. We know but in part. Things are not quite so plain

and so sharp-cut as some people would fain have us think. Differences in doctrine there are, and differences of doctrine there will be till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, to the measure of the fulness of the stature of Christ. It is well that differences in doctrine do not affect identity in acceptance for the Father's house in a house of many mansions.

What we are to remember as to doctrine, we should remember as to worship. We are not to confine God's spirit to any particular form of worship, or say 'this or that is alone compatible with the grace and the gravity of the Father's house.' It is not too much to say that all have their separate fitness,—meet their own type of character, teach their own type of truth,—none has a monopoly of sainthood. Saints have been nurtured, and saints have been satisfied, through the characteristics and contributions of each. Puritanism with its simplicity, Anglicanism with its stateliness, Presbyterianism with its order, Evangelism with its fervours,—perhaps the kingdom has been better of them all. Men may find fault with one or another as they will. What they repudiate God receives. 'For in the Father's house are many mansions.' Thus we have spoken of the house of God, regarding it in different aspects, contemplating it on different sides. We have spoken of it locally, socially, industrially, and devotionally, and in each case we have found that it is a house having many mansions.

But are *you* in the Father's house? You may be in it locally. But are you in it spiritually? That is the main question. What use is there in speaking of the width of it, what use is there in speaking of the provisions of it, if it is all as a tale that is told,—not a fact that is felt and experienced. 'Behold I set before you an open door.' Will you be satisfied with an examination through the aperture? Or will you cross the threshold and go in? May Christ give us each a place among the mansions below, that in His own good time we may see Him and serve Him in the mansions above!



# At the Literary Table.

## THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE RELATION OF THE APOSTOLIC TEACHING TO THE TEACHING OF CHRIST. BY THE REV. R. J. DRUMMOND, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. x, 432. 10s. 6d.)

This is the fourth series of the Kerr Lectures. Mr. Drummond hints that it may be the last. If so, the Kerr Lectureship will rank above any series of theological lectures in existence. For lectureships are like cricket elevens, their weakness is in their tail. But this lectureship, if it 'declares' now, will have no tail, and the four published volumes will rank for many a day as standard authorities on their respective subjects. The first was Professor Orr's *Christian View of God and the World*, the second Dr. Kidd's *Morality and Religion*, the third Dr. Forrest's *Christ of History and of Experience*, the fourth is Mr. Drummond's *Relation of Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*.

The apologetic part of this subject was thoroughly written a few years ago by Vice-Principal Knowling, whose *Witness of the Epistles* is one of the few books that circulate less widely than they deserve. Mr. Drummond has now written the expository part. It will circulate more widely than Mr. Knowling's *Witness*; for its subject is more momentous, and its style is more arrestive. We foolishly thought we knew most of this already, but no book of its size has taken such a hold of us for many a day.

Its subject is the greatest of all that arouse keen interest at present. Three chapters are spent (not misspent, however) before Mr. Drummond gets into it. When he does, the strength of the man rises up to meet the greatness of the subject, and he shows with irresistible persuasiveness that the Epistles are in the direct succession—that, to adapt an old expression,—*Epistula latet in Evangelio, Evangelium patet in Epistula*,—the Epistles are concealed in the Gospels, the Gospels are revealed in the Epistles.

The focus of this great luminous theme is the death of Christ, and Mr. Drummond is most original, and we feel most convincing also, when he explains the view Christ held of His own

death, and lays it alongside the view of His death which the apostles held.

It is a strong book, the book of a scholar and thinker, fearless yet reverent, new and yet built on a solid foundation of faith and experience.

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A volume of popular lectures on *The Women of the Bible* (paper, 1s. net), by the late J. S. Forsyth, D.D., has been published by Messrs. R. Banks & Son.

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PARABLES FOR OUR TIMES. BY WOLCOTT CALKINS, D.D. (Clarke, pp. 160. 1s. 6d.)

Our Lord's Parables are for our time as for all other. Dr. Calkins makes the direct application. He takes the time first, its commercial and domestic life, and then applies the parable to it. That was Christ's way. And then Dr. Calkins opens up the future a little by the help of the parable and its principle. That was Christ's way also. It is a practical book, but it has none of the hardness which practical persons and things suggest.

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Mr. Clive of the University Tutorial Press has published *A Tutorial History of English Literature*, by A. J. Wyatt, M.A. It is excellent. The judgments are sensible and simply stated; the selections are chosen independently and skilfully.

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One of the most significant signs of our time is the interest manifested in higher Bible scholarship by the Friends. The clearest evidence is the formation of a Summer School of Theology, with lectures from scholars of all Churches, but all very scholarly. Another piece of evidence is the issue for nearly three years of a series of *Present Day Papers*, which, with perfect freedom to the writers, discuss all the subjects that come within the range of theological interest. The *Papers* are now issued monthly (6d. each), and may be obtained from Messrs. Headley Brothers of 14 Bishopsgate Without, E.C. The July issue was noticed last month. The issue for August contains an article on the Atonement by Professor W. N. Clarke, the author of that phenomenal book, *Outlines of*

*Christian Theology*, together with a short paper on Whittier, and a review of *The Temperance Problem* by Dr. Spence Watson. The editor, in a prefatory note, says that he shares the Quaker abhorrence of doctrinal strife, and can sympathize with the Quaker dread even of the word 'Theology'; but he fears that if the science of God is longer neglected the practice of God may ultimately suffer.

THE CITY TEMPLE PULPIT. BY THE REV. JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. 8vo, vol. iii. pp. 288. 3s. 6d. net.)

It is impossible to say which portion of this original book is most original—the sermons, their titles, the texts, or even (if we may venture to say so) the prayers. Is there any confused preacher who has lost his way and cannot find a text for next Sunday's sermon? He will find one here. Is there any one whose store of ideas has run dry? There are plenty of ideas here, and they are not copyright.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. BY C. J. LITTLE, D.D., LL.D. (*Kelly*. 8vo, pp. 96. 2s.)

This is the first time, is it not, that an American has delivered the Fernley Lecture? It is the first time also that the subject has been practical religious politics. Dr. Little leaves theology to others, Church organization also; his mind runs out toward God in history, he traces the movements of the Divinity that shapes our ends. His eye is piercing almost fierce like the eagle's; he frankly tells us where he sees that the God of history is *not* working, and with what consequences. And if you call him optimist, his answer is, Because God's in His heaven and I am a Methodist.

THE THINGS BEYOND THE TOMB. BY THE REV. T. H. PASSMORE, M.A. (*Longmans*. Crown 8vo, pp. 146. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Passmore says that he looks at the things beyond the tomb 'in a Catholic light.' A Catholic light is no doubt a dim religious light, and that is the best light in which any of us can view the things beyond the tomb. In any case the Catholic light reveals nothing that the Bible does not contain, though Mr. Passmore occasionally tells us what the Church has believed and practised. His best chapter is on the Resurrection Body—quite impressive indeed that chapter is. Thus, 'So on

the whole to your question, "What will be the nature of my Resurrection Body?" I can only answer by another question, "What are you doing with your present body?"'

The new volumes of Messrs. Macmillan's Library of English Classics is Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* and White's *Selborne* (8vo, 3s. 6d. net, each). They are magnificent for the money. The risk which the publishers ran has been turned, it seems, into a great success. Though the margin of profit is small, there will be many margins; and, besides, great wholesome books will be sown broadcast over the land.

STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. BY W. W. WHITE, PH.D. (*Marshall Brothers*. Crown 8vo, pp. 449. 8s.)

There is extraordinary activity in America at present in higher Bible study. By 'higher' we mean study by adults, study beyond the reach of the Sunday school. The activity is largely due to the efforts of the University of Chicago, and the instrument is chiefly their monthly magazine, the *Biblical World*. This volume is the outcome of that activity. It owes to it its character, its field, and its chance of success. For it is a stiff student's book. The reader must be ready to study the Bible in all its historical and literary aspects, if he is to profit by it. It is divided into two parts. One part draws lessons from the lives of the great Old Testament characters, and gives quotations to illustrate. The other part is largely occupied with David and Jeremiah, not now as men however, but as poet and prophet.

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published some small books that deserve attention, because their beauty and worth are beyond all comparison with their size. They are *The Pattern Prayer-Book*, or Glimpses of the Prayer-Life of the Apostle Paul, by E. W. Moore, M.A. (1s. net); *Face to Face* by Mrs. Penn Lewis (1s. net); *Green Pastures and Golden Gates*, by the Rev. C. A. Fox (6d.); selections from Gurnall's *Christian in Complete Armour* (1s.); and *The Fold*, by E. Lyne (6d.), a curious and beautiful chart showing the way in which the ransomed are brought home.

A biography of Ruskin, brief enough to be read by young and busy people, and yet long enough to



let us know the man, was a happy conception of R. E. Pengelly, and it has been happily accomplished (Melrose, 1s.).

I SAY UNTO YOU. By J. W. OWEN, B.A. (Melbourne: *Melville, Mullen, & Slade*. 8vo, pp. 220. 7s. 6d.)

This volume is further described as 'An Essay in Constructive Religious Meliorism.' It is difficult to find another title for it if another should seem to be needed after both title and subtitle. Perhaps we should say, however, that it contains thoughts (not very deep and not very broad) about following Christ. It is an expansion of the words, 'Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it'; but somewhat after the manner of the man of whom it was said that he announced his text and then 'went everywhere preaching the Word.' Unfortunately the thoughts of most of us are of more interest to ourselves than to the world, and the farther removed the world is, the thinner does the thread of interest become. In the writer's own household, congregation, or even country, these thoughts might be considered estimable and even profitable. But we doubt if they should have been sent so far from home.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS. By J. H. KENNEDY, D.D. (*Methuen*. Crown 8vo, pp. xxviii, 202.)

Dr. Kennedy believes that our present Second Epistle to the Corinthians is made up of two distinct epistles, sent by St. Paul at different times and for almost opposite reasons, to the Church in Corinth. He believes that the Second Epistle or part of it is found in 2 Co x.-xiii., the Third Epistle in 2 Co i.-ix. All the arguments for this finding are skilfully set out, and then every aid is given that can be given to make us understand the circumstances under which both Epistles were written and the Epistles themselves. It is a fine scholar's finest work, most interesting and most instructive. Let no student of St. Paul forget this volume.

CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH. By THE REV. H. W. WEBB-PEPLOE. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 181. 2s. 6d.)

This volume contains a series of six sermons on the foundations of the faith. They owe their

existence to the present crisis in the Church of England. It has cost their author much to prepare and preach them. It is almost staggering to his faith that at the end of his life he has to teach which be the first principles of Christianity when he should be leading his people on to perfection. But it has to be done, and it has been done here with the utmost consideration and brotherly love.

HEROES OF THE REFORMATION: PHILIP MELANCHTHON. By J. W. RICHARD, D.D. (*Putnam's*. Crown 8vo, pp. xv, 399. 6s.)

Of this scientific and successful series the volume on Melanchthon is probably the most scientific and the most successful. We say successful, not in the selling sense, of which we know nothing, but in the sense of accomplishing the author's purpose. For the author's purpose was to give us his own reading of the life of Melanchthon, drawn directly from the original sources, in such a way that we should seem to belong to his generation and know him in the flesh. And surely he is worth knowing. They disparage Luther now, and he did some things that left a way possible for determined disparagement. But who can help loving Melanchthon? This is a scientific book. The utmost pains is taken to be accurate and unprejudiced. And the beauty, the sublimity let us say, of this man's Christlikeness shines out the more brilliantly.

As with all the volumes of the series, the times are reflected in the man. But the man is central and so fully richly described that we call him friend. The aid of map and drawing is freely, even lavishly, called in to make the writer's graphic pen more telling in its effectiveness.

The new volume of Messrs. Rivington's Oxford Church Text-Books is a history of *The Reformation in Great Britain*. We fear it will be felt by Scotsmen that the authors of the little book have set themselves to glorify the English and belittle the Scotch Reformation. But we believe that would be unjust to Mr. Wakeman and Mr. Pullan. They do not know better. They have been brought up to look on these things in that light, and it has not occurred to them that there is any other. They know a great many facts about Scotland, but they do not understand its Reformation, and they do not seem to wish to understand it. Even the greater half of the book is biased,

but not radically wrong. The authors do understand the English Reformation, even though they do not tell its story as we think it should be told.

#### A PROBLEM IN NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

By M. W. JACOBUS, D.D. (*Scribners*. Crown 8vo, pp. 286, \$1.50.)

The title is not intelligible enough. It is also a little misleading. There are more problems than one. Dr. Jacobus really discusses the great matters of the formation of the Canon, the influence of one's philosophy upon one's criticism of the New Testament, the relation of St. Paul's theology to the teaching of Jesus, and the development of St. Paul's doctrine of Christian unity. This range of subject is not surprising in a course of lectures (this is the Stone Lecture of 1897-98), and it is much to be praised in its brevity and incisiveness. The only pity is that the title should possibly repel rather than attract readers.

Dr. Jacobus is more in sympathy with tradition than the average scholar in this country. But he knows his field well, and no one can call him guilty of anything more serious than a little optimism. It is optimistic, for example, to believe that Blass and Ramsay have settled all the critical problems of the Acts of the Apostles. But the result is merely to have one problem fewer in this book.

#### AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE OF JESUS.

By A. W. ANTHONY. (Boston: *Silver, Burdett*. Crown 8vo, pp. 206.)

No scholar in this country has done this very thing, and we thank Professor Anthony of the Cobb Divinity School in America for doing it. For it places us in a position to credit the Gospels as actual records of history, giving us just those external documents and opinions we desire, if we are really anxious to know and believe. And this is with many the necessary preliminary to believing the gospel unto salvation. For if the Gospels are

not reliable, how, they ask, can we rely on the gospel they contain? Professor Anthony is fully in touch with the literature of his subject, and he inspires confidence by his courteous treatment of the enemy.

#### MAN AND THE SPIRITUAL WORLD. By THE REV. A. CHAMBERS. (*Taylor*. Crown 8vo, pp. 293. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Chambers wrote a volume on *Our Life after Death*, which has had what his publisher correctly calls an enormous circulation. It did not owe its success wholly to its merits. Partly to the fascination of the subject, and partly, no doubt, to the things that were not merits in it. That is always so with books that have an enormous circulation. It will be the same with this volume. It will have an enormous circulation, and it will owe that partly to its least admirable portions. For it is not all admirable. It is not all scriptural, as we understand Scripture, and it is not all true, as we understand the truth as it is in Jesus. But whenever it is read, it will do this great service, it will lift men somewhat out of the slavery to sense and time, and encourage them to live for the Spirit and for eternity.

#### A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. By JOHN D. DAVIS, PH.D., D.D. (Philadelphia: *Westminster Press*. 8vo, pp. 802.)

This single-volume dictionary deserves a kindly notice. It must have cost its author unspeakable labour and pains. It belongs to what is called the Princeton school in Theology, which means the most conservative position possible, including, of course, the verbal inspiration of Scripture. But the author is none the less a scholar, knows on the whole where to go for things, and can set down what he sees briefly and clearly. There are no theological articles, and no Old English words, but all other departments are fully represented. The illustrations also are fairly numerous and very good.



## Contributions and Comments.

### The Opening Verses of the Book of Ezekiel.

It is true of quite a number of the Books of the O.T. that their opening words present peculiar difficulties of their own, — a circumstance due, above all, to the fact that nowhere in a Book is a later hand under such temptation to display its activity as in the introduction, — but scarcely anywhere is the veil so thick as in the Book of Ezekiel. The last few years have given us three new commentaries on this prophet,<sup>1</sup> each of which attempts a different explanation of the difficulty, and gives us a choice amongst quite a number of conjectures on the particular phenomena, but the problem is still far from being solved. Under such circumstances it may appear a daring act to increase by one the number of attempts already before us, but I must confess that what seems to me the easiest and most likely explanation does not appear to have been as yet considered. The present occasion seems to be all the more favourable for offering my solution of the problem to the public, because the latest commentator (Kraetzschmar) agrees with me on at least one essential question.

The weakest point in the whole matter was for long the explanation of the date given in v<sup>1</sup>: 'in the thirtieth year.' The success with which time after time new calculations leading to this figure could be proposed is only a melancholy evidence of the inventive genius and at the same time the uncertainty of biblical exegesis. And yet Ezekiel everywhere follows quite a definite scheme of reckoning, which he explains in 33<sup>21</sup> 40<sup>1</sup> by the addition לְגִלְתֵּינוּ, 'of our captivity,' i.e. the era of the carrying captive of king Jehoiachin in 597 B.C. Hence it is readily intelligible that in recent times one no longer ventures to ascribe the supposed divergent era of Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> to Ezekiel, but will have it that a later hand substituted בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה for the original dating from the captivity of

Jehoiachin. This might be accepted as the *ultima ratio* if there were no alternative. But it is clear at all events (1) that the reviser, on the above supposition, took serious liberties with the text, for the original reading must then have been בְּשָׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית or בְּשָׁנָה הַחֲמִשִּׁית, or at least the expression must have had בְּשָׁנָה in the first place and an ordinal number in the second, and not as in בשלשים שנה; (2) that the revised text is incomplete, for after the בשלשים שנה we necessarily look for an explanation of the supposed divergent era; (3) that even for the original text it is quite insufficient simply to substitute a different number of years, for the prophet could introduce his era, dating from the captivity of Jehoiachin, in 8<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>1</sup> 24<sup>1</sup> 26<sup>1</sup> 29<sup>1</sup> 30<sup>20</sup> 31<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>1</sup> 17, without explanatory addition only if he had explained it at its first introduction, say by a simple לְגִלְתֵּנוּ, as in 33<sup>21</sup> 40<sup>1</sup>. Hitherto, then, no explanation has been proposed which did *not* require us to assume the existence of a *lacuna* after the number of the year in v.<sup>1</sup>, nor is it likely that any such will be found.

It was of importance to establish this last point before proceeding to the view to which Kraetzschmar has rightly returned, namely, that the year in question is *that of the prophet's life*. For we know now that, if this view requires something to be supplied to the text, it is in no worse case than any of the other views that have been held. Three forms that have been proposed for supplementing the text are cited by Kraetzschmar: וְהָיָה יוֹמִי בְּיָמֵי בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה (Eichhorn), וְהָיָה יוֹמִי בְּיָמֵי בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה (Kraetzschmar), וְהָיָה יוֹמִי בְּיָמֵי בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה (Guthe), וְהָיָה יוֹמִי בְּיָמֵי בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה (Kraetzschmar). None of them has much in its favour, the simplest and likeliest form is בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה לְחַיִּי, 'in the thirtieth year of my life.' In this way no alteration of the text is needed, but only the reinsertion of a single word, which somehow must at one time have fallen out. We thus abide, further, by the form that is usual in stating a date, namely, 3, followed by the number of the year, and the definition of the era corresponds in form (with לְ as periphrasis for the genitive) exactly with that employed by Ezekiel in 33<sup>21</sup> 40<sup>1</sup> (cf. also 1<sup>2</sup>). And, finally, that this form was in common use in indicating the year of one's life, is shown by Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, בְּשָׁנָה שֵׁשׁ

<sup>1</sup> A. Bertholet in the *Kurzer Hdcom. z. A.T.*, 1897; C. H. Toy, in *Sacred Books of the O.T.*, Text and Translation, both 1899; R. Kraetzschmar in *Nowack's Hdcom. z. A.T.*, 1900.

מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה לְחַיֵּי נָח. The traditional objection to taking the reference to be to the year of the prophet's life, the only objection, apart from the incompleteness of the text, which is wont to be urged, is that the year of a man's life could hardly be dated by the month and day. But why not? Does the particular year of any man's life include more than *one* fifth day of the fourth month — reckoned of course according to the calendar year? Or do the death or the accession of kings or the carrying captive of a king pay any more heed to the New Year's Day of the calendar year than the birth of a man does.<sup>1</sup> This objection is therefore quite pointless. On the other hand, it is precisely what we should expect, that Ezekiel, who more than any other prophet informs us, in almost hypochondriac fashion, as to his personal experiences, his bodily health, and his natural disposition, should also state exactly the year of his life in which he received the call to be a prophet. Contrariwise, it is hard to see what other date would have been likely to find a place alongside of that expressed in terms of the usual era. It may be said, accordingly, that the above view, which has been recently maintained also by Klostermann, embodies the only reasonable and hence the necessary explanation, and one may accept with satisfaction the important contribution to the understanding of the personality of the prophet which is thus obtained.

To v.<sup>1</sup> so understood, with לְחַיֵּי or the like supplied, we may attach either v.<sup>4</sup> or, with Kraetzschmar, v.<sup>3b</sup>, reading in the latter, after the LXX, עָלַי for עָלָיו.<sup>2</sup> The question is only how the existence and the particular position occupied by vv.<sup>2, 3</sup> (or <sup>3a</sup>) are to be explained, and what one is to make of these verses. Here Kraetzschmar offers an entirely new theory. With much acuteness he has followed up earlier observations and discovered in the Book of Ezekiel a number of duplicate texts from which he draws the conclusion that the Book at one time circulated in two forms of text, but that, instead of continuing to exist independently side by side, in the way of which we have an instance in the Hebrew, as compared with the LXX text of Jeremiah, the two

were, in the case of Ezekiel, combined at an early period (before the time of the LXX) so as to form the text that lies before us. He holds that we have the commencement of the second of these forms of text in 1<sup>2, 3</sup> (reading v.<sup>3b</sup> this time, after the Heb. text, עָלָיו.) The first weak point about this theory is that Kraetzschmar, in order to arrive at a possible original form for the opening words of this second text, has to set aside, without being able to account for their origin, what are precisely the most striking features in the traditional text. These are (1) the mention of the day of the month ('on the fifth of the month') without the number of the month itself; (2) the commencing with the day of the month instead of with the year; (3) the explanatory הֵיא before הַשָּׁנָה. Why do we not read simply, as he restores the text, 'In the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, in the fourth [month], on the fifth of the month,' etc.? But even the main support of Kraetzschmar's view will not stand examination. He says (p. xiii) that the second of the two forms of text speaks of Ezekiel in the third person. In support of this statement the only passage he cites in addition to the present one is 24<sup>24</sup>. But in the latter the speaker is neither the author nor the redactor of the book but Jahweh, who is addressing the people, and who, in referring to Ezekiel, can naturally speak of him only in the third person. Kraetzschmar himself does not understand the passage differently, so that he should not have cited it for the above purpose.<sup>3</sup> Since, then, there is really no other passage in which the third person is used of Ezekiel, there is no parallel to support Kraetzschmar's theory of vv.<sup>2, 3</sup>. But, besides, here is the greatest difficulty of all. The very words which are assigned by Kraetzschmar to the second form of text are claimed unconditionally by the first form. For it is intelligible enough, as well as a welcome circumstance, that Ezekiel should tell us in which year of his life he received his prophetic call, but it would be quite incomprehensible if he did not bring this date into relation with the usual scheme of dating. That he actually *did* this is clearly proved, on the other hand, by the next date, that in 8<sup>1</sup>, where he can dispense with the closer definition לְחַיֵּי or

<sup>1</sup> The circumstance that in official calculations, such as that by the year of a king's reign, it is customary to produce perfect harmony by the device of ante-dating or post-dating, does not essentially alter the case.

<sup>2</sup> See below for the discussion of these rival readings.

<sup>3</sup> If 24<sup>22 f.</sup>, as Kraetzschmar holds, presents a parallel to v.<sup>24</sup> from the first form of text, in which Ezekiel expresses the same sentiment in the first person, the correctness of the view stated above comes out all the more clearly.



לְגִלְתִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ יוֹחִיָּכִין, only because he has already distinctly given this. The contents of v.<sup>2</sup> are thus quite indispensable by way of supplement to v.<sup>1</sup>, when the latter is rightly understood. No doubt it has been repeatedly urged that this verse is manifestly in the form of a gloss (cf. the הִיא), and its excision is justified accordingly. But a writer may gloss his own language, nay, he must do it if an expression would be unintelligible without explanation. For such a purpose, however, הִיא 'הַשְּׁנָה וְגוֹ' can be shown to be the form customary in instances like that before us. In precisely the same way the explanation is effected in 2 K 18<sup>9</sup>, Jer 25<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>1</sup>, of one method of reckoning by another, of the regnal year of the king of Judah by that of the king of Israel or of Babylon. Whether in these passages the words הִיא הַשְּׁנָה וְגוֹ are due to a later hand or not makes no difference, for in point of form they are quite unobjectionable, and as far as the matter is concerned, they are, in the case before us, as we have seen, absolutely necessary. But the proper place of this explanatory formula is unmistakably indicated by the בַּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ at the beginning of v.<sup>2</sup>. For the incomplete and by itself unmeaning 'on the fifth of the month' can be intended only to serve as a mechanical sign for the right placing of the following words, as a catchword to ensure the right connexion. We must reject the view that it is Ezekiel himself that thus explains his meaning (Ewald, Smend), for he ought to have expressed himself in such a way as to preserve the connexion by the sense, thus, for instance, 'the thirtieth year of my life, *i.e.* the fifth year,' etc. Only a later hand can have arranged the text after the letter as we now have it. Accordingly, the explanatory date contained in v.<sup>2</sup> must be transferred to v.<sup>1</sup> and inserted there after בַּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ, so as to make the text now read, 'in the thirtieth year [of my life], in the fourth [month], on the fifth of the month—it was the fifth year of the captivity of king Jehoiachin,' etc. That Ezekiel himself wrote in these terms may be confidently assumed on the ground that, without the explanatory clause, he could not have employed the date by the year of his own life. Somehow and some time or other the second of the two expressions giving the number of the year must have been overlooked, then it was added, with the catchword בַּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ, probably in the first instance on the margin, and finally it was once more inserted, along with

this catchword and in the wrong place, in the text. Perhaps the word לְחַיִּי first dropped out, and therewith the basis was lost for the second number indicating the year, which was then omitted because it was no longer understood.

In this way v.<sup>2</sup> is accounted for, without a residuum being left or an addition required. The question now is what is the significance of v.<sup>3</sup>? Supposing this verse to stand alone, without v.<sup>2</sup>, the view of Ewald is again inadmissible that Ezekiel himself at his final revision inserted it. In the first place, its position between וַיֵּרָא מְרִאֲתֵי אֱלֹהִים and the וַיֵּרָא of v.<sup>4</sup>, which is directly connected with these words, is as awkwardly chosen as could well be. But, above all, the contents of v.<sup>3</sup> belong not to the body of the text but to the title of the book. The Book of Ezekiel is the only one of the prophetic Books which is entirely without a title. True, indeed, the Book of Jonah (which, by the way, is not properly speaking a prophetic but a narrative book) also begins with וַיְהִי, and the Books of Haggai and Zechariah with a date. But one and all of these books have at the head of them the name of the particular prophet and the expression דְּבַר יְהוָה for the message that is thus introduced. The possibility is certainly not excluded that Ezekiel left behind him his book without any title and thus without the mention of his name, the writer appearing simply as 'I'; but it is as good as impossible that the book was set in circulation in such a form. The very first to publish it, whether Ezekiel himself or some one else, must have provided it with a title. Since, now, v.<sup>3</sup> contains all that we should look for in a title, including even an item which in other instances is nowhere found except in the title, I mean the name and profession of the prophet's father,<sup>1</sup> we have simply to conclude that the title of the book has been preserved in v.<sup>3</sup>. Not quite unaltered, for it can hardly have begun with הִיא הָיָה. But it is just here that the text itself is uncertain, for the LXX offers καὶ ἐγένετο = וַיְהִי. Both readings have the same object, namely, to form a connected sentence, a statement, out of the loosely floating date in v.<sup>2</sup> and the bare title in v.<sup>3</sup>, thus, 'In the fifth year, etc., came the word of Jahweh,' etc. The existence of the two readings, הָיָה הָיָה and וַיְהִי, shows us that caprice has

<sup>1</sup> With Kraetzschmar and many others I feel constrained to connect דְּבַר with בְּנִי, and not with יְחֻזְקָא.

been here at work. After the analogy of the openings of the Books of Hosea, Joel, Micah, Zephaniah (cf. also Jeremiah and Amos), we may conjecture that the opening in the present instance was 'דְּבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל-יְהוֹקָאֵל וְגו', 'The word of Jahweh which came to Ezekiel,' etc. In that case the only change that has been made is that in the present text the original relative clause has been converted into an independent statement. The reading of the Hebrew text, הָיָה הָיָה, retains not only the ancient verbal form but even the number of words received from tradition.

The question still remains whether v.<sup>3b</sup> is also to be reckoned as part of the title or is to remain in its present place. Here again the texts part company, the Hebrew offering עליו שם, the LXX simply ἐπ' ἐμέ = ἐלִי, without שָׁם. It is evident that the reading of the Greek makes the statement contained in it part of Ezekiel's own words, i.e. connects with v.<sup>1</sup>, whereas the Hebrew includes it in the title. Kraetzschmar alone can avail himself of both readings, since he considers the clause in question to have belonged to both the first and the second form of text. As we do not accept of this theory of two forms of text, we must make our choice between the two readings. A decision either way is possible. But the connexion is not improved by reading v.<sup>3b</sup> between v.<sup>1</sup> and v.<sup>4</sup>, 'the heavens were opened, and I saw divine visions, [and the hand of Jahweh came<sup>1</sup> upon me], and I saw,' etc. Beyond doubt the bracketed clause comes in too late, for Ezekiel can have seen the heavens opened and have beheld divine visions only after the hand of Jahweh came upon him. Moreover, the descriptive וַהֲנֵה in v.<sup>4</sup> demands an immediate connexion with וַאֲרָא in v.<sup>1</sup>, to which it bears the same relation as does לֹאֲמַר to a preceding וַיֹּאמֶר. Hence it will be better to decide in favour of the Hebrew reading, and thus to relegate v.<sup>3b</sup>, as well as the preceding part of

the verse, to the title. The LXX or its Hebrew prototype meant by altering the text to lead back to the direct address in v.<sup>4</sup>. If now v.<sup>3b</sup> belongs to the title, it passes into a statement which connects itself with the mention of the residence of the prophet; it expressly declares that *there*, in the foreign land, Ezekiel experienced the prophetic rapture (so already Gautier, cf. Kraetzschmar). Since, according at least to tradition, he is the only prophet of whom this could be said, this point was of course worth emphasizing, nay, for later Judaism it has always remained a subject for wonder and offence. The title then would have read thus: '*The word of Jahweh which came to Ezekiel, the son of Buzi the priest, in the land of the Chaldeans, by the river Chebar; there the hand of Jahweh came upon him.*' This was followed immediately by the present opening of the Book, with the additional words contended for above: 'And it came to pass in the thirtieth year [of my life],' etc., where the transition to the direct address of the prophet is coupled on to what precedes by וַיְהִי. Compare the opening of the Book of Jeremiah, and it will be found that there the words of the prophet in v.<sup>4</sup>, וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה, are attached in the same way to the title in vv.<sup>1,2</sup>, which is expressed in the third person. Whether the above order was the work of Ezekiel himself, or of an editor, as we must assume to have been the case with Jeremiah, makes little difference. The possibility also yet remains that the closing sentence (v.<sup>3b</sup>) of the title was introduced later by a second hand. But at all events everything *is* now in order. The problem is solved, nothing is used but the existing material, but the whole of this is used, and we are face to face only with well authenticated trustworthy data.

A new problem, indeed, is thus created, namely, how the title can have found its way to its present place. To solve this problem is of course impossible, but one may perhaps venture to call it a probable suggestion that the title as well as v.<sup>2</sup> somehow strayed to the margin, and was thus brought into close connexion with this latter verse which had been supplied there, and thus stood beside it. It would next be introduced at the same time with v.<sup>2</sup> into the text, and, when this was done, accommodated at first to the necessities of the case. It may be asked, How could the

<sup>1</sup> Kraetzschmar can hardly be right in supplying the שם of the Hebrew text in the Greek as well. Out of all the passages he cites in favour of Ezekiel's use of the word שם with a weakened almost meaningless force, at most 3<sup>22</sup> would prove anything, although some support of the שם is supplied by v.<sup>15</sup>. But there too it is wanting in the LXX and other witnesses to the text, and Cornill and Toy (Bertholet is doubtful) accordingly delete it. In the instance before us its presence would be very awkward, after the locality has been defined in v.<sup>1</sup> and after the revelation has already begun.

<sup>2</sup> V.<sup>3</sup> is to be excised as an addition, but the case is in no way altered, if it be retained.



title have found its way to the margin? This would be readily explicable if we could assume that our text goes back to the autograph of the prophet, which had been at a later time supplemented by the title being written on the margin. Of course other possibilities than this are not excluded. Certainly the present position of v.<sup>3</sup> will prove to be the greatest obstacle to the acceptance of the solution here proposed. But whether other solutions present fewer difficulties is open to serious doubt.

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*Marburg i. H.*

## The Financial Colouring of Philippians iv. 15-18.

A CAREFUL reader must always be impressed by the refinement and delicacy of feeling with which Paul thanks the Philippian Christians for their gift in this and the adjoining paragraphs of the Epistle.

It is possible, although we have no definite evidence, that they had been conscious of some slight remissness in their attention to the apostle. At least, a certain marked emphasis on his joy and satisfaction in them throughout the Letter makes us almost inclined to believe that Paul sets himself to correct a temporary misunderstanding on their part as to his feelings towards them. Hence, when he comes to thank them directly, he does so with singular grace and happiness of touch. Indeed, by a skilful and unstrained use of financial terms common in the money-market, he imparts what may be fairly called, in our judgment, a half-humorous tone to this section of the Epistle. There is no accumulation of such expressions. But by the insertion of one here and there, a felicitous lightness of handling is achieved.

To come to the facts, we have in v.<sup>15</sup> the phrase, *εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως*. The whole clause in which the words occur, literally translated, would run: 'No church communicated with me so as to have an account of giving and receiving (debit and credit) but you alone.' This is a common expression both in Greek and Latin writers. Numerous examples may be found in Wetstein's N.T. Paul had bestowed on them inestimable spiritual gifts. It was nothing more

than *squaring the account* that he should receive material blessings from them.

The same strain is probably continued in v.<sup>16</sup>: 'In Thessalonica you sent once, or rather twice, *εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι*.' It is most likely that *εἰς* is used here in a semi-technical sense, often illustrated by the papyri, to designate 'the application of the several items in an account.' Deissmann (*Bibelstudien*, pp. 113-115; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 23) gives most interesting examples of the usage, e.g. *ὁμολογεῖ Κεφάλων ἡνίοχος ἔχειν παρὰ Χάρμον . . . εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἡνίοχους ζ'*, 'Kephalon, the driver, gives a voucher that he has received for himself and seven other drivers,' etc. (*Bibelstudien*, p. 114). Here = 'to account of my need' (cf. 1 Co 16<sup>1</sup>).

In the next verse (<sup>17</sup>) we find the expression, *ἐπιζητῶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν*. Here the Greek commentator Chrysostom is very suggestive. His comment on our phrase is *ὁ καρπὸς ἐκείνοις τίκεται*. Now the fact that *τόκος* was the regular Greek word for 'interest' implies that *τίκειν* had associations with finance. Is it not probable that Chrysostom, who would naturally be acquainted with the colloquial use of terms, understood Paul's words as having a flavour of the Exchange? The occurrence of *λόγον* in the passage favours the hypothesis. And, as we shall see immediately, Chrysostom is quite prepared for language of this description. We might therefore translate, 'interest accumulating to your account (or credit).' Their gift to him, as expressing their heartfelt gratitude for the gospel he had brought to them, was a splendid *investment*, bound to yield a large return.

But Paul goes on to say (v.<sup>18</sup>), *ἀπέχω . . . πάντα καὶ περισσεύω*. What is the precise force of *ἀπέχω*? Again Chrysostom throws light on the meaning. Commenting on the word, he says, *ἔδειξεν ὅτι ὀφειλή ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ἀπέχω*. 'He showed that the thing was a debt, for that is the significance of *ἀπέχω*.' That is to say, Paul, in using the word *ἀπέχω*, reminds them of the *transaction* that has passed between him and them. The word smacks of business. It has to do with the paying of a debt. The full expressiveness of the term has been made clear by Deissmann. In his *Neue Bibelstudien* (p. 56) he shows that *ἀπέχω* is the regular word in the papyri to denote the giving of a receipt for the payment of money due. In a papyrus of Faijûm

(29th December, 44 A.D.) we have the following: —ἀπέχω τὴν συνκεχωρημένην τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρους, 'I have received (*i.e.* give a receipt for) the whole price agreed upon in full.' Thus we may translate the apostle's words: 'I give you a receipt for all you owed me.'

The evidence adduced seems sufficient to justify the supposition with which we started, that Paul, in a more or less playful tone, maintains throughout the passage before us a certain financial strain of language. This is thoroughly in keeping with the bright and vivacious character of the Epistle, in which he converses so frankly and charmingly with the best-loved of all the Christian societies which he had founded.

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Callander.

### Is there a Rhetorical Use of 'Not' in Hebrew?

PROFESSOR HOMMEL having repeated in the September number his assertion that a rhetorical use of the negative 'not' is to be met with in the O.T., I must ask permission to return once more to this question. The problem is not only interesting in itself, but is of decisive importance for the understanding of many O.T. passages.

The first instance of an expression of the kind we have in view is Gn 45<sup>8</sup>, וְגַם אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֹהִים, 'not ye, but God sent me hither.' These words were intended to deny that the brothers of Joseph were the moving cause of the historical mission which he had to fulfil in Egypt, nor does the statement place Gn 45<sup>8</sup> in contradiction with 37<sup>28</sup>. Hence the אֵלֶיךָ of 45<sup>8</sup> is rightly reproduced by Onkelos, Pesh., LXX, Jerome, by the simple 'not' (אֵלֶיךָ, אֵלֶיךָ, non). So, too, Luther (*Opera exegetica Latina*, vol. x. p. 364) rightly wrote, 'Venditio vestra non deduxit me in hunc locum,' and such has been the interpretation of all recent commentators. For instance, Spurrell, in his admirable *Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis*,<sup>2</sup> takes this sense of the אֵלֶיךָ here to be so obvious that he never raises the question of its meaning at all. The aim of the words was missed when *e.g.* Nolde-Tympe (*Concordantiae particularum*, p. 424) substituted 'non tam' for אֵלֶיךָ. The latter discovered a similar use of אֵלֶיךָ also in the words of Ex 16<sup>8b</sup>, 'your

murmurings are not against us, but against Jahweh.' But here, too, a 'non tam' is contrary to the aim of the text, which is indicated by the previous question of Moses and Aaron, 'What are *we*?' a question which emphasizes the fact that Moses and Aaron do not come into consideration at all as suppliers of the people's wants, and hence that it is against Jahweh pure and simple that the people's reproaches are levelled. Thirdly, comes the passage upon which Professor Hommel builds, namely, Dt 5<sup>3</sup>, 'not with your fathers did Jahweh make this covenant, but with us, those (namely) who are here alive now.' The meaning of these words must be that the LORD actually made the covenant at Horeb, not with the father of Moses or of others, but with Moses, Caleb, Joshua, Eleazar, Ithamar, and others *themselves*. The sense 'not only with our fathers but also with us' is not at all the purpose of the saying. Professor Hommel claims that Gautier and Nestle agree with him. I may retort that the sense which he discovers in Dt 5<sup>3</sup> is not found there by any of the recent commentators on the Book of Deuteronomy. Neither Oettli (1893) nor Driver (1895) nor Steuernagel (1897) nor Bertholet (1898) agree with Professor Hommel, as I have just ascertained by an examination of their commentaries. This examination was undertaken *after* my first reply to Professor Hommel, for I have always sought to exercise an independent judgment on every question. A complete list of all the O.T. and N.T. passages in which earlier exegetes have supposed the presence of such a rhetorical use of 'not' will be found in my newly published *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die Biblische Literatur komparativisch dargestellt* (1900), pp. 74-77, where also Arabic passages are discussed in which a similar sense of *lā* has been supposed to occur.

Further, I pointed out to Professor Hommel that in the words 'and not with you *only* do I make this covenant' (Dt 29<sup>13(14)</sup>) the Hebrew equivalent for 'only' is actually present. An examination of all the relevant passages showed me, further, that the word for 'only' is present also in the sayings: 'Not by bread only does man live, but,' etc. (Dt 8<sup>3</sup>); 'Not against the king only did Vashti offend, but,' etc. (Est 1<sup>16</sup>). It would be quite unnatural if the word 'not' stood at times for 'not only,' and thus acquired a wholly different sense. No doubt there are instances where the supplying of an 'only' is left to the



context. No one knows this better than myself who have been the first to treat this subject systematically (*Stilistik*, pp. 196-198). But in these instances, the 'only' which is supplied by the context does not alter the meaning of what is said. Otherwise the matter would be left to the negative 'not.' For it makes a great difference whether I say 'not' or 'not only,' and the most radical change would come in if the words 'not . . . but' were converted into 'not only . . . but also,' an adversative relation thus becoming a copulative one. Nothing of this kind takes place in the cases I have treated of (*l.c.* p. 196 f.). In view of all this there should be no doubt as to which of the two sides it is that has set forth 'untenable views.'

Unfortunately, I cannot close without a personal explanation, averse as I am to such a thing. Professor Hommel compels me to depart on this occasion from my usual practice. He has been unable to write the few lines which make up his 'Last Word,' without introducing a number of remarks which have nothing to do with the discussion of the scientific question. At the very outset he says that he has for me 'a very high esteem as a learned compiler.' I must protest against this title, and I confidently expect that the history of the scientific study of the Semitic languages will give its verdict that I have sought after three things: (1) I have called in the aid of the auxiliary sciences connected with the study of speech which were of importance at the time. For instance, I studied for years the physiology of pronunciation in order to apply it to the Hebrew, the Ethiopic, and other Semitic languages. That I did this not without success in my works *Gedanke, Laut und Accent, als die drei Faktoren der Sprachbildung komparativisch und lautphysiologisch am Hebräischen dargestellt* (1874), and *Neue Studien über die allgemeine Bildungslehre (= Lautlehre) im Aethiopischen* (1877), was recognized as long ago as the year 1879 by no less an authority than Professor Prätorius in the Preface to his great work *Die Amharische Sprache*. (2) I have endeavoured in every branch of study to which I have devoted myself to raise new questions, and to trace back to their ultimate causes the phenomena connected both with the structure and the use of language. This has been recognized in quite a number of notable judgments of a highly eulogistic kind, especially upon my

*Historisch-komparative Syntax des Hebräischen.*

(3) The materials whereby I have attempted the solution of problems old and new have been always drawn by me from the fontal sources. Anything from other works has been brought forward (with express indication of the source) only for the purpose of comparison, as those who are confessedly the best scholars are wont to do in treating any subject from the comparative point of view.—Then Professor Hommel complains that I have several times opposed him in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. But I can assure him that I am far from being fond of controversy, and if I were to follow my personal inclinations, I would not say a word in opposition to a fellow-investigator. But thoroughness of research demands that one examine the views of other scholars, and if this is done in a calm and purely objective way, without introducing personalities, no one is entitled to feel injured unless he means to pose as infallible. Besides, I have criticised only such assertions of Professor Hommel as lay nearest to my own sphere of studies, as, for instance, his contention that the Israelites down to the time of Joshua spoke a dialect of Arabic (*Anc. Heb. Trad.* p. xiv). Is it my fault that he put forward such an assertion?

Bonn.

ED. KÖNIG.

### The Cairene Ecclesiasticus.

It appears that Dr. Schechter is ready to consider questions connected with the Talmud, *provided they do not come from dictionaries*. I believe the following fulfils his condition.

In the valuable collection of *Responsa Gaonum*,<sup>1</sup> published at Lyck, 5624, No. xxvii, R. Hai Gaon (ordained 998 A.D., Neubauer, *Chronicles*, i. 67) is asked the following question:—"Our Rabbis say in *Baba Kama* (92b), "This matter is asserted for the third time in the *Written Books*, thus, 'Every fowl is at ease with its kind, and the son of man with his like.'" Now this is not in the *Written Books*."

R. Hai Gaon replies, 'This is true. But they are the words of Ben-Sira, and they *were written* (היו כתובים), though not in the sacred books. Moreover, our Rabbis are accustomed to give the sense of Scripture in words other than those that

<sup>1</sup> Similar replies are to be found in the Berlin and Livorno collections.

are written there, as in *Baba Kama* 81b: "From being good be not called evil,"<sup>1</sup> where the difficulty is raised "And is it written thus?" to which it is answered that the meaning of the sentence corresponds with the text of Pr 3<sup>27</sup>. Similarly in the present case the text corresponds with Pr 13<sup>20</sup>.

The following inferences may be drawn from the above:—

1. The community who address R. Hai Gaon cannot have known of Ecclesiasticus as a *Written Book*. Otherwise their question would have been, 'How comes the Book of Ben-Sira to be quoted as an authority?'

2. R. Hai Gaon cannot have known of it as a *Written Book*. Otherwise he could not have said *they were written*, but must have said *they are written*; nor could he have acknowledged that his questioners were right.

3. The passage quoted in *Baba Kama* 81<sup>b</sup> bears the same relation to Ecclus 5<sup>15b</sup>, καὶ ἀντὶ φίλου μὴ γίνου ἐχθρός, that the passage quoted in 92<sup>b</sup> bears to Ecclus 13<sup>15</sup>. The discussion in *Baba Kama* 81<sup>b</sup> implies that the Hebrew Ecclus was no longer accessible, just as the looseness of the reminiscence in 92<sup>b</sup> shows that the text has been corrupted through oral tradition.

If Seadyah had discovered the Cairene Ecclesiasticus in 934 A.D., and heralded his discovery, how could Hai Gaon, who occupied Seadyah's chair in 998, assert that Ecclesiasticus *had been a written book* at the time of the Talmudists, though it was *not a Written Book* in his own time? And of R. Hai Gaon we read that 'he spread learning in Israel more than all the Gaons, and that the seekers of the Law walked by his light from East to West!' (*Chronicles*, i. 66).

This answer of Hai Gaon *excludes the possibility* of the existence of a Hebrew Ecclesiasticus in the second half of the tenth century, except possibly as a private exercise in retranslation. To such a work naturally Hai Gaon would pay no attention when the question of Written Books was being discussed. Yet had such a private exercise been published then, Hai Gaon must in his answer have made some allusion to it. But he may well have had access to the Syriac and Arabic versions, and thence have known that the question in *Baba Kama* 92b was a loose reminiscence of Ben-Sira's words.

The comparison of the two passages in *Baba*

<sup>1</sup> Pointed in 'the Fear of Isaac' v. 24d.

*Kama* illustrates the layers of oral tradition which the Talmud contains. Both ultimately go back to a time when Ben-Sira's book was still *written*, and by some confused with Scripture. In both cases the verses of Ben-Sira have been seriously altered, owing to the impossibility of checking the quotations from a written text. But in 81b some one has already noticed that the verse is not to be found in Scripture, whereas in 92b the statement that the verse is scriptural is not questioned till the time of Hai Gaon, whose explanation might well have found a place in the Talmud. And, indeed, the character of the Talmudic quotations, in which some of Ben-Sira's verses are assigned to other Rabbis, while sayings that are not his are assigned to Ben-Sira, and in which his genuine sayings are disfigured in all sorts of ways, would make it certain that his book had perished long before the Talmud was compiled, even if the rest of the evidence were less cogent than it is.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Oxford.

## Genesis xlix. 21.

I START with noting that the Arabic and Aramaic *immar*, 'lamb,' is likewise in Bab.-Assyrian *immiru*, and that there is a Babylonian word *shapparu*, 'the male mountain goat,' which, however, as the form (cf. e.g. *gammalu*, 'camel') shows, must be a W. Semitic loan-word (from a presumptive *shaparu*).

The Massoretic text of Gn 49<sup>21</sup> reads נַפְתָּלִי אֵילָה הַנָּתַן אֶמְרֵי-שֹׁפָר. I would simply correct הַנָּתַן to נַתַּנָּה, or perhaps still better to נַתַּנָּה (Arab. *nataga*, 'to bring forth young ones,' spoken of animals), and would render: 'Naphtali is a hind (properly, "female mountain goat") let loose, which casteth (bringeth forth) he-goat lambs' (i.e. which has a numerous male progeny). The parallelism alone requires that in the second half of the verse there should be mention of something which stands in relation with *'ayyālāh*, so that for that reason the vocalization, *'immarē shaphar*, should be adopted.

But how comes the LXX to read στέλεχος and ἐν τῷ γένει? Manifestly, because the Heb. MS., on which it was based, had an explanatory marginal gloss, פָּרָה, 'young cow,' to אֵילָה, and יָלַד אֶמְרֵי. As has happened so frequently, the LXX has confused words having a similar sound; in this instance, פָּרָה, 'young cow,' with פֹּאֲרָה, στέλεχος.

Munich.

FRITZ HOMMEL.



## Requests and Replies.

Would you kindly supply me with the names of the best English works (1) on the History of the Sacrament of Baptism, and (2) dealing with the Doctrine thereof?—J. L.

MOZLEY on *The Baptismal Controversy*, Rivingtons, 2nd ed., 1883, gives all that anyone needs, both as regards history and doctrine. Articles in dictionaries and encyclopædias give references to works on special points.

Durham.

A. PLUMMER.

May I, as a solitary student, ask a little guidance?

In *Records of the Past*, vol. xi. pp. 87-89, also in a more recent work, *Authority and Archæology: Sacred and Profane*, mention is made of Mr. Pinches' decipherment of the Egibi-tablets, from which a chronological series of the later kings of Babylon is deduced.

I want to know whether his lists have been fully published anywhere, so that I might get the work.

J. S.

Grahamstown, S. Africa.

I AM sorry to say that I have not published any chronological lists based on the so-called 'Egibi-tablets' other than those given in the *Records of the Past*, 1st ser. vol. xi. pp. 87-89, and the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vi. pp. 484-488. These lists, as may easily be supposed (they were published twenty-two years ago), are very imperfect, and require improving.

Mainly owing to the excavations made by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the veteran explorer of the ruins of Babylonia and Assyria, Sir Henry Layard's old assistant, large numbers of contract-tablets, principally from Abu-habbah, the ancient Sippara, were acquired by the trustees of the British Museum, and the copying of a large number of these (which a revised chronological list would have necessitated), in the time at my disposal after hours at the British Museum, became a simple impossibility. Besides this, there was considerable probability that any researches I might make would before long be again superseded by further documents from the ancient sites.

In the meanwhile, the work of copying the Babylonian contract-tablets of the British Museum and elsewhere was taken in hand by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., who devoted himself to it for many years. This has been published under the titles of *Inscripfen von Nabuchodonosor* (1889), *Nabonidus* (1889), *Cyrus* (1890), and *Cambyses* (1890). The latest portion of the series, *Inscripfen von Darius*, is not yet completed. The reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, and Laborosoarchod are from the hand of Mr. B. T. A. Evetts, M.A. The tablets of this series, as far as published, number more than 3000.

As may be imagined, the preparation of chronological lists from the dated tablets in the various collections known (and they greatly exceed in number those contained in the above-named volumes) is a work which would take much time. Not only ought all the dates to be given, with the titles of the kings wherever necessary, but all the statements bearing upon history and chronology, including cross-references between the documents, ought to be extracted and arranged in order. In addition to this, genealogies and lists of important officials ought to be made, in order to get data for locating undated tablets and those which are doubtful or broken. There is no doubt that this will ultimately be done, but who will undertake the task (which will probably involve the collation of a certain amount of the published material, the copies not being always trustworthy) is a question which time alone will solve.

Of course, the historical events recorded and implied by the contract-tablets of the time of the later kings of Babylonia have not been entirely neglected. In the *Records of the Past*, 2nd ser. vol. iii. p. 124 ff., and vol. v. pp. 141 ff., Professor Sayce has contributed papers containing translations of tablets relating to Belshazzar and to the sons of Nebuchadnezzar. To vol. iv. pp. 96 ff., I contributed a paper giving translations, with transcriptions, of tablets referring to the great famine in the time of Saosduchinos (mentioned also on other tablets—once very graphically); Babylonian overlordship in Tyre (fortieth year of Nebuchadnezzar); the marriage of Gigitum, daughter of Neriglissar, to Nabû-šum-ukîn, priest of Nebo, and director of E-zida; and Ša-Nabû-duppu and his Bactrian slave-girl (tenth year of Darius). Another contract-tablet of similar value is that translated by me in the catalogue of the late Sir Henry Peek's collection of Babylonian tablets, No. 17. It refers to the sale, by Iddina-Nabû, of his Egyptian slave and her daughter, a child of three months, 'the spoil of his bow' (sixth year of Cambyses).

These texts, though they contain and confirm historical facts, give but a small portion of the information which might be obtained from the contract-tablets of Babylonia. The question naturally arises, however, would the information, when every text had been examined, be worth the enormous trouble which its acquisition would entail? Additional information would certainly be obtained, but the probability is, that the Canon of Ptolemy would still hold his own, as it does in the main even now, notwithstanding that the tablets acquired by the late George Smith have

been known to scholars more than twenty years, and those excavated by Rassam since 1889 and 1890. I hope to turn my attention to these texts again before long, but the finding of further copies of the Babylonian Chronicle would probably set

at rest more questions in a few hours than the study of the dates, etc., of the contract-tablets of the time of the later Babylonian kings for a year, or more.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

*British Museum.*

## Entre Nous.

THE volume of the THE EXPOSITORY TIMES which commences with this number will contain some of the finest expository work we have yet been able to publish. We may mention in particular a series of articles on the Psalms of Ascents by the Rev. David Smith, M.A., of Tulliallan, of whom the late Professor Bruce used to say that of all the younger men he seemed to possess the expositor's gift in largest measure. Canon Bernard of Wells will contribute three papers on the Judæan ministry. The first appears this month. The subject of the second is the Action and Prophecy in the Temple, of the third the Interview with Nicodemus. Canon Bernard's *Central Teaching of Christ* comes closer to the ideal of exposition than any book we know. Mrs. Lewis of Cambridge, the discoverer of the Sinaitic-Syriac Codex,—perhaps the greatest of all our recent discoveries,—will write an article on the force and suggestiveness of some of the new readings in that Codex. When Professor Drummond was laid aside, no man could be found to take his place of power among the students of the Universities. But now that almost unique position has been filled by one of the younger Edinburgh ministers, the Rev. John Kelman, M.A. Three articles by Mr. Kelman on St. Paul will be read with interest—St. Paul the Hebrew, St. Paul the Greek, St. Paul the Roman. Professor Budde will send us some exegetical articles on difficult passages in the Psalms. And there are more and perhaps greater things than these.

When we speak of the scholarly German, accurate, minute, indefatigable, we surely think of Professor Eduard König. What a marvel is his *Lehrgebäude*, how greatly has it advanced our knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, what a monument to its author's unquenchable thirst for truth! But another great work has just been published, and will be fully reviewed very soon. Its full title is *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die Biblische Literatur*.

A small book, called *Evil and Evolution*, published a year or two ago by Messrs. Macmillan made a considerable impression upon students of Christian apologetic. The same anonymous

author has a volume in the press with Messrs. Sonnenschein, the title of which is to be *Commerce and Christianity*.

Messrs. T. & T. Clark have sent us their autumn announcements. Mr. Drummond's *Kerr Lectures* we have already received and noticed. Besides that notable book and the third volume of the Dictionary, there is a book on *The Formation of Christian Character* by Dr. Bruce of Banff, a fellow to his *Ethics of the Old Testament*. Professor Falconer of Nova Scotia (from whom we received and published a valuable article recently), has written some Studies in the Early Episcopate under the title of *From Apostle to Priest*. Two volumes of the World's Epoch-Makers are ready, *Buddha* by Arthur Lillie, and *The Herschels* by James Sime. *The Miracles of Unbelief* is a striking title of a new work by the Rev. Frank Ballard of Hull.

Then come the great books. First, Deissmann's *Bible-Studies*, a completely new edition, embodying both of the German series and giving new matter. The New Testament student will make it his first purchase this autumn. Next, Ritschl's great work, now rendered into English by some accomplished Ritschlians, with Dr. Hugh Mackintosh of Tayport at their head. Then a translation, by Professor Cooper of Glasgow and another scholar, of the greatest discovery of our time in the department of ecclesiology, the Syriac *Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Last of all, and most noticeable, a new edition of the New Testament, a new translation, the books arranged in the order of their birth, with much other material, done by the Rev. James Moffatt, M.A., of Dundonald, with the assistance of several of our most distinguished New Testament scholars. This had to be done. It had to be done cautiously. It had to be done fearlessly. Mr. Moffatt was the man for it. Our readers know how conscientious and how reverent is his scholarship, how deep also is his interest in the Word of God.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE *Egyptian Gazette* of 4th April contains the report of a lecture delivered in Cairo two days previously by Professor Sayce. The lecture was in two parts. In the first part Professor Sayce told the story of the discovery and identification of the mummy of Meneptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. In the second he explained the ideas which led the Egyptians to embalm their dead.

The winter before last the tomb of Amenhotep II. of the eighteenth dynasty was discovered at Thebes. It was believed that the inmost and last chamber of the tomb had been examined. The various objects found were removed to the Ghizeh Museum. But last winter M. Lortet went back to that tomb. Beyond the 'inmost' chamber of the previous season, he found an 'innermost' and smaller chamber. It was filled with royal mummies. From the outer chambers they had been carried for safety in some time of invasion or fear into this 'innermost' and most hidden chamber. The royal mummies had their royal names in hieratic or in cursive writing. Among them was the name of Amenhotep IV. or Khu-en-aten.

But how could that be? The tomb of Amenhotep IV. or Khu-en-aten, the 'heretic' king of Egypt, had already been discovered close by his royal city and near the mounds of Tel el-Amarna. His mummy was not there, but that was because

his 'orthodox' enemies had entered the tomb and torn his body to shreds. Fragments of the mummy cloths were lying there still. This could not be the mummy of Khu-en-aten.

The mummy was now lying in a case in the tomb, packed up and ready to be shipped down the river to Ghizeh. But M. Lortet had copied the name. Mr. Groff examined the copy. He believed that the hieroglyphics spelt the name, not of Amenhotep, but of Meneptah, the son of Rameses II., and the Pharaoh of the Exodus. When the mummy was carried down to Ghizeh and examined by Professor Maspero in March, it was found that Mr. Groff was right. The actual body of the Pharaoh of the Exodus was lying intact before them.

But was Meneptah the Pharaoh of the Exodus? Of that Professor Sayce has no doubt. For his father was Rameses II.; and Rameses II. (who reigned longer than even our beloved Queen, though God grant she may outreign him yet!) was the great builder of the kings of Egypt. He built Pithom and Raamses and Zoan and the like. And as he hated the Asiatic foreigners who had once ruled over Egypt, and one race of whom still dwelt in the land of Goshen, he built his cities on the borders of Goshen, and used these

foreigners as slaves to build them. When Naville unearthed Pithom he discovered, says Professor Sayce, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and by consequence the Pharaoh of the Exodus, who was his son. Rameses was the one, Menepthah the other.

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But we thought the Pharaoh of the Exodus was drowned in the Red Sea. We had no business so to think, Professor Sayce tells us. It was merely a popular supposition. The Bible does not say that he was drowned. And it has long been known to Egyptians that Menepthah lived to a ripe old age, and that he had never even followed the Israelites in person.

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Let us return for a moment to the Atonement. In the *Present Day Paper* (Headley Brothers) for August, there may be found an article by Professor W. N. Clarke of Colgate (the author of that phenomenal book, *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*) on 'The Work of Christ for our Salvation.'

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Professor Clarke would fain find more in the Atonement than an exhibition of the love of God. There should be satisfaction somewhere. But when he seeks that satisfaction he meets an insuperable obstacle. The same Person who provides the satisfaction receives it. In the sacrifice of Christ it is God that offers, it is God also to whom the sacrifice is made.

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The difficulty is not a new one. In our day it has been felt most keenly perhaps by Dr. Dale, who sought to escape it by the impossible suggestion that the ransom was paid not to God but to an eternal law of righteousness outside of God. There is a better answer than that. It will be found most satisfactorily in that very suggestive book, *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, by Mr. J. Scott Lidgett. God provided the propitiation, but he did not offer it. Christ offered it, it is true. And Christ is God. But Christ is also man. And when He offered the propitiation He

was acting not as God, but as man, as the Representative of the human race.

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What was the subject of conversation between our Lord and Moses and Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration? St. Luke tells us (9<sup>31</sup>) that they spake of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem. And we have usually understood that His decease was His death. But the word is *exodus* (ἐξόδος), which, although it is elsewhere used of death (Wis 3<sup>2</sup> 7<sup>6</sup>, 2 P 1<sup>15</sup>), is literally 'departure,' and may very well be used of more than the act of death, of the agony that preceded, and of the resurrection and ascension that followed it.

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But in the second volume of his *Studies of the Portrait of Christ* (Hodder & Stoughton) Dr. Matheson distinctly excludes Christ's death. He says that no one then would have thought of death when you spoke of an exodus. An exodus is a deliverance, but death was then an end. The idea of death as an exodus came from Jesus Himself, and it came at a later hour. No man, he says, of the Transfiguration hour would have dreamed of calling death an exodus; no man would have written, 'They spake of His exodus,' when he meant to say, 'They spake of His decease.'

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Of what then did Moses and Elijah speak with Jesus? They spoke of His resurrection, says Dr. Matheson. They passed by His decease. They covered the sepulchre out of His sight. They transfigured the sacrifice in the light of its result. They spoke of His deliverance from the grave by resurrection, not of His entrance into it by death. By His resurrection He would lead the children of Israel over another Red Sea, into a larger land and a wealthier. And Moses, as it were, handed Him his rod of deliverance that He might conduct the children of Abraham from their proud isolation into a union with every country and kindred and people and tongue.

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'If I told you earthly things,' says our Lord in His conversation with Nicodemus, 'if I told you



earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?' (Jn 3<sup>12</sup>). The words are very difficult. It seems as if He had been speaking of heavenly things, if heavenly things can ever be spoken about. Why does He call them earthly things? And what are those heavenly things which He still holds back?

Many will remember the striking interpretation which Dr. Adamson offers in his *Studies of the Mind in Christ*. The subject is discussed by Archdeacon Diggle in his *Short Studies in Holiness*, just published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

The one 'earthly thing' of which our Lord has been speaking, is the New Birth. Why is it earthly? Archdeacon Diggle thinks because it is in conformity with the laws which govern earthly births. It takes place in us while we are upon the earth, and it takes place according to the well-known laws of all earthly births. Therefore Nicodemus might be expected to understand it, and even to have discovered it for himself.

But there are things which Nicodemus could not have discovered for himself. He could not have discovered that in order to accomplish this New Birth, the Son of God had to make Himself poor; he could not have discovered that He had to die upon the Cross. These were heavenly things, hid yet in the breast of Divinity, things into which the angels desired to look; and they could not be revealed to Nicodemus, nor even to the innermost disciples, until they came to pass and the Spirit was given to explain them.

If that is so, it may seem to make against Dr. Matheson's interpretation of the 'decease' which Christ was to accomplish at Jerusalem. For if He could not speak with the disciples about His death—speak so that they should understand and sympathize with Him, was it not most natural that Moses and Elijah should come and make this great matter the subject of their conversation?

But it only *seems* to make against it. For the resurrection was as 'heavenly' a thing as the death. He who could not understand how the Son of Man should come down from heaven, and come down to die, should as little understand how He could ascend to heaven, how He could *have* to ascend.

In the department of Biblical Theology the most difficult single subject at present is the meaning of the expression 'Son of Man.' The key to its meaning is held by many to be a certain passage in Daniel (7<sup>13</sup>). In the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1900, Professor Schmidt of Cornell University writes on the meaning of that passage. He considers various interpretations that have been suggested, and discards them, including an attractive one of his own, which he lets go reluctantly. And then he 'ventures to offer' a new interpretation.

He suggests that the 'one like unto a son of man' in Dn 7<sup>13</sup> is an angel, and in particular Michael, the guardian angel of Israel. For in the Book of Daniel that is the uniform meaning of the phrase. In 8<sup>15</sup> Gabriel is introduced as 'one having the appearance of a man.' In 10<sup>16</sup> Gabriel is again described as 'one like the appearance of the sons of men.' And so forth. Moreover, in Rev 14<sup>14</sup> 'one like unto a son of man' is a designation of an angel. And in Enoch 87<sup>2</sup> the four archangels are all 'like white men.'

( But why Michael in particular? Simply because no other angel is so closely identified with Israel. It is Michael who everywhere represents the new world-power, Israel. And in Dn 10<sup>21</sup> he is distinctly declared to be the celestial prince of Israel.

Professor Schmidt claims that this interpretation satisfies all requirements. The heavenly being who has the appearance of a man is the same as he who appears in other passages of the book; no new meaning is required for this particular passage. This being is, moreover, no product of the author's

imagination, but a well-known personality, even the guardian angel of Israel. As the Messianic idea grew, the work of Michael and his position as Israel's representative were shifted to the shoulders of the Messiah. And then it was as the Messiah that Jesus used (or is represented to have used) the name.

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That Jesus did use the name 'Son of Man' so as to identify Himself with the Messiah, Professor Schmidt is not certain. This is the impression made by the Gospels as they stand. But Professor Schmidt is not sure of the Gospels as they stand. Behind our Greek Gospels he seems to see Aramaic Gospels, or bits of Gospels. In particular he thinks that there was an Aramaic 'Apocalypse of Jesus,' parts of which have been preserved in Mt 24<sup>1-51</sup>, Mk 13<sup>1-37</sup>, and Lk 21<sup>6-36</sup>, which, under the influence of Daniel, gave the title, 'Son of Man,' to Jesus in the Messianic sense. This Apocalypse was translated and found its way into the Greek Gospels, carrying the Messianic application with it. But as this Apocalypse of Jesus, from its reference to the murder of Zechariah ben Barachiah (Mt 23<sup>35</sup>, Lk 11<sup>51</sup>; cf. Josephus, *B.J.*, iv. 335, 343), cannot have been itself written long before the end of the first century, Professor Schmidt finds himself in a critical position of some difficulty. But it is enough for us that he holds that in the Gospels as we now have them, however it got there, the title 'Son of Man' means the Messiah.

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Professor Zenos of the University of Chicago has contributed an article to the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* on 'Symbolo-Fideisme.' That 'ugly and hateful barbarism,' as one of its most sympathetic reviewers has called it, is the name of a new system of theology, the Ritschlianism of France. It is not called after its founder as Ritschlianism is, because no one claims to be its founder. The name it is known by was actually given to it in derision—as some think the name Christian was first given. But it was at once

adopted by its adherents. And as it is likely to be found in future manuals of historical theology, it may be well to set it down here accurately that the name first appeared anonymously in the *Église libre* of 3rd August 1894.

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The system itself is about ten years old. Or rather its first public appearance was made about ten years ago. How long before that time men were secretly brooding over it cannot now be told. But about ten years ago its adherents formed themselves into a school, which, with that singular helplessness in the choice of names which characterizes them, they called the School of Paris (*L'École de Paris*). The leading members were the historian Jundt, the Philonian scholar Massebieau, the journalist Frank Puaux, and three professors of Divinity in Paris, Auguste Sabatier, Eugène Ménégoz, and Edmond Stapfer.

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The three professors are its three theologians. And each of them confines himself to his own department. Professor Sabatier is a systematic theologian, and to him we owe the fullest and most direct exposition of the system. His chief book, *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la Religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire*, has been translated into English and published under the title of *Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion* (Hodder & Stoughton). On its appearance in France Professor Ménégoz wrote a full review of it, and spoke of it as 'the most important doctrinal treatise issued from the press in France since the publication of Calvin's *Institutes*.' Professor Sabatier has also published *The Vitality of Dogma* (in English, by A. & C. Black) and *Religion and Modern Culture*, the former an inaugural lecture at the Protestant Faculty of the University of Paris, to which he belongs; the other, a paper read at the Congress of the Science of Religions at Stockholm in 1897.

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Professor Ménégoz is an exegetical theologian. His chief work is on *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*. But he has also published a



*Study of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, and two smaller but significant works, *Du Rapport entre l'Histoire Sainte et la Foi Religieuse* and *Le Salut d'après l'enseignement de Jésus*. Professor Stapfer, before he became known as—what shall we call him?—a Symbolo-Fideist, had written a book on *Palestine in the Time of Christ*. He has since published a Life of Christ in three small volumes, which have been translated and issued by Scribners in America, and in the second volume he frankly states that his interpretation of the Life of Jesus arises out of his new position as an adherent of *Symbolo-Fideisme*. He is the historical theologian of the system. Many articles also, some of them directly expository of the system, have been contributed to the *Revue de Théologie* and the *Revue Chrétienne*.

Well, what is this new thing called *Symbolo-Fideisme*? Its double name expresses its double-sidedness. Two principles are combined in it. One is that faith is an act of union with God and is fundamental in religion. The other is that faith must always seek forms of outward expression; but these forms are not essential to religion, they are only the signs or symbols by which the presence of the faith within makes itself known. Sabatier, it is said, worked out the idea of the symbol, that ever-varying outward form in which true religion expresses itself; and Stapfer emphasized the inner essential fact of faith.

Take an example. Professor Zenos takes it from the little book by Ménégoz on the Trinity. It will illustrate at once the system and the risk that any new system runs of falling into some old heresy. The doctrine of the Trinity, says Ménégoz, is not formally expounded in the New Testament. But the data for a doctrine are there, and we must state it for ourselves. Professor Ménégoz states it for himself, and says that 'the Father is God transcendent; the Logos is God immanent in humanity, revealing Himself in history, and manifested in His fulness in Jesus Christ; the Holy Spirit is God immanent in us

giving testimony to our spirit.' Put it more concisely: The Father is God transcendent; the Son is God immanent objectively; and the Holy Spirit is God immanent subjectively; and these three are one. But the three are distinct as we represent them in our thought, and in distinguishing them we conceive of all the three as personal. And each has His special rôle in relation to humanity. We represent them to our mind scarcely otherwise than the Church Fathers; but we are conscious that our representation is purely subjective, and that, as a matter of fact, there are not three persons in God, but a single Person manifesting Himself to our spirit under three different personal aspects.

That is perhaps as good, as favourable, an example of Symbolo-Fideism (we may drop the *e* and make it English) as could be given. How nearly it touches Sabellianism is evident. Professor Ménégoz holds that it is not Sabellianism. For, whereas the persons of the Trinity in Sabellianism are successive manifestations of God, according to his view they are activities coexisting and running parallel at all times. But the point is, that even for his own view Professor Ménégoz claims only a superficial and temporary value. We must speak of three persons in the Trinity, but that is merely a sign or symbol necessary to our present thought; essentially faith knows that there is only one God.

Year after year for many years has the subject of the Higher Criticism been up at the Church Congress. This year there was a variety. The subject was up, but it took the special form of 'Old Testament Criticism in its bearing on Teaching.'

The subject was opened by the President of Queens' College, Cambridge. Dr. Ryle began by a stroke, the full force of which could only have been felt when the second speaker was on his feet. He began by quoting two sentences from an

article in the *Dictionary of the Bible* by Professor Margoliouth. The sentences admirably express and plainly accept the broad results which the Higher Criticism claims to have reached. 'The greater portion of the Old Testament,' says Professor Margoliouth, 'does not consist of works produced by single individuals embodying their own ideas in their own language, but of the work of schools, or societies, who compiled, abridged, and edited. The main streams have perhaps been separated by critics with success; but each of these main streams is made up of a variety of smaller rills, so to speak, which cannot be localized.'

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The full force of these sentences, as quoted by Dr. Ryle, could only have been felt, we say, when the next speaker was on his feet. For the next speaker was Professor Margoliouth himself, and Professor Margoliouth's speech was an unqualified repudiation of the Higher Criticism and all its 'results.' He would not even give it the credit of originality. It was as old and stale as Manasseh. 'King Manasseh,' he said, 'if the Talmud is to be believed, stumbled on certain of the difficulties which in modern times vexed Bishop Colenso; but whereas Colenso remained a bishop, Manasseh appears to have abandoned the Jewish faith.' To attribute a book to an author who had not written it, he described as forgery, and he said that in *secular* class-rooms they entertained no doubt of the immorality of forgery. 'But when we come to the lecture-room in which Biblical Criticism is taught we find ourselves regarding forgery as a normal and even praiseworthy act. Wholesale forgeries, such as the Book of Daniel, awake no indignation; indeed, while acknowledging the author to be a forger, we are invited to bestow on him the honourable title of Prophet.'

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The situation is a most curious one. No doubt it means that when Professor Margoliouth passed his *Dictionary* article for the press he was a Higher Critic, and now he is not. But the difference in time is inconsiderable, while the

difference in position is very great. What has thrown Professor Margoliouth in this brief interval out of the ranks of Criticism? It is not offence at the methods which the critics use, nor even at the results which they have reached. It is the discovery in an old lumber-room in Cairo of a few dirty leaves of an old Hebrew manuscript. The critics believe that these leaves give us part of the original Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. Professor Margoliouth believes that they give us only a translation into Hebrew. There have been many words over it. Some of them have been pretty high. And Professor Margoliouth has found himself set determinedly against the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, and all that uphold it.

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It was on that account that the managers of the Newcastle Church Congress sent for him. Professor Ryle would speak first and tell the audience what the Higher Criticism was and why they should teach it. Professor Margoliouth would follow and tell them that whatever they taught they must not teach that, for it was wholly false and was being fast discredited. And it all came off as it was arranged. Only Professor Margoliouth delivered a much more astonishing address than could have been anticipated, and Professor Ryle delivered his dramatic blow at the beginning.

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We have seen what the Higher Criticism is. Why does Professor Ryle think we should teach it? It gives us, he says, a better idea of the way in which the Scriptures of the Old Testament came into existence. The old idea,—no more than a 'traditional vague supposition,' however,—was that the writers obtained their materials in a supernatural way while in a state of spiritual trance or ecstasy. But St. Luke speaks in his Prologue of his labours in collecting materials for his Gospel. Even so the writers of the Old Testament gathered their materials by human industry from human sources. There is inspiration, but it is not there. The inspiration is in that



spiritual force which uses these materials to work the works of God in the human heart.

But more than that, Dr. Ryle claims that criticism is a far better apologetic than tradition. Tradition says that since Scripture is inspired, it can contain no flaw or contradiction. And when apparent flaws or contradictions are discovered, they have to be explained or explained away by methods that are rarely convincing and not always straightforward. Criticism does not deny the possibility of faults or flaws; it deals with them when they are found by the laws of historical or scientific evidence. For the Spirit of God may use for His purpose either a historical occurrence or a popular story or an allegorical picture. And the man who takes the story of Jonah literally should not reproach the man who takes it allegorically.

And yet more. Criticism, says Dr. Ryle, has disentangled science from religion. The books of the Bible were not written to teach science but religion. The patriarchal narratives tell us something of the nomad life of the early Israelites, but from the Tel el-Amarna tablets we learn far more history, see far more of the condition of Canaan during the patriarchal age than from many chapters of Genesis. We have been wont to teach the Old Testament as if it were a storehouse of facts, and to demand a mechanical acquaintance with these facts. Let us go to the monuments for that. But if we would understand the divine election and the spiritual discipline of Israel and of man, let us read the early narratives of Genesis, that matchless series of simple scenes, so true to nature, so rich in moral beauty, so matchless in purity of pathos.

And Dr. Ryle claims that along with these great gifts the Higher Criticism has given us a new interest in the Old Testament. We may read it for pleasure or for benefit, for the means of sanctification or for weapons of controversial war—but we read it now. In particular we read the prophets. For centuries, he says, the prophets were

ignored as mysterious oracles, or honoured merely for the precious texts which sparkled like gems upon the dim and obscure surface of an unexplored literature. Modern scholarship has laid bare their intimate relation to the political and social problems of the day. 'The books so long shunned and avoided are seen to burn with living fire, and the servant of God is impelled, as it were, by this new appearance to draw nearer and see this great sight. The dulness has gone from these names; they live once more for modern uses, political and social as well as spiritual.'

For those reasons and in those ways Professor Ryle would give Criticism a place in the modern teaching of the Bible. For Criticism is not content with negative results, nor does it stay its hand when literary structure and historical sequence have been ascertained. It is a revelation of God as a God of order; it lays the foundation of a theology of progress. If it tells us that to all appearance Israel began with nothing which other nations did not have, it tells us also that while the religion of Edom and Moab and Ammon evaporated like smoke, the religion of Israel gathered strength and beauty, inspired and upheld the race in its day of overthrow, and transformed the remnant of Israel into an undying Church.

What has Professor Margoliouth to place over against all that? He would not once look at the things which Criticism claims to bring us. What does he offer instead? He has two alternatives to offer. 'Either,' he says, 'we may look forward to the ultimate re-establishment of the belief in verbal inspiration, which was the view of the late Bishop of Liverpool' (a return stroke not unworthy of a skilled disputant); 'or we may hold with the doctrine formulated by Canon Liddon in his last University sermon, that while a certain number of concessions might be made to the imperfection of the medium whereby the divine revelation was communicated, there was no inconsiderable number of matters, the mainten-

ance of which was necessary for the continuance in belief of persons who were not afraid to follow their premisses to their conclusion.'

We are not quite sure that we understand Professor Margoliouth's second alternative. But for the first the subsequent speakers gave him little encouragement. And yet the subsequent speakers were men who would fain have been with him if they could. There was Dr. Frederick Watson, for example, Hon. Canon of Ely, and Vicar of St. Edward's, Cambridge. 'If we admit,' said Canon Watson, 'that the Bible is a book as truly human as it is Divine, we must not recoil from the consequences. Men argue that since the Bible is God's Word it must be free from all imperfection. The argument is equally valid that since the Bible is man's word, it cannot be thus free. I hope I shall not pain any one when I express my own opinion that the Bible is not free from imperfection, error, and mistake in matters of fact. Let me add that it is a conclusion to which I have slowly and reluctantly come. For example, it would seem impossible to deny the existence of errors in the Old Testament numbers. These errors arise from different causes; but it is clear to my mind

that they cannot be merely corruptions of transmission, the errors of later scribes. I think that we ought to confess that some of Bishop Colenso's arithmetical puzzles were incapable of solution.'

And there was also Dr. Chadwick, the Bishop of Derry. He would put the matter to one small and simple test, and he chose the first chapter of Matthew. In that chapter it is said that 'all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David to the carrying away into Captivity are fourteen generations, and from the carrying away into Captivity to Jesus Christ are fourteen generations.' Here, said the Bishop of Derry, was a plain statement of a plain historical fact. Was it the literal truth? Every one of them knew that the second list of fourteen was obtained by leaving several names out, and the third list by reckoning Jechonias a second time. And the author when he wrote it knew this well. Explain this action as they might—he thought the object was a mystic one, namely, by reckoning six sevens to make the Church occupy the place of the seventh seven,—but in any case it was evident that the writer was not careful to state historic fact with literal prosaic accuracy.

## What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

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### I.

#### St. Matthew's Gospel.

THE text of the four Gospels from the Syriac palimpsest which I discovered in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in 1892, has, since its publication in 1894, attracted an increasing amount of attention from all lovers of biblical science, and has more than justified the high opinion formed of its value by its first transcribers, Professor Bensly, Professor Rendel Harris, and Mr. Burkitt. And since I succeeded in filling up some of the *lacunæ* left by these earnest scholars,

during my third visit to Sinai in 1895, it has been pronounced by Professor Harnack to be 'one of the most important, yes, probably altogether the most important of witnesses for our Gospels' (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, Mai 1898, p. 197). I propose to give in this paper a detailed list of those of its readings which may possibly affect any future revision of our English New Testament, or will at least have to be taken into consideration. But I must first state some of the reasons why so



much importance is attached to the document itself.

Not only has the Gospel-text which forms the under-script of this palimpsest lain untouched since the year 778 A.D. (or possibly 697 A.D.), when John the Stylite of Beth-Mari Qanūn, or Ma'arrath Mesrin, near Kaukab of Antioch, covered it over with his biographies of women saints, but it is the only nearly complete specimen which we possess of the Old Syriac version of the Gospels, a version which has not, like the Peshitta, suffered revision at the hands of those who would fain have assimilated it to the Greek text approved in their day, thereby destroying its witness to what the four Gospels were before any well-meaning people attempted to harmonize them with each other. Or, to use the words of Dr. Rendel Harris in the *Contemporary Review* for November 1894: 'A text has been recovered, superior in antiquity to anything yet known, and one that often agrees with all that is most ancient in Greek MSS; a text which the advanced critics will acknowledge to be, after allowance has been made for a few serious blemishes, superior in purity to all extant copies, with a very few exceptions.'

Before the year 1892 the only specimen of the Old Syriac Gospels extant was the fragmentary one brought to the British Museum in 1842 by Archdeacon Tattam, from the Nitrian desert, which Canon Cureton discovered, and which he edited in 1858.

The Curetonian manuscript is not a palimpsest, and was therefore more easily read than the Sinai one. It has been assigned, chiefly from the appearance of its handwriting, to the middle of the fifth century of our era. To this period I assigned the under-script of the Sinai palimpsest also, at the time when I discovered it. But this was a mere guess, formed from considerations connected with the upper writing, whose date I had read as 697 A.D. I was led to this conclusion because I could not imagine a document so carefully written becoming obsolete and fit only to be used as writing material in less than two centuries after its production. The portions which I read of its text whilst it was being transcribed by the three Cambridge scholars in 1893, convinced me that it is at the least fifty years older than Cureton's, and I shall be surprised to learn that Messrs. Bensly, Rendel Harris, and Burkitt were not under the same impression.

This Old Syriac version bears an unmistakable witness to the antiquity of the Fourth Gospel. How great this gain is, can perhaps only be estimated by those who recollect, as I do, the impressions produced on religious thought by writers in popular magazines, who, twenty years ago,<sup>1</sup> tacitly assumed that this Gospel could not have been written earlier than the middle of the second century, when its presumed author had been in his grave for at least fifty years. True, the discovery of the Arabic version of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, in two manuscripts, had shaken this hypothesis, for the *Diatessaron* is a harmony, as its name implies, of all the Four Gospels, and Tatian wrote it about 160 A.D. Still the fact that the Fourth Gospel was included in a version earlier than Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and from which it probably derived some of its materials, is an additional testimony to the futile character of the attempts which have been made to dissociate it altogether from its traditional author, and from this we may surely learn that the theories of even the most learned of biblical critics are not to be considered infallible, unless they have the witness of incontestable facts.

But the chief virtue in the text of the Sinaitic palimpsest is its purity and its conciseness. Alone among the class of MSS to which it belongs, the so-called 'Western' texts, it exhibits an almost perfect freedom from interpolations, and confirms in a startling way the judgment of nineteenth century scholars, of our English New Testament Revisers, and especially of Westcott and Hort. For all those passages which they have marked as doubtful, by brackets or otherwise, are in this fourth century manuscript conspicuous by their absence. If Dr. Rendel Harris or I had performed the miraculous feat of which a Socialist once accused us, and had forged the palimpsest (thereby deceiving all the Syriac scholars of Europe), we really could not have done this part of it better. But I fear we should not have possessed imagination enough to introduce those interesting readings which I am about to describe in detail. I shall give these only which distinctly affect the sense, and can be readily understood by biblical students who are unacquainted with Greek. For this reason I omit the minute

<sup>1</sup> See *Contemporary Review* for September 1877, p. 542 (Ernest Renan); also for October 1877, p. 769, for Beyschlag on the other side.

touches by means of which Canon Robinson has detected the dependence of the Armenian version upon the Old Syriac one (*Euthaliana*, pp. 75-82). To avoid repetition, I have indicated by an asterisk those variants which occur in the Sinai palimpsest only, concerning which no corroboration in other MSS has as yet been observed. The Revised Version is the standard of comparison.

Mt 1<sup>8</sup>.—Here the names of the three additional kings which we find in the Curetonian MS., Ahazia, Joash, and Amazia, and which were introduced probably for the sake of historic truth, and would bring the number of generations between king David and the Captivity up to seventeen, are quite absent.

Mt 1<sup>15, 16</sup>.—‘Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ.’

This is doubtless the most serious of the ‘blemishes,’ to which Dr. Rendel Harris alludes in the *Contemporary Review*. It is the passage which has caused the whole manuscript in some quarters to be considered heretical, and has led to the supposition in others that vv. 16, 21, and 25 of this chapter had been tampered with by the Ebionites. Dr. Rendel Harris’ paper was written immediately after the publication of the text, before it had been subjected to the close scrutiny which it soon afterwards underwent from the eyes of other competent scholars. A discussion of this passage took place in the columns of the *Academy*, from 17th November 1894 till 23rd February 1895, conducted chiefly by Dr. Sanday, Messrs Charles, Allen, Badham, Conybeare, Skipwith, Rahlfs, Nestle, and White. It brought clearly into light, not only the contradictory nature of the passage itself, but the relation which it bears to the forms of the verse found in other ancient manuscripts. I shall not attempt to give a summary of these, but shall content myself with stating what appears to me the most obvious explanation.

The genealogy is a purely official one, having regard only to the social status of our Lord. This view receives strong confirmation from two obvious mistakes which have been detected in it. Jechoniah, of whom it was said, in Jer 22<sup>30</sup>: ‘Write ye this man childless,’ is here, as in all other MSS of St. Matthew, represented as the father of Shealtiel; and it is said that Joram

begat his own great-great-grandson Ozias. The story of Mary’s ‘being found with child of the Holy Ghost, when they had not come near one to the other,’ and of Joseph’s ‘being minded quietly to put her away,’ comes immediately afterwards in vv. 18 and 19. It is quite inconceivable that an Ebionite scribe, who had already edited v. 16 so as to expunge from it all trace of our Lord’s supernatural birth, should have allowed vv. 18, 19 and 20 to stand as they are. I submit that all these discrepancies, together with the expression in v. 21, ‘And she shall bear to thee a son,’ and in v. 25, and ‘she bare to him a son’ (instead of ‘and knew her not until she had brought forth a son’), may be satisfactorily explained by a consideration of those social customs which have been ever in vogue amongst Semitic peoples.

Joseph was, without doubt, the foster-father of our Lord, and if any register of births were kept in the Temple or elsewhere, he would probably be there described as the actual father. Such he was from a social point of view, and it was therefore no wilful suppression of the truth when the most blessed amongst women said to her Son, ‘Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing.’ The subject is wonderfully illustrated by the domestic customs of the Arabs, as described by Dr. Robertson Smith in his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*—

‘I now proceed to show that the Arab idea of paternity is strictly correlated to the conception just developed of the nature of the contract of marriage by purchase. A man is father of all the children of the woman by whom he has purchased the right to her offspring that shall be reckoned to be his own kin. This, as is well known, is the fundamental doctrine of Mohammedan law, *el walad lil firash*, the son is reckoned to the bed on which he is born,’ p. 109.

Again: ‘Ultimately, if a child is born in the tribe of a woman brought in by contract of marriage, it was reckoned to the tribal stock as a matter of course, without inquiry as to its natural procreator,’ p. 120.

Again: ‘As there was no difference between an adopted and a real son before Islam, emancipated slaves appear in the genealogical lists without any note of explanation, just as if they had been pure Arabs,’ p. 45.

We do not know if a similar social custom



prevailed amongst the Jews in our Lord's time, but I submit that unless He had passed in common estimation for the son of Joseph, the latter could not have gratified his wish 'not to expose Mary' (v.<sup>19</sup>), and the unbelieving Jews would not have said thirty years later, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' There may have been no formal law on the subject, yet it was entirely in harmony with the trend of Semitic thought.

Since writing the above I have found a fresh and wholly unexpected witness to its truth. All scholars know the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, edited in Greek from MSS of the tenth, twelfth, and fifteenth centuries by Tischendorf, and in Syriac, though in a mutilated form, from a fifth century MS. by Dr. William Wright of Cambridge. It is, as Professor Ewald (quoted by Dr. Wright in his preface) says: 'the firm foundation of all the unfortunate adorations of Mary, and of a hundred superstitious things which, from the fifth century onwards, press into the Church always more and more irresistibly, and which have contributed so much to the degeneration and lowering of all better Christianity. The whole *cultus* of Mary in the popish Church rests on this book.'

Now it happens that I possess the most ancient complete text of this document hitherto known, in the form of a palimpsest, whose upper script is some of St. Athanasius' works in Arabic, and its under-script chiefly Syriac of the fifth or sixth century, the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *Transitus Mariæ* being inserted in it as one book. Will it be believed that in this document, composed expressly for the honour and glory of Mary, on whose perpetual virginity it insists with a somewhat tiresome iteration, we find the angel saying to Joseph, 'She shall bare *to thee* a son,' in the exact words of the Sinai palimpsest? Its text is a rather close translation of Tischendorf's Greek one; and I firmly believe that the words I have just quoted were in the mind of the translator an exact equivalent for *τέξεται δὲ υἱόν* (Tisch. cap. xiv. l.<sup>9</sup>). A later MS. of the *Protevangelium*, belonging to Dr. Rendel Harris, contains the same passage without '*to thee*,' and the eleventh century one edited by Dr. Wallis Budge has nothing that comes exactly near it. But the Curetonian version of the Gospels unquestionably has '*to thee*' in v.<sup>21</sup>. We must therefore beware of reading Aryan ideas into Semitic idioms.

Mr. Skipwith has pointed out (*Academy*, 19th

January 1895) that the first clause of Mt 1<sup>18</sup>, '*But the birth of the Christ* (my translation of *τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις*, or *γέννησις*) was on this wise,' reads very much as if it were an explanation of the genealogy, or *Βίβλος γενέσεως* which precedes it, and which had probably been a separate document current amongst some of the disciples before it was incorporated in the Gospel of Matthew. By the light of the narrative in Mt 1<sup>18-25</sup> we are therefore to understand in what sense Joseph was called the father of Jesus.

Mt 1<sup>22</sup>.—Which 'was spoken of the Lord by *Isaiah* the prophet' (with Codex Bezae, the Curetonian, and the Palestinian Syriac).

1<sup>25</sup>.—'And knew her not until,' is omitted.

\*2<sup>2</sup>.—'For we have seen his star *from* the east.'

\*3<sup>3</sup>.—'The voice of one crying in the wilderness,' and 'make his paths straight,' are both omitted. 'Prepare ye a way for the Lord,' alone remaining as the quotation. Without its usual context it is more emphatic.

\*3<sup>4</sup>.—'With a girdle.' The word 'leather' is not there. 'And honey of the mountain (or field),' is an idiom for 'wild honey,' found also in the Palestinian Syriac version.

3<sup>10</sup>.—'The axe has *reached* the roots of the trees' (with the Curetonian).

\*3<sup>10</sup>.—'Every tree that yieldeth not fruit is cut down,' 'good' being omitted. It perhaps came from Lk 3<sup>9</sup>.

3<sup>15</sup>.—'Then he suffered him *to be baptized*,' an addition found also in the Curetonian.

\*4<sup>8</sup>.—'And the glory of them,' is omitted.

\*4<sup>9</sup>.—'And said unto him, These kingdoms and their glory thou hast seen; to thee will I give them,' etc.

4<sup>11</sup>.—'Then the *\*tempter* withdrew from him *for a time*' (with the Curetonian.)

\*4<sup>16</sup>.—'Saw a light,' the word 'great' being omitted.

\*4<sup>16</sup>.—'Those who sat in *sadness* and in the shadow of death,' etc.

4<sup>17</sup>.—'Saying, The kingdom of heaven hath come near.' 'Repent ye,' is omitted (with the Curetonian). It was perhaps transferred here from Mk 1<sup>15</sup>.

4<sup>22</sup>.—'And they left their father in the ship, and followed him.' 'Straightway,' is omitted.

\*4<sup>24</sup>.—'And the report of him went forth into all

Syria' is omitted. It perhaps came here from Lk 4<sup>37</sup>.

\*4<sup>24†</sup>.—'Possessed with devils, and epileptic, and palsied,' is omitted.

4<sup>24</sup>.—'*And on each of them he laid his hand, and he healed everyone*' (with the Curetonian).

5<sup>22</sup>.—'That whosoever is angry with his brother *without a cause*' (with Codex Bezae and other ancient Greek MSS, the other ancient Syriac versions, and the Coptic).

\*5<sup>25</sup>.—'And the judge deliver thee to the officer,' is omitted.

5<sup>30</sup>.—'And if thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into hell,' is omitted (with Codex Bezae). It has possibly been carried here from chap. 18<sup>8</sup>.

5<sup>32</sup>.—Instead of 'his wife, saving for the cause of fornication,' we have, 'his wife, against whom adultery hath not been alleged' (with the Curetonian).

5<sup>47</sup>.—'And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the Gentiles the same?' is omitted (with the Latin Codex Bobbiensis (k)).

\*6<sup>5</sup>.—'And when ye pray, ye shall not be as the hypocrites: for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward,' is omitted.

67.—The meaning of this verse is precisely the same as the English rendering of the Revised Version. Yet the two Syriac words used to represent the Greek βατταλογήσατε (say vain things) have enabled Dr. Blass of Halle to suggest a few better derivations for that word than any which we can find in a Greek lexicon, and thereby to determine its exact significance. It does not come from βάττος 'a stammerer' (see Liddell and Scott). Our Lord surely did not tell His disciples not to stammer in prayer; but it is one of those hybrid compounds which come into existence in countries where two or more languages are spoken. It is composed of the Aramaic *b'ṭal*, 'vain,' 'useless,' and of the Greek λογέω, from λόγος, 'a word.' The word *b'ṭal* is from a common Semitic root, which appears also in Hebrew and in Arabic. No word is more frequent on the lips of the Syrians and Egyptians of to-day, whether it be used of a

neighbour who has incurred the speaker's dislike, or of the refuse which is thrown into the gutters, *nass battāl* being equivalent to *canaille* and an expression of utter contempt. It is not therefore against repetitions that we are warned (we may say the Lord's Prayer three times in succession with a clear conscience), but against that clatter of the lips which the heart does not follow. A like expression occurs in the Palestinian Syriac version, but not in the Curetonian nor the Peshitta. We find a form of the verb *b'ṭal* used also for 'make void' in Mt 15<sup>6</sup>.

From chap. 6<sup>10</sup> to chap. 8<sup>3</sup> is on pages which were lost before the writing of the upper-script in 778 A.D.

\*8<sup>5, 8, 13</sup>.—Instead of the word 'centurion,' we have 'chiliarch,' the commander of a thousand.

\*8<sup>24</sup>.—The word 'lake' is used instead of 'sea.' This seems a peculiarity of the manuscript.

10<sup>23</sup>.—'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye from it to another: *and if they persecute you in the other city, flee ye to another*' (with Codex Bezae).

12<sup>2</sup>.—'Upon the Sabbath,' is omitted (with the Curetonian and the Latin Codex Bobbiensis (k)).

12<sup>35</sup>.—'And a good man out of the good treasures *which are in his heart*' (with the Curetonian).

12<sup>47</sup>.—'And one said unto him, Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking to speak to thee,' is omitted (with the Sinaiticus, the Vaticanus, the Latin Codex Bobbiensis, and the Curetonian.)

13<sup>11</sup>.—'kingdom' instead of 'kingdom of heaven.'

\*13<sup>12</sup>.—'And he shall have abundance,' is omitted.

13<sup>13</sup>.—'Because of this speak I with them in parables: that what they see they may not see; and what they hear they may not hear, and may not understand, and they may never be converted' (with Codex Bezae and the Curetonian).

13<sup>15</sup>.—'And their ears have they made heavy, that they may not hear.' This corresponds with its sequel, 'and their eyes have they closed' (with the Curetonian and the Coptic).

\*13<sup>15</sup>.—'And should turn again, and I should heal them,' is omitted.

13<sup>35</sup>.—'I will speak hidden things which are from of old' (with the Curetonian).



\*13<sup>45</sup>.—‘A merchantman seeking pearls:’ ‘goodly’ is omitted.

13<sup>46</sup>.—‘And when he had found one *good* pearl of great price’ (with the Curetonian).

\*13<sup>55</sup>.—‘Is not this the son of Joseph?’ (the Curetonian has here, ‘the son of Joseph the carpenter’).

14<sup>2</sup>.—‘Therefore great is his power’ (with the Curetonian).

15<sup>13</sup>.—‘Every plant which *the* Father in heaven hath not planted, shall be rooted up.’ This slight variation is also found in the Latin Codex Corbejensis. And it must have been in the Greek text, of which the text of the Sinai palimpsest is a translation, and also in the one which was quoted by the author of the Clementine Homilies (iii. chap. 52). Was the manuscript which this writer read the not very remote parent of our palimpsest text?

15<sup>14</sup>.—‘They be leaders of the blind’ (with the Coptic version).

15<sup>27</sup>.—‘Even the dogs eat from the tables of their masters, *and live*’ (with the Curetonian, Peshitta, and Palestinian Syriac versions).

16<sup>23</sup>.—‘When it is evening, ye say, Fair weather: for the heaven is red. And in the morning, Foul weather to-day: for the sky is red and lowering. Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven; but ye cannot discern the signs of the times,’ is omitted (with many ancient Greek codices, and with the Curetonian).

16<sup>13</sup>.—‘What do men say concerning me? who then is this Son of man?’ (with the Curetonian).

18<sup>1</sup>.—‘Who then shall be *great* in the kingdom of heaven?’ and v.<sup>4</sup> ‘He shall be *great*’ (with other Syriac versions).

\*18<sup>17</sup>.—‘Tell it unto the *synagogue*: and if he will not hear the *synagogue*’ (with the Palestinian Syriac). Here the word used is *k’nushta*, the plural of which is translated ‘synagogues’ in Mt 6<sup>5</sup>, whilst its singular stands for synagogue in twenty-two other passages of the other three Gospels. We find the word *etta*, ‘church,’ in the Curetonian and the Peshitta, but these have, doubtless, suffered a revision for the purpose of bringing them into harmony with Greek MSS. Synagogues existed in our Lord’s day, they were a feature of Jewish national life; how natural that he should have counselled an appeal to one of them rather than to a ‘church,’ which was not

then constituted.<sup>1</sup> And was it not equally natural that in later times, when the church took the place of the synagogue, the new word should have been read into this passage?

The text of v.<sup>20</sup> occurs on a spot where the vellum has been much damaged; and a difference of opinion concerning it exists amongst the surviving transcribers. But there is no doubt about v.<sup>20</sup>, which reads, ‘For there are not two or three gathered together in my name, and I not amongst them’ (with Codex Bezae).

18<sup>22</sup>.—‘Until seventy times seven’ (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

19<sup>4</sup>.—‘Have ye not read, that he who made the male made also the female?’ (almost with the Curetonian).

19<sup>9</sup>.—‘Whoso shall put away his wife, *when there is no adultery*’ (with the Curetonian, the Corbejensis, and some other Old Latin MSS).

19<sup>16</sup>.—‘Good Teacher,’ instead of ‘Master’ (with the Curetonian and the Coptic).

\*19<sup>18</sup>.—‘Thou shalt not steal,’ is omitted.

19<sup>20</sup>.—‘All these things have, I observed, *lo! since I was a boy*’ (with Codex Bezae, and several Latin MSS, the other Syriac versions, and the Coptic).

\*20<sup>14</sup>.—‘Take thy penny, and go.’

20<sup>16</sup>.—‘And the first last: *many be called, but few chosen*’ (with Codex Bezae, and all the Syriac versions).

20<sup>25</sup> to 21<sup>30</sup> is on lost leaves; but there is no room for the long interpolation which the Curetonian exhibits in v.<sup>28</sup>.

21<sup>31</sup>.—‘Whether of these did the will of his father?’ They say unto him ‘*The last.*’ This strange and to our minds paradoxical rendering is found also in the Codex Vaticanus and Codex Bezae, in some Latin MSS, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic.

\*21<sup>32</sup>.—‘And ye, when ye saw it, *at last repented yourselves*, that ye might believe in him.’

21<sup>44</sup>.—‘And he that falleth on this stone shall be broken to pieces: but on whosoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae and some Latin MSS).

\*22<sup>4</sup>.—‘I have made ready my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed,’ is omitted.

\*22<sup>24</sup>.—‘And raise up seed unto his brother,’ is omitted.

\*22<sup>35</sup>.—‘A lawyer,’ is omitted.

<sup>1</sup> See Mt 16<sup>18</sup>, ‘Upon this rock I *will* build my church.’

22<sup>87</sup>.—‘And with all thy strength,’ instead of, ‘and with all thy mind’ (with the Curetonian). The Peshiṭta and the Palestinian Syriac have both.

\*23<sup>18</sup>.—‘Ye hold the key of the kingdom of heaven before men.’ The Scribes and Pharisees were intrusted with the key, and they made use of it to keep themselves and others out.

\*23<sup>27</sup>.—‘For ye are like unto sepulchres, which are whitened outside, and within are full of dead men’s bones, and of all uncleanness.’ Note that this is more concise than any other known text. It omits a clause, and yet loses nothing.

\*24<sup>2</sup>.—‘See ye not all these stones?’

\*24<sup>30</sup>.—‘And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn,’ is omitted.

24<sup>36</sup>.—‘Neither the Son,’ is omitted (with some other ancient MSS).

25<sup>1</sup>.—‘And went forth to meet the bridegroom and *bride*’ (with Codex Bezae, the Peshiṭta, and a few other MSS).

\*26<sup>27</sup>.—‘And he took the cup, and gave thanks *over it*.’ Probably a Syriac idiom.

26<sup>28</sup>.—‘This is my blood, the new testament’ (with Codex B of the Palestinian Syriac version).

26<sup>50</sup>.—‘But Jesus said unto him, Wherefore art thou come, my friend?’

\*26<sup>51</sup>.—‘And behold, one of the *disciples* of Jesus stretched out his hand,’ etc.

26<sup>70</sup>.—‘I know not what thou sayest, *neither do I understand*’ (with Codex Bezae, some Latin MSS, and the Palestinian Syriac).

\*26<sup>71</sup>.—‘And when he had gone out to the *door of the courts*.’

27<sup>4</sup>.—‘They say unto him, What is that to us? Thou knowest’ (with the Peshiṭta).

27<sup>9</sup>.—‘Jeremiah’ is omitted, and justly so, for the quotation about the thirty pieces of silver is from Zechariah (with the Peshiṭta and some Latin MSS). It is, indeed, singular to find what must be the true text preserved in the versions.

27<sup>9</sup>.—‘Which I was valued at by the children of Israel; and I gave them for the field of the potter, as the Lord commanded me.’

27<sup>16</sup>.—‘A certain notable man, whose name was *Jesus Bar Abba*’ (with the Palestinian Syriac).

\*27<sup>16</sup>.—‘He had been thrown into prison because of the evil (things) he had done, and he had committed murder,’ is added.

27<sup>17</sup>.—‘*Jesus Bar-abba*’ (with the Pal. Syriac).

17<sup>24</sup>.—‘Ye know,’ instead of, ‘see ye to it’ (with the Peshiṭta).

27<sup>28</sup>.—‘And they stripped him,’ is omitted.

27<sup>28</sup>.—‘And they clothed him with robes of purple and scarlet’ (with Codex Bezae and some Latin MSS).

27<sup>33</sup>.—‘That is to say, The place of a skull,’ is omitted.

\*There was no need to explain the meaning of ‘Gogultha’ in a Syriac version; yet the clause is found both in the Peshiṭta and the Palestinian Syriac; the Curetonian being here awaiting.

27<sup>46</sup>.—The explanatory clause in this verse is in like manner omitted (with the Peshiṭta and Palestinian Syriac).

\*27<sup>56</sup>.—‘Mary Magdalene, and Mary the *daughter* of James, and the mother of Joseph.’

28<sup>8-20</sup> are on a lost leaf.

## The Songs of the Ascents.

BY THE REV. DAVID SMITH, M.A., TULLIALLAN.

### I.

#### Their Historical Setting.

THESE fifteen Psalms (120-134) form a distinct group, a little Psalter, as it were, within the Psalter. It is not merely that they bear a common title; still less is it that one Psalmist wrote them all. It is a deeper unity that pervades them. They have to do with one great national experience,

and they all throb with a kindred passion. They exhibit, indeed, the most diverse emotions—despair and exultation, abandonment and faith, defeat and triumph; but those varying moods do but mark the progress of the drama. It is a great national disaster and a great national deliverance



that they portray, and each of them is a vivid picture of some thrilling scene sketched by a master-hand, and instinct with the emotion of one who has himself witnessed the things which he depicts.

Some perplexity has always been felt regarding the title prefixed to each of the fifteen Psalms by the Rabbinical editors. It is rendered in our Authorized Version 'A Song of Degrees,' but it should rather be 'A Song of the Ascents.' What does this mean? It has been supposed to refer to their rhythmical structure. Observe, for example, how in Ps 121 the stanzas succeed and suggest each other, like the steps of a staircase or the rungs of a ladder. 'Whence shall *my help come*? *My help cometh* from the Lord. *He that keepeth* thee will not *slumber*. *He that keepeth* Israel shall neither *slumber nor sleep*. The Lord is thy *keeper*: the Lord is thy *shade*. The sun shall not *smite* thee. The Lord shall *keep* thee from all evil.' We *ascend*, as it were, from thought to thought.

There are, however, two objections to this explanation. One is that the Songs of the Ascents have not all this ascending structure; and the other, that it is found in other poems in Scripture which do not bear the title (*e.g.* Ps 29).

Another explanation is that they were the songs sung on the way by the worshippers who, in obedience to the Mosaic Law (Ex 34<sup>23</sup>), went up thrice every year from the provinces to appear before the Lord in the Temple on Mount Zion. The Hebrews were a very musical race, and it was most natural that they should at once beguile the tediousness of their pilgrimage and give voice to their ardent devotion by joining in appropriate hymns of praise. It is to this custom that Isaiah refers when he says: 'Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy feast is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord, to the Rock of Israel' (30<sup>29</sup>).

It is evident, however, that these Psalms date from the period of the Babylonian Captivity; and therefore the *ascents* they refer to are not the periodic pilgrimages of worshippers from the provinces to Jerusalem, but the ἀναβάσεις of the emancipated Israelites at the close of their long exile. Indeed to no other historical situation are they at all appropriate. They are not the jubilant hymns of prosperous Israelites going up from their peaceful homes to worship at the sacred capital,

but the triumphant plaints of captives 'escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers,' and returning with tearful gladness to a desecrated homeland.

The Babylonian Captivity was at once the most tragic and the most fruitful event in the history of Israel. In the year 588 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judah with his Chaldean troops, took Jerusalem, carried her inhabitants eastward across the desert, and settled them as a captive and servile population beside his famous capital, Babylon. The exiles were a huge and various multitude. They included king Jehoiachin and his court, seven thousand men at arms, a thousand craftsmen and smiths, and many others, besides a crowd of women and children. The total can hardly be reckoned at less than twenty-five thousand.

Babylon was a marvellous city. Situated on the river Euphrates, on the highway between Asia and Europe, she commanded the vast and varied commerce betwixt the East and the West. At that period Babylon was the mistress of the world, and from far and near, by ship and by caravan, the nations sent their tributes of merchandise and poured them at her feet. Everything about her was colossal. Her hanging gardens were one of the Seven Wonders of the World. She covered a space, Herodotus states, which measured about seventy-five miles round about; her wall was two hundred cubits high; it was pierced by an hundred gates of solid brass; and so broad was it that two chariots, each with four horses harnessed side by side, could easily drive abreast between the battlements.

Nebuchadnezzar was an enterprising and warlike prince. His chief ambition was to reduce the power of Egypt, the hereditary rival of his empire, and he sought to compass this end, not simply by crushing her on the battlefield, but by crippling her commerce. With this object in view he constructed all over his country canals and roadways in order to afford merchants superior facilities for trading with his capital. It is probable that his purpose in transporting the Jews to Babylon was to employ them as workmen in these enterprises.

The distance between Jerusalem and Babylon is over seven hundred miles, and—howsoever the captives may have been hurried by the brutal soldiers—the journey across the burning sands can hardly have occupied less than three months.

Ezra's caravan took four months to accomplish the return journey (Ezr 7<sup>9</sup>), and feet are as swift when winged by hope as when driven by fear. A touching spectacle must that train of prisoners have been—those thousands of broken and fettered men, and those thousands more of weeping women and affrighted children, on their weary and bitter journey with only the conqueror's lash to nerve them and quicken their steps. With a proud patriotism the sacred writers have hidden these sorrows of defeat behind a veil of silence. Only now and then does a word escape them, like an involuntary sob, telling the story more eloquently than pages of narrative. Thus in Ps 137 we get a glimpse of the siege and capture of Jerusalem and the nameless barbarities of the Chaldean soldiery in their hour of triumph. We see also the Edomites, the ancient neighbours and enemies of the doomed city, standing by and hounding on the besiegers: 'Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.' At the first glance we may be horrified at the savagery of the words—

O daughter of Babylon, that art to be destroyed;  
Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones  
Against the rock.

But our horror gives place to compassion and well-nigh to sympathy when we learn that, should such fiendish inhumanity be meted out to Babylon, she would only be receiving the reward of her own deeds—'as thou hast served us.' Who would judge hardly of such an imprecation, realizing that it came from the lips of men and women who had seen their own tender infants snatched from the breast, impaled writhing on spears, and dashed against the stones? Beyond a few chance words of this description the Jewish writers give no account of that terrible catastrophe; but in the shuddering silence which has sealed their lips there is a ghastly expressiveness. Had the story of the siege and capture of Jerusalem been written, there would assuredly have been pages in it as bloody and sickening as any in the history of the long and heroic struggle between the Dutch Republic and the tyranny of Spain.

Fifty years after the fall of Jerusalem the Persian monarch Cyrus invaded and captured Babylon. At his first appearance on the horizon of events the Hebrew captives had secretly yet exultantly hailed him as their deliverer, and some of them had even been disposed to recognize him as the Messianic King, like the author of the latter

half of the Book of Isaiah, who speaks of him after this fashion: 'Thus saith the Lord to *His Anointed*, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden.' Moved doubtless by their enthusiasm for his cause, Cyrus almost immediately gave orders for the restoration of the Jews to their own land. Most of the original captives would now be dead; only such as had been carried away as little children would remain, and these would now be old and white-headed: But patriotism was a native instinct of the Hebrew soul, and, though not a few stayed behind to ply their lucrative trades in wealthy Babylon, the majority, with eager hearts and willing feet, set out across the desert on the homeward journey. And, as they travelled up from the low plains of Chaldæa to the high lands of Palestine, their full hearts found utterance in such songs of thankfulness and expectation as these fifteen that have been preserved under the title 'Songs of the Ascents.'

The Babylonian Captivity was one of the most terrible experiences which the Jewish nation ever passed through—far more terrible than the bondage in Egypt, and hardly, if at all, less bloody and calamitous than the Roman conquest six and a half centuries later. And yet, little as this appeared at the time, it was by the Captivity that the nation learned its most sacred and valuable lessons.

1. *By the Captivity the Jews came to know God better.* Formerly they had conceived of Jehovah as the God of Israel and not as the God of the whole earth. There were other gods, they held, besides Jehovah—the multitudinous gods of the heathen; and the difference between Him and them was simply that He was mightier than they. Moreover, Jehovah, as their national God, could be worshipped aright only at His central shrine on Mount Zion. Severance from Zion was severance from the sweet fellowship of Jehovah. This is the secret of the intensity with which the exiles 'longed, yea, even fainted for the courts of Jehovah.' 'My soul,' says one, 'thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before God?' Not until they were back in Jerusalem could they worship Jehovah or enjoy His presence.

The Captivity forced upon the exiles two truths about God. It taught them, on the one hand, that He was not merely the greatest among the gods, but the only God, and in some way not the



God of the Jews merely, but of the whole wide world. Were He simply the patron deity of Israel, then the calamities which had overtaken His people could only mean that He had been worsted by the rival deities of their enemies, and therefore was weaker than they. The disasters of the Exile forced upon them the conviction that, in some deeper and more wonderful way than they had ever dreamed of, Jehovah was supreme over the world and had at heart the interests of Babylon and Egypt as well as of Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the Captivity afforded them at least glimpses of the truth that God is a Spirit and might be worshipped and trusted as much at Babylon as at Mount Zion. It was after the Captivity that Ps 139 was written—

O Lord, Thou hast searched me and known me.  
Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising,  
Thou understandest my thought afar off.  
Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit?  
Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?

Until the Captivity no Hebrew ever dreamed of a God like that.

2. *By the Captivity the Jews were brought into contact with the large world outside of their own little land.* Hand in hand with their recognition that God's purpose was wider than they had believed and embraced not only Israel but the world, went their recognition that they were bound to communicate the divine knowledge which, like a sacred deposit, had been entrusted to them. It is only after the Exile that proselytes became prominent figures in Israel. It was the Exile that made Judaism a missionary religion.

3. *By the Captivity they gained a deeper and*

*truer insight into God's providential dealings with men.* It was a favourite and firmly established doctrine in Israel that righteousness brings with it, of necessity, worldly prosperity, while wickedness is requited with misfortune. And hitherto this theory had gone unchallenged. But the spectacle of the righteous nation in adversity brought it into doubt, and this deepest of problems was grappled with by earnest minds, as in the Book of Job, Ps 37 and 73, and above all Is 53. But for the Captivity Israel could hardly have come face to face with such profound and searching questions; and the Cross of Christ, which is God's solution of the problem, would have awakened but a feeble response in the undisciplined hearts of men. It would have been like furnishing the answer to minds that had never asked the question, or offering consolation to hearts that were not sorrowful.

4. *By the Captivity the Jews came by the Hope of Immortality.* In the pre-exilic Scriptures one will search in vain for any clear and indisputable intimation of a life after death. It was during the Captivity that the belief came to them, and it came in two ways. On the one hand, it was prominent in the religion of Babylonia, and could not fail to become familiar to the Hebrews as they made acquaintance with the life and thought of their conquerors. On the other hand, in the effort to solve the problem why the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper, it could not but occur as at least a partial solution that there may well be a life hereafter in a world where righteousness will hold absolute sway and all earthly wrongs be rectified.

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Marti's 'Das Buch Jesaja.'<sup>1</sup>

It is very satisfactory to find that Professor Marti has allowed himself a liberal measure of space for the commentary on Isaiah. Four hundred and fourteen pages of text, many of them in small but legible print, in addition to the introduction and

the index, afford room for entering with some fullness into the manifold questions concerning this most important member of the Old Testament Canon. But there is not a page too many. In such a brief notice as ours must be it is difficult to convey an adequate impression of the manner in which the subject is handled. We must content ourselves with an attempt to indicate the results reached by the critical analysis of Isaiah, the character of the exposition, and the attitude

<sup>1</sup> *Das Buch Jesaja.* Erklärt von D. Karl Marti. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. Mohr, 1900; London: Williams & Norgate.

towards certain leading thoughts involved in or expressed by the prophetic writers.

I. Marti divides the Book of Isaiah into four main parts.

1. In chaps. 1-39 is a considerable amount of material due to Isaiah, the great prophet who stood in close relations to the court of Jerusalem in the eighth century before Christ. Most of it can be dated with a considerable degree of certainty, and the arrangement is as follows:—

Prior to 734 B.C.—26-22\* [5<sup>1-7?</sup>] 9<sup>7-10</sup> + 5<sup>26-30\*</sup> 17<sup>1-11</sup> + 18<sup>5f.</sup>; cf. also 6<sup>1-11</sup>.

In 734, during the war with Syria and Israel—7<sup>1-25\*</sup> 8<sup>1-4</sup> 5-8a 11-15 16-18.

Prior to the fall of Samaria, i.e. before 721—3<sup>1-4</sup>\* [5<sup>1-7?</sup>] [18<sup>1. 2. 4?</sup>] 28<sup>1-4</sup>.

About the time of the fall of Ashdod (711)—20<sup>1-6</sup>.

In the year of the alliance with Misraim (704-701)—1<sup>19-26</sup> 28<sup>7-22</sup> 29<sup>1-8\*</sup> 9f. 13f. 15 30<sup>1-5</sup>. 6b. 7a. 8-17 31<sup>1-3</sup>. 4. 5a\* 22<sup>15-18</sup> 1<sup>2-17</sup> 22<sup>1-5</sup>. 12-14.

2. Chaps. 40-45 are for the most part due to an anonymous prophet who probably lived in Egypt, and certainly wrote between the victory of Cyrus over Croesus in 546 B.C., and the conquest of Babylon in 539/38.

3. The bulk of chaps. 56-66 comes from one whose activity is to be assigned to the period between 458 B.C. and 445, not long before Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem.

4. To say nothing of the numerous interpolations and additions which may be found in the three great sections already named, there are a number of minor independent pieces, the time and occasion of which can be precisely determined. 13<sup>2-22</sup> 14<sup>4b-21</sup> 21<sup>1-15</sup>, belong to the sixth century. The Messianic prophecies, 9<sup>1-6</sup> 11<sup>1-8</sup>, are from the close of that century. 15 and 16 are fifth century. 23<sup>1-14</sup> is an elegy on the destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes III, Ochus, in 348 B.C. 19<sup>1-15</sup> is a little earlier than 343 B.C. And 14<sup>28-32</sup> was written in 333. There is no doubt that 33 was composed in 163 B.C. Chaps. 34, 35 represent the expectations which were prevalent amongst the Jews about the middle of the second century B.C. And 24-27 are placed shortly after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, 128 B.C.

These attempts at precise determination furnish abundant matter for thought and examination. The reasons by which they are supported deserve to be weighed, and can only be weighed in a reliable fashion by one who reads the whole of the commentary. And anyone who does this will be

certain to remember that other, for the most part earlier, dates and occasions have been suggested on equally plausible grounds. Experience has shown that more than one event in ancient history may seem to correspond perfectly with one and the same passage of prophet or psalmist. Great caution is necessary. Any suggestion that sharpens the point of an obscure sentence is worth close attention. But dogmatic assertions are dangerous.

In connexion with Marti's treatment of the critical problem, it is worth while giving an example of the closeness with which he scrutinizes all facts and supposed facts. Kautzsch (*Hist. of Lit. of O.T.* p. 99) essays to answer the irrepressible question as to how chaps. 40-66 became attached to 1-39: 'According to a Jewish tradition, which is still attested by the oldest German and French MSS, the original order of the prophets was this: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Book of the Twelve. In this arrangement, according to size, Deutero-Isaiah had its proper place betwixt Isaiah and Hosea. When Isaiah, on chronological grounds, was transposed to the first place, the twenty-seven chapters unfurnished with a title were taken over with it, and a tradition was thus created, which, in spite of its lack of foundation, has tenaciously asserted itself for many centuries.' This very natural explanation apparently leaves nothing to be desired. But Marti, without mentioning Kautzsch, writes thus:<sup>1</sup> 'This ancient tradition cannot be employed to explain the union of Is 1-39 with 40-66; for according to the preceding Baraitha, B. Bathra, fol. 13<sup>b</sup>, doubts still existed in the first and second centuries as to whether the O.T. Scriptures in general, or even whether several of them, might be united in a roll or in a book. It follows that the order of these Scriptures cannot have been settled much earlier than this. The LXX also, in which Isaiah stands between Malachi and Jeremiah, shows that before the Scriptures were collected in one volume there was no fixed custom.' Marti's own theory, nowhere very explicitly propounded, evidently is that the junction was not effected in any such mechanical way, but as the result of a spiritual gravitation, like joining like.

II. We need not go beyond the first chapter to find evidence of the thoroughness and excellence of the expository work here done. The following note on v.<sup>4a</sup> is a fair sample: 'In the address to



the people (<sup>4a</sup>) the prophet brings out the conclusion involved in God's word (vv.<sup>2,3</sup>), expressing in fourfold form the sinfulness and corruption of the people. The address begins with הוֹי, *Woe!* an exclamation at once of threatening and reproach, belonging to the whole address and consequently to both עַם and זֶרַע, בָּנִים and זֶרַע. בָּנִים and זֶרַע correspond to each other in the same way as עַם and זֶרַע. The prophet entitles the people *seed, posterity, and children*, with reference to v.<sup>2</sup>. Yahweh is their Father and Educator; they are His children, as, on the other hand, they are His people; cf. 4<sup>8\*</sup> with 3<sup>b</sup>. It is from the context that זֶרַע gets its secondary and unfavourable meaning of *brood*; cf. γέννημα ἐχθρῶν (Mt 3<sup>7</sup>). They are a beautiful clan of villains! The paronomasia of which Isaiah is fond (cf. 5<sup>7</sup> 6<sup>11</sup>) is exemplified in הוֹי נֹי חַטָּא, *Ah, sinful nation*. The people is not only sinful but כְּבִד עֹן, *heavy with sin*: for the construct state כְּבִד, besides the other form כָּבֵד (Ex 4<sup>10</sup>), cf. Stade, *Gr.* § 202a. *Heavy with sin* is a favourite transposition in Semitic, which draws to the governing noun as an attribute the adjective that otherwise would have been predicate to the subordinate substantive עֹן. Thus עַם כְּבִד עֹן, *people heavy with sin*, arose out of עַם כְּבִד עֹנוֹ, *people whose sin is heavy*. The meaning is unmistakable: *Oh, the people which commits grave unrighteousness!* The entire present generation consists of מַרְעִים, which word furnishes the explanation of זֶרַע. Not that they are such by nature; in that case they would have been called בְּיַת מַרְעִים, as at Is 31<sup>2</sup>, where Yahweh is not thought of as the author of the people. But they have become such, as also appears from their final designation בָּנִים מִשְׁחִיתִים, *to spoil*, here stands absolutely, as at Dt 4<sup>16</sup> 31<sup>29</sup>. The object, דֶּרֶךְ, e.g. Gn 6<sup>12</sup>, or עֲלִילָה, Ps 14<sup>1</sup>, *mode of life, action and conduct*, supplies itself, so that הַשְׁחִית means *to lead an evil life, to walk in a bad way*. They are *children who miscarry, who have taken bad courses*, whose disposition resembles that of the corrupt generation which occasioned the Deluge; cf. Gn 6<sup>12</sup>. Their sins and their transgressions do not consist in idolatry, as the gloss <sup>4b</sup> explains it, but in immoral conduct, in unrighteousness and incomprehensible misapprehension of the will of God; cf. v.<sup>3</sup> and 10-17.

This is a long note. It has been translated in its entirety for the purpose of showing that with Marti's commentary in one's hand it is possible to make a very thorough study of Isaiah. Every passage, every clause, every word is weighed. Here are one or two shorter examples. In our English versions עַל-מָה, v.<sup>5</sup>, is rendered *Why?* Marti says עַל-מָה signifies *Whereon? On which place?* (cf. *Ovid.*: 'Vix habet nova nobis plaga locum'), and not *Why? Wherefore?* The latter would not correspond to the prophet's idea.' In v.<sup>8</sup> are the words כָּעִיר נִצֹּרָה. 'As a besieged city can scarcely be right: Jerusalem had been in that case when the Assyrians encompassed it. Moreover, the meaning of נִצֹּר is *to observe, to discern*; hence Dillmann, in order to adhere to the traditional rendering, wished to read the niph. partic., נִצֹּרָה, from צִוּר, *to shut in, to besiege*. It is better to take it as a *tower of watch*, for according to 2 K 17<sup>9</sup> a מִגְדָּל נִצֹּרָה, a *watchtower*, can also very well be called a *עיר*, seeing that עִיר there simply means a place provided with a wall. נִצֹּרָה is an infinitive noun, like נִבְרָה, קְבוּרָה, *collectio*, קְבוּרָה, *burying*, שְׂמוּעָה, *news* (cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 198), and means *observation, watch*; for the plu. נִצֹּרִים, cf. Is 65<sup>4</sup>. עִיר נִצֹּרָה is therefore to be considered a poetical expression for מִגְדָּל נִצֹּרָה, and Jerusalem, in our verse, is like a watchtower in a solitary region, a *Luginsland* or a *Wartburg*. The whole of the surrounding country is laid waste; no inhabitant can tell what is going on in the neighbourhood.'

III. Two illustrations of his attitude towards the ideas embodied in the Book of Isaiah will be sufficient.

The detailed discussion of the sixth chapter is exceedingly helpful, and the following general remarks display the spirit in which he considers the question of divine revelation: 'If chap. 6 was not written till some considerable time after the experience which it describes, the event is none the less reported as accurately as possible. In reporting this mysterious experience, Isaiah did not indeed make a point of describing every detail; prolixity might only spoil the impression, and no words could reproduce what had been seen and heard. Isaiah seeks—and this is the main point—to reproduce in his readers the

feelings with which he was possessed when he passed through this experience, and to give them some idea of the impression then made on him. And "he knew how to do this in a masterly manner" (Duhm). The chapter is not the embodiment of an idea, the statement of a thought of the prophet's, but the account of a fact, and, first and foremost, of a psychological fact. . . . The reality of the experience is, however, in no way impugned by these considerations. The events which Isaiah relates are subjective events, but not, on that account, unreal or merely imaginary; God is their author. How God reveals Himself to men is the greatest of mysteries: how it comes to pass can scarcely be analysed, indisputable though the fact be. If we hold that Isaiah went to the temple in a state of great mental tension, full of longings to know God, we are not influenced by a liking for a "naturalistic" explanation. This preparation of Isaiah was as truly God's work, as was the opening out of the clear knowledge of God's Nature and Will in Isaiah's soul when he visited the temple in the year 740 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Many expositors think it impossible to explain certain well-known sections of the Deutero-Isaiah, without assuming a gradual narrowing down of the meaning of the title *Ebed-Yahweh*, *Servant of Yahweh*. Kautzsch, for instance (*Hist of the Lit. of the O.T.* p. 97), puts this briefly and strongly: 'In one set of passages (41<sup>8</sup> 44<sup>1, 21</sup>. etc.) this as certainly means the people of Israel as in another (49<sup>5</sup>, 50<sup>10</sup>) it is clearly distinguished therefrom. If we follow the natural course of taking these latter passages to mean the spiritual Israel, the truly theocratic-minded, to whom has been entrusted the mission, not only to the heathen, but also to their own people, a fresh difficulty arises out of the famous section on the undeservedly suffering Servant of Yahweh (52<sup>13ff.</sup>). To ascribe the individual traits here drawn to a plurality instead of to a single person is exceedingly difficult, for the prophet certainly belonged to the moral kernel of the people, and yet he places himself with the rest (53<sup>2ff.</sup>) in contrast to the Servant of Yahweh.' Marti, on the contrary, has no doubt that the Ebed-Yahweh everywhere means the people of Israel. As regards 49<sup>5, 6</sup>, one of the passages adduced by Kautzsch, he makes out a strong case. In v.<sup>8</sup>, Israel, not an elect

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 63, 70.

number out of Israel, is admittedly the Servant. The poem, as a whole, seems written in this sense. In v.<sup>5</sup>, rightly rendered, it is Yahweh, not the Servant, who brings Jacob back. The three words in v. <sup>6</sup>, מְהִיטֵה לִי עֶבֶד, which would render necessary the limited interpretation, are almost certainly a gloss: they spoil the construction and the metre. The same cause which led to their insertion would bring in the other gloss (50<sup>10, 11</sup>). With regard to the most remarkable of all the Ebed-Yahweh poems, 52<sup>13</sup>-53<sup>12</sup>, the point of Kautzsch's remark is blunted for those who can bring themselves to believe with Marti that the prophet is not taking his stand amongst the speakers, but is representing the heathen as the speakers throughout. But even then it is not easy to believe that either a nation or a class is personified here. If the prophet had not an individual before his mind, he uses language and figures which can scarcely escape the charge of exaggeration. Marti is a little afraid that the acceptance of what he believes to be the true explanation will be interfered with by the New Testament associations of Is 53. It need not. Jesus surely was right when He declared to the men of His generation: 'Well did Isaiah prophesy of you' (Mt 15<sup>7</sup>), although Isaiah knew not our Lord's contemporaries. And the second Isaiah, in like manner, prophesied well of the Messiah, even if he was consciously thinking of the Messianic people. *Omnia Christus est nobis.*

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe Vicarage.

### Professor König's New Book.<sup>2</sup>

THE very important work that lies before us forms a fitting sequel and supplement to the same author's well-known *Historisch-komparative Syntax des Hebräischen*. It was, in fact, Dr. König's original intention to include such subjects as the Figures of Speech, Metonymy, etc., Zeugma, Epizeuxis, and Pleonasm in an Appendix to his *Syntax*. But the material to be disposed of and the variety of kindred subjects that demanded

<sup>2</sup> *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur komparativisch dargestellt.* Von Ed. König. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Price M.12; bound, M.14.



handling showed it to be advisable to relegate the whole to a separate volume.

It need scarcely be said that here, as in all Dr. König's works, indefatigable research and exhaustive treatment are conspicuously present. In order to elucidate the phenomena of style, he has ransacked not only the canonical and apocryphal but also the pseudepigraphical writings of the O.T., as well as the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the inscription of Mesha and other epigraphical monuments, and even portions of the New Hebrew and N.T. literature. Nor has he neglected a comparative study of works covering any part of the subject with which he deals, including even the Rhetoric of the Arabs, the Greeks, the Romans, and more modern peoples. He has plunged courageously into the labyrinth of Hebrew metre, to which so many have vainly sought the clue. Finally, he has sought to present the whole of his results in a way that is at once novel and profound. Not only are the phenomena exhibited, but the psychological source of these and their internal connexions are carefully traced. The work before us is thus a philosophy of the Style, the Rhetoric, and the Poetry of the Hebrews, as well as a catalogue of phenomena and of the passages that illustrate these.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first of these deals with the qualities of style, etc., that connect themselves with the *intellectual* department of mental life, the second with those that belong to the sphere of the *will*, the third with those that are explained on æsthetic grounds or by the *feelings*. We are very glad to observe how Professor König here adopts what we believe to be the only thoroughly satisfactory classification of man's mental activities, namely, the threefold one—Intellect, Will, and Feeling, and he is thoroughly successful in bringing the phenomena with which he has to deal under his scheme. Many to whom words like Pleonasm, Synecdoche, Irony, etc., have been hitherto simply names for certain facts, will find much in this volume that will be a revelation to them as to the *why* as well as the *that* of these phenomena.

At the present moment the section on Hebrew 'metre,' to which we have already referred, will be found of much use. Students who have not the time to study at first hand the elaborate metrical systems of Ley, Bickell, Briggs, Grimme, etc., or who get confused amidst 'rises' and 'falls'

and 'accents,' may be safely recommended to take Dr. König as their guide through this maze. They may depend upon his stating accurately and fairly the various systems and helping one to a judgment upon them.

Professor König, as many of our readers are aware, has reduced the indexing of Scripture references to a science in his *Syntax*. In the volume before us, also, the index of passages and that of subjects are both admirable, the author showing himself in this as in other spheres to be a master of *method*.

The work done in this volume, as in the *Syntax*, is to a large extent *work that will never have to be done again*, and for this every student of Scripture owes an immense debt of gratitude to Dr. König. We can appreciate in some measure the herculean nature of the task represented by this volume, work that is not showy but solid, work which appeals not to the many but to the few, work which must be to the worker largely a labour of love, bringing little or no pecuniary profit, but work which entitles Dr. König to say of his *Syntax* and his *Stilistik*—

Exegi monumentum aere perennius  
Quod non . . . . .  
Possit diruere . . . . .  
Annorum series et fuga temporum.

We will not mention names, but we have before us the expression in private communications of the opinion formed of Dr. König's last work by some of those who are recognized in Germany as belonging to the very first rank of O.T. critics and scholars. There is but one voice among them as to the merits of the *Stilistik*, etc., and the service which its author has rendered to biblical science by its publication. We trust the book will find a place in the library of every O.T. student.

J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter.

## Professor Heinrici on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.<sup>1</sup>

PROFESSOR HEINRICI is the author of special commentaries on the Epistles to the Corinthians.

<sup>1</sup> *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. VI. Abtheilung, 8 Auflage. *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther*,



For this reason, probably, he has felt less tempted than some recent editors of Meyer, *e.g.* Haupt on the *Gefangenschaftsbriege*, to produce practically a new work. As far as possible he has preserved Meyer's exposition in Meyer's own words. Without calling attention to the fact, he frequently changes an expression, drops out a clause or sentence, refers to more recent works on Grammar, etc., and notes the opinions of the most recent expositors. As a rule he mentions Meyer's name, only when he feels compelled to adopt a different interpretation. In all such cases, however, he carefully states Meyer's opinion, and the reasons for it. His aim has been to produce such a work as Meyer might have produced, had he been still spared to us; and on the whole he has succeeded admirably.

The Introduction, which fills fifty-eight pages instead of Meyer's eight, is entirely new. It discusses in a clear and methodical manner all the questions of importance that have been raised in recent years in connexion with the Epistle. Heinrici holds fast by its authenticity and integrity; it can easily be explained, without assuming either that Paul had visited Corinth, or written a lost letter to the Corinthian Church, during the short interval of time that elapsed between it and the First Epistle. In a lengthy note at the end of the Introduction, he treats of the so-called 'Paulinische Religion,' with special reference to Wernle.

There is so much of permanent value in Meyer, that it is worth while preventing his work from falling into oblivion, by means of new editions, which incorporate with it the results of recent study. This is what Heinrici has evidently aimed at doing, and what, on the whole, he has judiciously accomplished. DAVID EATON.

Glasgow.

### Among the Periodicals.

#### The Seven Days' Week and the Names of its Days.

In the September number of the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, Professor Jensen has a very important article on the above subject. The neu bearbeitet von Dr. C. F. Georg Heinrici, K. Pr. Consistorialrath, o. Prof. d. Theol. an d. Univ. Leipzig. Mit einem Anhang: zum Hellenismus des Paulus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii, 463. Price M.6, 20Pf.

problem of the origin of our week and of the names of the days of the week is a much more complicated one than some suppose, and the hopes that it would be solved by Assyro-Babylonian documents have not as yet been fulfilled. The whole of the evidence as regards Assyria and Babylonia is subjected by Jensen to close examination, with the following among other results:—(1) A week similar to ours cannot be proved to have been in use amongst these peoples. (2) Equally incapable of demonstration is the view that they named the days of the week after our fashion, or that they had names at all for these days. Hence it may well be doubted whether the week itself and the names of its days are to be traced back to Babylonia or Assyria, or at least to the early Babylonians or Assyrians. The question may be raised whether our week is not of purely Jewish or at all events West Semitic origin. Even if it be assumed that the number 7 can be explained only by reference to the seven planets and the worship of these, Jensen sees no difficulty in admitting the supposition that in prehistoric times the Israelites were devoted to planet-worship. He believes himself in a position to adduce strong evidence in favour of a very early worship of Saturn by Israel, and sees no necessity for holding the star-worship, to which the people were afterwards so much addicted, to have been wholly an imported affair. But while leaving the possibility of a Jewish or West Semitic origin for the week itself open, Jensen does not believe the names of the days to be Hebrew. He would be disposed rather to hold that these names were introduced near the time when they first make their appearance amongst our documents, and that they were a late posthumous product of the Babylonian system, which took its rise not in Assyria or Babylonia, but on the shores of the Mediterranean.

#### The Use of the 'Apocrypha' in the Early Church.

Mr. Daubney's recently published work, *The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church*, is reviewed by Professor Schürer in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* of 29th September last. The reviewer takes occasion to emphasize the high position, much higher than is often supposed, which the apocryphal books held in the early Christian Church. The attempts to limit the

Canon of the Church to the works contained in the Hebrew Canon never succeeded in establishing more than a theory. In practice, those writings of the Greek Bible which we call 'Apocrypha,' because they are wanting in the Hebrew Canon, were equally treated, Schürer holds, as canonical. No doubt much vacillation and various *nuances* can be traced in the Church's practice in this regard, and there is still room for a thoroughly scientific detailed investigation of these.

### Our 'Daily' Bread.

A new first-class publication has been added this year to the list of our periodicals. This is the *Zeitschrift für die neueste. Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristenthums*. It is edited by Dr. Preuschen of Darmstadt, and is published quarterly (at 10s. a year) by J. Ricker of Giessen, the publisher also of Stade's *ZATW*, which has a world-wide reputation. In the third number for the present year, Professor Nestle has a short note on the much discussed *ἐπιούσιος* (Mt 6<sup>11</sup>, Lk 11<sup>8</sup>) in the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. He calls attention to a circumstance which has hitherto, he thinks, been too little regarded, that the Curetonian Syriac reproduces the Greek *epiousios* in both passages by 'āmīnā, which is the reading also of the Sinaitic Syr. in Lk 11<sup>8</sup> [this MS. is defective at Mt 6<sup>11</sup>]. Now, this 'āmīnā is in the Syriac O.T. the uniform rendering of the Heb. *tāmīd* ('continual,' 'perpetual'; cf. Nu 29<sup>11, 19, 22, 25</sup>, etc.; but esp. Nu 4<sup>7</sup>, *lehem tāmīd*, E.V. 'the continual bread'; Luther, 'das tägliche Brot'). It is a significant circumstance also, as Nestle remarks, that the same Heb. word *tāmīd* is adopted as the rendering of *epiousios* in the Lord's Prayer in the Hebrew translation of St. Matthew's Gospel published by Seb. Münster and Tillet-Mercier in the sixteenth century. This translation is now known to have been the work of a Jew named Shemtob ben Shaphrut, who lived in the fourteenth century. In view of the above and other considerations, Dr. Nestle thinks that we may do well to abide meanwhile by the rendering 'our daily bread' till we find a better.

### 'Through a Glass darkly.'

In the second number of the same periodical, the editor, Dr. Preuschen, writes on the expres-

sion in 1 Co 13<sup>12</sup>, βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, 'For now we see through a glass (R.V. "in a mirror") darkly' (A.V.m. and R.V.m. 'in a riddle'). Preuschen holds to the rendering 'mirror' rather than 'glass' (in the sense of window pane), but he finds a difficulty in the words ἐν αἰνίγματι. βλέπειν ἐν can hardly mean 'look into,' and, besides, we could not be said to see a riddle or obscure doctrine in a mirror. Origen reads δι' ἐσοπτρου καὶ ἐν αἰνίγματι; other authorities insert, besides, ὥς, 'as,' before διὰ. But these are merely devices to evade a difficulty. Preuschen himself considers that the most probable account of the matter is that ἐν αἰνίγματι was originally a marginal gloss (= 'in indistinct outline,' cf. Origen on Jn 1<sup>9</sup> for the meaning of αἰνυγμα) intended to explain δι' ἐσόπτρου. The text would thus read: 'For now we see by the aid of a mirror (i.e. in a confused picture), but then face to face.' The latter expression is taken by Preuschen as = 'with our own eyes,' and he thus obtains what he considers to be a strictly logical contrast, that, namely, between immediate vision and vision by means of an instrument.

### The 'Theol. Jahresbericht.'

The second issue, for the present year, of this extremely valuable work is devoted to *Historische Theologie*, and is a record and appreciation of all the Literature coming under this title that appeared during last year. The volume is divided as follows:—i. Church History down to the Council of Nicæa (Professor Lüdemann of Bern); ii. From the Council of Nicæa to the Middle Ages (Dr. Preuschen of Darmstadt); iii. The Middle Ages (Dr. Ficker of Halle); iv. From the beginning of the Reformation down to the year 1648 (Professor Loesche of Vienna); v. An 'Interconfessionelles' Section (Lic. Kohlschmidt of Magdeburg), in which, *inter alia*, the literature called forth by the present crisis in the Church of England is noticed; vi. A chapter on works dealing with the History of Religion (Dr. Lehmann of Copenhagen); vii. Church History from 1648 down to the present day (Professor Hegler of Tübingen).

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## Some Internal Evidence for the Use of the Logia in the First and Third Gospels.

BY THE REV. CANON SIR JOHN C. HAWKINS, BART., OXFORD.

THE often canvassed question as to the use of the Logia by St. Matthew and St. Luke was raised afresh by Mr. W. C. Allen, and was dealt with by Dr. Sanday, in the June and July numbers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. I think that some light may be thrown upon this matter by careful observation of the use which the two evangelists make of their own respective characteristic expressions when they are compiling from their various sources their records of the sayings of our Lord.

For to His sayings or discourses, and to such of them as we have no ground at all for referring to any other than a Logian origin (whether we accept that origin or not), we must strictly confine ourselves while we deal first and chiefly with our immediate subject—though indeed afterwards we shall find that other parts of the Gospels bear upon and illustrate that subject by the parallel phenomena which they exhibit. Therefore (i.) of course I leave out of view for the present all narrative, and with it all such sayings as seem to be quite subsidiary to the narrative and to have been always included in it; *e.g.* Mt 11<sup>5</sup> = Lk 7<sup>22</sup> as distinguished from the following verses, Lk 7<sup>41ff.</sup> 13<sup>15, 16</sup>. (ii.) Again, I take no account for the present of such portions of discourse—they amount to about 113 verses in Mt and 76 verses in Lk—as occur in Mk also, although the phenomena of the ‘doublets’ seem to me to show that some sayings came down independently through two channels, namely, the Marcan channel and another one which supplied materials to Mt and Lk. (iii.) Nor will I include the incidents and inquiries which are briefly recorded (*e.g.* in Mt 15<sup>12</sup>, Lk 11<sup>27</sup>) as leading up to or drawing forth sayings of Jesus, although I believe personally that the term *Λόγια* is comprehensive enough to include them, and did include them. (iv.) On the same ground, and against my own judgment, I will also omit a few sayings which are so bound up with such incidents and inquiries that they do not seem to have ever stood alone, *e.g.* Mt 3<sup>15</sup>, and the sayings

to the two or three aspirants in Mt 8<sup>19ff.</sup>, Lk 9<sup>57ff.</sup> (v.) No reference will be made to Mt 26–28, Lk 22–24, because there is no reason (except perhaps a few words in Lk 22<sup>30</sup>) for thinking that the non-Markan source used by Mt and Lk in common extended to the periods of the Passion and the Resurrection.

After clearing the way for our present inquiry by making these exclusions, we have still before us about 358 verses in Mt and 328 verses in Lk, both consisting entirely of sayings of Jesus, which cannot be attributed to the Marcan or Petrine source. Of the 358 verses in Mt, there are 168 which are common to that Gospel and to Lk, and 190 which are peculiar to Mt. The 328 verses in Lk are almost equally divided, there being, according to my computation, 164½ which are common to that Gospel and to Mt, and 163½ which are peculiar to Lk. (The apparent discrepancy between the numbers 168 and 164½ as applied to the common verses in Mt and Lk is of course merely the result of the different lengths of the verses in our modern New Testaments: thus, *e.g.*, Mt 7<sup>3, 4, 5</sup> = Lk 6<sup>41, 42</sup>, Mt 9<sup>37, 38</sup> = Lk 10<sup>2</sup>; and on the other hand Mt 10<sup>28</sup> = Lk 12<sup>4, 5</sup>.)

Now can we trace any difference in style and vocabulary between these two divisions of the discourses or sayings in Mt and Lk, *i.e.* between (1) the portions of each which have parallels in the other Gospel, and which therefore suggest derivation from the same source (for brevity I will sometimes call them simply the ‘common’ portions), and (2) those portions which are peculiar to Mt and Lk respectively, and as to the origin of which we can infer nothing? Yes, there is one notable difference. The words and phrases which are characteristic of Mt and of Mk as individual writers are used with considerably more frequency in the former class of passages than in the latter. It appears to me that there can be no doubt as to this fact, which I have worked out in two ways.

## A.

I first took the full lists of such characteristics which I had previously made, though not for this exact purpose, and which I had published in *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 4-7 and 14-20. I may here repeat that the lists were formed by bringing together the words and phrases which occur at least four times in Mt and Lk respectively, and which either are not found at all in the other Synoptic Gospels or are found in the Gospel in question twice as often as in the other two together.<sup>1</sup> And I have since found two additions that should be made to the Matthæan list, namely, *ἀλιγόπιστος* and *ὁσος ἐάν*, and four that should be made to the Lucan list, namely, *δοξάζω τὸν Θεόν*, *γίνομαι* with *ἐπί* and accusative, *ἔχω* with the infinitive, and *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*. So we have altogether 88 characteristics of the First Gospel, and 144 of the Third Gospel, the total occurrences of them in each of those two Gospels being 851 and 1458 respectively. And we shall find that so far as these characteristic expressions find place in the recorded sayings of Jesus, there is a decided preponderance of them in all the 'common' portions of each Gospel, as contrasted with those portions which are peculiar to Mt or Lk.

i. Let us take first and by itself what is by far the longest and most important body of teaching, Mt's Sermon on the Mount. Deducting from its 107 verses 7 which have more or less distinct Marcan parallels, and which may therefore conceivably have a Marcan origin (namely, Mt 5<sup>13, 15, 29, 30, 32</sup> 6<sup>14, 15</sup>), there remain 100 verses, of which 60 have more or less close parallels in various parts of Lk, while 40 are found in Mt only. Now in the 60 'common' verses there are only 51 of Mt's characteristics, being in the proportion of about 5 to 6 of the verses, or less than one to each verse, taking an average; while there is a rather larger number of them, namely, 54, contained in the 40 peculiar verses, being, on an average, more than one and a quarter to each verse.

<sup>1</sup> Of course such a rule must include some expressions which hardly deserve inclusion (see below), and perhaps *vice versa*, but I still do not know how a fairer one can be devised. I see that a similar plan has been adopted for estimating the characteristics of various documents in a new and important work, *The Hexateuch*, edited by the Revs. J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby; see vol. i. p. 183 f., also p. 61.

ii. If we now take the whole of the discourses in Mt (of course as limited in the second paragraph of this article, but including the Sermon on the Mount which has just been considered separately), we shall find a very similar contrast to that which has already appeared. Our 'common' verses of discourse drawn from Mt 5-25 (there are not any previous to chap. 5) amount to 168, and the characteristic Matthæan expressions in them are 143, being again in the proportion of about 5 of the latter to 6 of the former, or less than one characteristic to each verse; while in the 190 verses peculiar to Mt there are 241 occurrences of his characteristics, which would give an average of about one and a quarter to each verse, very much as in the Sermon on the Mount alone.

iii. Turning to Lk, I have not attempted to deal with his Sermon on the Plain by itself, for the peculiar verses in it are too few (I should so regard only 6<sup>24-26</sup> and <sup>34</sup>) to supply material for any adequate comparison with the numerous 'common' verses. Let us take then together all the sayings in Lk which come within the scope of the present inquiry. They are almost equally divided between common and peculiar matter, there being, according to the best computation I can make, about 164 verses of each kind.<sup>2</sup> But the occurrences of the characteristically Lucan expressions are far from following this division into halves; they are very much more unevenly distributed. There are but 120 of them in the 164 common verses—or about 3 to every 4 verses; while in the 164 peculiar verses that proportion is reversed, there being in them 214 of the characteristics, or about 4 to every 3 verses. The contrast, then, in the Third Gospel is of the same kind as that in the First.

## B.

But it may be not unfairly objected that the contrast in both cases, and especially in Mt, may be vitiated by the fact that a considerable portion of the discourses which have been thus examined consists of parables, in which there are some frequently recurring words which are almost or quite necessitated by the subject-matter, and which therefore can prove little or nothing as to the habitual and favourite vocabulary of the

<sup>2</sup> To speak exactly, I marked, as I have said, 164½ verses as 'common,' and 163½ as peculiar to Lk.

writers who use them. Such words in Mt are ζιζάνιον and συλλέγω (13<sup>24-30</sup> and 36-42); ἀποδίδωμι and σύνδουλος (18<sup>23-34</sup>); γάμος (22<sup>2-13</sup>); παρθένος and λαμπάς (25<sup>1-13</sup>); τάλαντον and κερδαίνω (25<sup>14-30</sup>); ξένος, γυμνός, and διψάω (25<sup>31-46</sup>); in Lk, οἰκόνομος (16<sup>1-8</sup>); μνᾶ and δέκα (19<sup>12-27</sup>); also perhaps θύω and λιμός (15<sup>11-32</sup>). I therefore struck out these 12 and 5 words from the Matthæan and Lucan lists respectively. And as I had thus begun to revise the (so to speak) automatically formed lists according to my own judgment, I struck out also some other words which seemed to be so largely, if not entirely, caused by the subject in hand, or to be so colourless and commonplace in themselves, or to be so comparatively seldom employed, that for one or more of these reasons they might be thought too insignificant to be reckoned as characteristics.<sup>1</sup> On such grounds I shortened the Matthæan list by omitting the following 20 words, the great majority of which are found in the discourses now under consideration:—ἀνατολή, γεννάω, διώκω, δῶρον, ἔνοχος, ἐργάζομαι, θυσιαστήριον, κλέπτω, μάγος, μετοικεσία, ὁμνύω, ὁμοιούω, ὄρκος, πρόβατον, σαπρός, σεισμός, σκανδαλίζομαι ἐν, φονεύω, φρόνιμος, χρυσός. And similarly I deducted from the Lucan list these 17 words:—ἀθετέω, γονεῖς, ἐπιθυμέω, ἔτος, κείμεν, κοιλία, κριτής, λύχνος, μῆν, μμνήσκομαι, παρέχω, πειρασμός, πέμπω, συλλαμβάνω, συνκαλέω, ὑψόω, φάτνη.

After making these considerable excisions, there remain selected lists of 56 (instead of 88) and 122 (instead of 144) characteristics of Mt and Lk respectively. No doubt exception might be taken to a few even of these, but on the whole it will be allowed that the words and phrases, and the phrases most convincingly, bring out the independent and personal styles and mannerisms of the two writers to whom we owe our First and Third Gospels in substantially their present form.

Let us now see whether these, like the expressions in the longer lists that were before dealt with, are used in different proportions in the 'common' and peculiar portions respectively of Mt and Lk. If we follow the same plan as before, we shall find under our first heading the strongest and most notable of all our contrasts.

i. For if here again we take first and by itself

<sup>1</sup> In the printed lists above referred to I had already obelized or bracketed some, but not all, of these words as being unimportant.

Mt's Sermon on the Mount, we find that in the 60 verses common to Mt and Lk there are only 34 occurrences of the selected characteristics, being an average of little more than one of them to every two verses. But in the 40 verses peculiar to Mt there are no less than 53 such characteristics, being in the proportion of about 5 to 4, or considerably more than one to each verse.

ii. Taking next the whole of the discourses in Mt so far as they enter into our present comparison, we find in the common parts a somewhat similar proportion to that in the Sermon on the Mount, for in the 168 verses there are but 89 occurrences of the characteristics, being not much more than one of them to every two verses. When we turn, however, to the peculiar parts, the contrast with the common parts is not as striking as elsewhere, for the former also contain fewer characteristics than verses—a result chiefly owing to the parables. But even here the contrast, so far as it goes, is in the same direction as our other ones; for there are 142 of the characteristics spread over the 190 peculiar verses, being about 3 to every 4 verses, or one and a half to every two verses—an appreciably smaller proportion than the 'not much more than one' to every two verses which we found to be the proportion in the 'common' parts.

iii. In Lk the 164 verses of discourse which are substantially common to him with Mt contain only 104 of our selected Lucan characteristics, *i.e.* rather less than 2 to every 3 verses. But in the 164 verses peculiar to Lk the excess of numbers is in the other direction, there being in the 164 verses of this kind 181 of the characteristics—a proportion of about 8 to 9, or rather more than one characteristic to each verse.

Six comparative calculations have thus been made, three of them (A, i., ii., iii.) by the use of a more full list, three of them (B, i., ii., iii.) by the use of a more select list of characteristic words and phrases. All the six point in the same direction, though with various degrees of distinctness, Mt supplying both the most forcible (B, i.) and the least forcible (B, ii.) contrast. They all, without exception, exhibit Mt and Lk as employing their own favourite and most habitual vocabulary and turns of language less abundantly in the passages in which they are parallel to the other Gospel than in those in which they stand alone. Surely this must mean something. And what it seems most



obviously and naturally to mean is, that in compiling these parallel reports of sayings the two writers were drawing upon the same source, and that for some reason they employed it with more exactness and less freedom than they used in drawing upon those other sources from which they derived the sayings which are peculiar to each of them. I have nothing to suggest as to the nature of those other sources—whether they were merely oral traditions used after the Jewish manner in catechetical teaching, or whether they were other documents (perhaps St. Luke in his preface alludes to such in slightly disparaging terms) which held a less authoritative position and were followed with less close and strict attention than the one which both Mt and Lk had before them. I only urge that there was such a distinction made between this one source and the others, and that the distinction existed in the minds of both evangelists. And it seems to me that this consideration lends support to the ‘two-document hypothesis,’ whether we take that term in its narrower sense as implying the use of two documents only, or in its wider sense as meaning that two documents seem to have stood out from among others, as being of paramount antiquity and value. Hitherto I have been keeping only one such document in view, because, as Mr. Allen has reminded us, the existence of that one still seems problematical to some scholars who have little or no doubt as to the other one, and therefore the Logian half of the hypothesis still needs any support that can be found for it. But now let us turn to the more generally accepted or Marcan half of the hypothesis, and observe the support which it gives to my present contention by the similar state of things which it exhibits. Here, of course, we can no longer limit our view to discourse; for the parallels between the other Synoptists and Mk are very far from being confined to sayings of Jesus, as is almost exclusively the case with the parallels between Mt and Lk themselves. Let us proceed then to examine from our present point of view all the matter, whether consisting of discourse or of narrative or of both intermingled, in which our First and Third Gospels are parallel to the Second, and in which they are now pretty generally admitted to be derived from it, because of its many and various signs of priority and originality.

i. Mt has 517 verses of such matter. They

contain 246 occurrences of his characteristics according to the complete list, and 211 according to the select list, being in the former case slightly less, and in the latter case considerably less, than one characteristic to every two verses. There is a marked contrast to this state of things when we turn to the 337 verses which are peculiar to Mt. According to the fuller list of characteristics it is a very great contrast, there being 454 of these in the 337 verses, or an average of one and one-third to every single verse. According to the shorter, or select list, the contrast is much weaker, but it lies in the same direction; for in the 337 verses there are 263 occurrences of the select characteristics, showing an average of about three-fourths of one in each verse, or in every two verses one and a half,—whereas we found only an average of ‘considerably less than one’ in every two of the verses parallel to Mk.

ii. Turning to Lk, we once more find contrasts of the same kind, but there is no such great difference between the results of the two lists as there was in the case of Mt. For the 386 verses of Lk which have parallels in Mk contain 412 of the Lucan characteristics according to the full list, and 390 according to the select list—an average to each verse of slightly more than one in the former case and of almost exactly one in the latter case. But when we take, on the other hand, the 499 verses which are peculiar to Lk, we find the numbers in the two lists of characteristics to be 762 and 677 respectively, giving an average of either upwards of one and a half, or upwards of one and one-third, to each verse, according to which list is employed.

Altogether our calculations have taken into account nearly the whole of the First and Third Gospels, namely, 1022 of the 1068 verses in Mt, and 1049 of the 1149 verses in Lk. The remaining 46 and 100 verses were designedly excluded because of the difficulty of classing them as peculiar to Mt or Lk, or as Marcan, or as presumably Logian, without begging questions which must remain open. The most important of these verses are those which contain the details of the Temptation (Mt 4<sup>8-10</sup> = Lk 4<sup>3-12</sup>), and the narrative in Mt 8<sup>5-10</sup>. 13 = Lk 7<sup>1-10</sup> of the healing of the Centurion’s Servant (though for myself I think that both these passages may well have had their places in the Logia, the former as being taken to have come from the lips of Him who alone could have

known those details, and the latter because the whole narrative leads up to, and is needed in order to make intelligible, the logion, 'I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel'); others of them provide certain sayings with introductions which may be original, but may be editorial; and many of the remainder are verses of Lk 22 and 23, in which, though there is a general resemblance to Mk, there are so many divergences as to render Lk's reliance on a 'special source' of his own a probability, though perhaps not a necessity.

Putting aside, then, these 46 and 100 verses, let us try to estimate the results of the comparative calculations that have been made as to the 1022 and 1049 verses which form the main bodies of the First and Third Gospels. We have been finding, in the latter portion of this article, that in such parts of those Gospels as are parallel to Mk *either in narrative or in discourse*, both Mt and Lk use their own favourite expressions, which characterize them throughout as individual writers, more sparingly than in the peculiar parts of their Gospels. Now this is exactly what we had previously found to occur where Mt and Lk are parallel to one another in the *discourse* which forms almost the whole of the ground which they have in common (when they are without any Marcan parallel); there, too, we saw that the habitual literary idiosyncrasies of both writers always appeared less frequently in the common than in the peculiar records of sayings. So now I suggest as to both these cases, as I suggested before as to one of them, that Mt and Lk had access to two sources,—one consisting of narrative and discourse, the other of discourse only or mainly,—which they deferred to more carefully and clung to more closely than to any of the other sources, whether oral or written, from which they drew materials. If this suggestion is accepted as in any degree probable, it will in that degree give the independent support of internal evidence to that very theory—*i.e.* the 'two-

document hypothesis'—for which by far our oldest patristic authority supplies external evidence. For the two sources, which we have seen to stand out from all others because of the otherwise unequalled attention paid to them, show in the natures of their respective subject-matters a remarkable correspondence with the two documents,—one attributed to Mark as the interpreter of Peter and consisting of τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα, and the other attributed to Matthew and consisting of τὰ λόγια,—of which the mention has come down to us from Papias, and through him (at least as to one of them) from a yet older authority than himself (ὁ πρεσβύτερος). To me it seems very difficult to refrain from identifying these two pairs of sources which thus correspond. No doubt the way is far from being entirely clear for doing so, for while the Petrine or Marcan document is probably preserved to us in our Second Gospel, the Matthaean one is lost—at any rate in its original form, and therefore it is still a subject for speculation and for more or less imaginary reconstruction. And there is the special and very serious difficulty—effectively urged by Mr. Allen and admitted by Dr. Sanday<sup>1</sup>—which is caused by the supersession of the Hebrew or Aramaic original by the single Greek translation which was evidently in the hands of both Mt and Lk. But even that difficulty seems to me to be outweighed by such a concurrence of internal with external evidence as that which I have been trying to indicate. Let me state my point once again in the form of a question. If two, and no more than two, substantially apostolic writings, the one recording both the words and deeds of Christ, but the other apparently devoted to His sacred sayings, are named by the first ecclesiastical writer who deals with authorship at all, and if we find that Mt and Lk always follow two sources, of just those two kinds, more closely than they follow any of their other sources, is the coincidence likely to be accidental?

<sup>1</sup> THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, vol. xi, pp. 425 and 472.

## The Book of Jonah.

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THIS Book is cast uniquely in the clear type of narrative, but it is marred by the thumb-mark of the jester. To this day the mention of 'Jonah and the Whale' may provoke a smile even on the faces of staid believers. Others, more serious-minded, and alarmed at the doubt of its historical value, betake themselves to ingenious apologetics, while the crude, unfriendly sceptic asserts the absolute impossibility of the one grotesque incident with as triumphant a note as if by a single contemptuous epigram he had seriously imperilled the whole fabric of Bible truth and Church doctrine. So, from light jest, doubtful apologetics, and foolish sneer this grand little Book with its sublime spiritual teaching has undoubtedly suffered.

As so many of the most devout scholars of Hebrew literature are agreed that it is not a record of actual history, surely the fact is becoming more and more recognized even by the most anxious believer that after all it is a pitiful waste of the spirit of sound orthodoxy to 'pore over the whale.' It is, as has been well said, the tragedy of the Book that 'one of the most sublime revelations of truth in the Old Testament should be known to most only for its connexion with a whale.' God forbid that we should lightly estimate the humble receptiveness of any reverent heart, but surely a common devotion to the same high cause of God should be recognized in the eager exposition of a fuller, clearer, more satisfying, and, we venture to think, still more appreciative understanding of this noble Book than can be obtained by literal historical interpretation.

Accepting the view of allegory which we hope to prove by the way, we may state at once that the Book has not the definiteness of actual history. It has a basis of fact, and may even be a 'mid-rash' or expansion of historical items for doctrinal purposes; but otherwise, it has all the vagueness of a story told for moral and spiritual ends. As a further preliminary to such an understanding of the Book, and as the narrative as a whole is well-known to the general reader, we may be allowed to anticipate detail and to try to attain a clear understanding of this minor prophet, his time, his

religious convictions, his aims or purposes, and the material at his hand.

First let us take the author of the Book and his time.

Jonah, son of Amittai of Gath-hepher, is the subject of the Book, but *he is not the author of it*. Jonah, the original prophet, followed the times of Elijah and Elisha, and lived in the eighth century B.C., but the author of this Book distinctly refers (chap. 3<sup>8</sup>) to bygone days when Nineveh was a great city. Nineveh was destroyed about the end of the seventh century B.C. The inevitable conclusion is that there was a long space of time between the original prophet Jonah and the minor prophet who wrote this Book. Otherwise, language and reference have led the great majority of critics to agree that the author of the Book of Jonah lived after the Exile, or in any case towards its close.

Next, we have to ask what were the religious convictions of our author, this minor prophet who lived after the Exile, or at its close? They were certainly these, namely, that the exclusiveness of the Jews in reserving God's loving-kindness all to themselves was wrong and logically false, for, the God who was all-merciful must show mercy to more than Jews; next, that the Jews in their secret heart knew this, however unwilling they were to admit it, and however natural it was for them with their special experience to refuse to admit it; next, that in spite of all it was their God-given destiny to preach the love and mercy of their God to the heathen; that the heathen, despised though they were by the exclusive Jew, were God's creatures possessing even the fine elements of a common humanity, and capable of receiving the divine message of salvation and of turning in true repentance to the one God; and finally, that the one all-merciful God was over all, full of an abounding love and pity that included all, exclusive Jew, heathen Gentile, and even brute beast.

Next, we take our prophet's aims and purposes. These are to drive home his religious convictions by making the favoured Jew see himself in his lop-sided selfism, and by insisting on the lessons of national experience before, during, or even after



national exile. The heathen, he shows, are not contemptible. There is a kindly light round them for those who have eyes to see. His nation might have known that fact from experience. His nation must be made to see itself in the conduct and experience of a typical Jew. An appeal must be made to its logic, its conscience, its sense of duty, and its experience. It must be roused from the habit of the spoiled child to that of cosmopolitan kindness. It must awake to a grander, broader idea of its own high destiny, and to a more generous view of man, nature, and, above all, God.

Lastly, in anticipation of the narrative, we take the material within reach of our prophet. The poetry and mythology of his nation have a prominent claim on our notice. Before dealing directly with these we glance at general facts.

It was only by reflection that Israel could be got betimes to think kindly of the heathen. The sad dark experience of ages had coloured the national view of the heathen with deep-dyed hatred. The heathen were their bitter enemies, their oppressors, their persecutors, their conquerors. The heathen harassed them on the march to their high destiny, cut off their advance columns and took them captive, with the almost inevitable result that to many a Jew it verily seemed that the destiny of the nation could only be fulfilled, the very purposes of God only be accomplished, by the utter destruction of the heathen. God, however, was over all, the Protector and Deliverer of His chosen.

The poetry and mythology of his nation lay to our poet-prophet's hand as an expression of all this. Is 17<sup>12</sup>, for instance, in a grand onomatopoeic passage, represents the heathen as like the Syrian Sea striving to engulf Israel, but falling back baffled from its God-girt shore. To the Jew the sea was a favourite symbol of the arrogant, cruel, forceful heathen, and, moreover, was inhabited by monsters of the deep—the huge leviathan, the serpent, and the dragon, which were all, however, under the direct eye of God. In Job 7<sup>12</sup> there are these words: 'Am I a sea, or a whale, that thou settest a watch over me?'

A flood of light is thrown on the Oriental mind by a most interesting fact in the experience of that distinguished scholar and critic, Professor G. A. Smith. In his famous study of this Book, he narrates how, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, he was near an Eastern village, and witnessed an extraordinary popular demonstration. Drums

and metal-pots were beaten, and people shouted, and the explanation of all, he was told, was that these simple Orientals meant to terrify the great fish that was swallowing the moon and to make him disgorge her. As in these days, so in old times, there were monsters in the sky and the sea, and poetry and myth gave them life. The heathen, like a dragon, swallowed up God's people, but God made the dragon disgorge. That is the story of the Exile and the return from Captivity as it is told in Holy Writ. In Jer 51<sup>34, 44</sup> we find conclusive proof. 'Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, hath devoured me (that is, Israel), he hath crushed me. . . . he hath swallowed me up like a dragon,' but Jehovah replies: 'I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up.' If we piece these facts together we see the material at our poet-prophet's hand—the heathen like the cruel sea, the heathen like the dragon of the deep, but under the eye of God, the heathen swallowing and then disgorging Israel at the command of God. This was the national story before, during, and after the Exile. Surely, in a Book which on the surface depicts Israel's attitude to, experience of, and duty towards the heathen, it is not surprising after all that our poet-prophet should employ the medium of the sea, the typical Jew, the great fish, the swallowing, and the disgorging. With such proof, the assertion of allegory in the Book of Jonah seems eminently reasonable, and has the happy results that the complicated problem of the grotesque is reduced almost to dignified simplicity, and our thoughts are free to turn from what is after all the least important element in the book, to those high moral and spiritual truths and aims which lay nearest our poet-prophet's heart. One important fact, however, should be mentioned ere we proceed to a rapid, but, we trust, appreciative survey of the Book, namely, that the Jews loved narrative, allegory, as a medium for moral and spiritual teaching, more especially when it clustered round a known historical name.

In a former prophet called Jonah, son of Amittai, of the tribe of Zebulun, whose principal work seems to have been to prophesy extension of territory to Israel in the days of Jeroboam II., our author found a good, conscientious, kindly, prejudiced, obstinate typical Jew. (The story without Jonah would be the play without Hamlet.) He wished to teach his people the first great truth

that God had through them a message of mercy to the heathen, whether they liked the idea or not. Therefore, whether justified by history, legend, or moral purpose, he makes his character appear as ordered by God to go and save a typical heathen city, called Nineveh.

The typical prophet, true to the life, rebels. Now here is a profoundly important aspect of the story. The ordinary Jew simply could not bear the idea that God might look on the heathen with kindness. No, no, all this kindness was for themselves. It was judgment, not mercy, the heathen merited; but all the same that Jew had a logical, lurking suspicion that He whom he knew as 'a gracious God and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness,' repenting of evil predicted, was bound by His very character to show these very qualities to the heathen. The Jew hated to think so, but in his heart he feared it was so.

The proud, prejudiced Jewish spirit of Jonah refuses to answer the divine call. He decides to flee in the very opposite direction from his appointed duty. He goes down to Joppa, but he meets at Joppa with the heathen Gentile for whom his aristocratic spirit had such a contempt. He takes ship to Tarshish,—the farthest bounds of the Mediterranean,—pays his fare, and wearied by his journey betakes himself to his hammock and to sleep. He is now on the cruel treacherous sea, and the ship's company are all foreigners, and therefore heathen.

The author of the Book next describes in graphic language a terrific storm and its results. Each mariner betakes himself to his god. Then the crew are driven to lightening the ship—a desperate resource of seamanship. The captain, in wonder, finds his passenger asleep through all, and with excited voice incites him to his religious duties if by any possibility *his* God might save. The crew and Jonah are now convinced that this is no ordinary storm, but that it is due to a guilty man being on board. They cast lots, and the lot falls on Jonah. He confesses his sin and the crew recognize his guilt. Did these despised heathen with their innate sense of justice immediately proceed to cast the guilty man into the sea? Not at all, they made one great vigorous effort to save the ship without sacrificing the man.

Notice what a noble light our author sheds on these poor rough heathen seamen. We are reminded of Bret Harte's gold diggers and others.

Notice further, however, the change in Jonah, son of Amittai. The prejudiced rebellious prophet is convicted of fleeing from his duty. His duty was to deliver God's message of mercy to the heathen. He is in the presence of the heathen. He notes their sense of justice, their fine humanity, is doubly conscience-stricken, and ends by offering up his life for them. 'Cast me overboard' is his cry, 'that your lives may be saved.' What a fine point is here made by our charming author, but there are more. Here as afterwards, he shows the heathen to be intensely susceptible to the worship of the God of the Jews. They pray God neither to let them perish for one man's guilt, nor yet to lay upon them the burden of innocent blood. Their extremity is God's will, and when they are delivered from peril by the sacrifice of the guilty one, they fear God, offer sacrifice, and make vows. Jonah then has been cast overboard, and the matter of the great fish is abruptly introduced.

As we have already anticipated the meaning of this incident as allegory typical of Israel's history in relationship to the heathen before, during, and after Exile, we need not linger over it. Let the ordinary reader glance at Jer 51<sup>34, 44</sup>; then in the ordinary narrative, let him substitute the word 'Israel' for the personal name, Jonah, and he will grasp the meaning of the allegory. *Israel* went down to the heathen sea, was engulfed, was swallowed by the heathen great fish, experienced Exile, was disgorged at the command of God, given new opportunity, and sent to fulfil its original divine mission.

The Psalm or prayer of Jonah in his Captivity is the prayer of a man who has collapsed in his ministry, but gathers faith and hope in God to take up his life-work, and in the Divine Strength to seek to carry it through to the end. It is a nation's prayer that God may give it courage and strength to fulfil its appointed duty. Jonah saved, once more on land, is immediately sent to discharge the original God-given duty he had fled from. Surely the great burning moral and spiritual truth this poet-prophet meant to teach here was simply that the Jew in spite of himself must realize that God's mercy was not a mere national limited society matter, but was world-wide; and more, that the prejudiced Jew must preach that truth and carry that truth to the heathen, as a matter of conscientious duty, even though he should feel angry and disgusted afterwards at his own success.



Jonah goes to Nineveh at the divine command. The city is said to have been sixty miles in circumference. For three days this prophet in his hairy mantle cries aloud the stern truth to the great multitudes, as he passes onward through its streets, that if Nineveh repent not it is doomed in forty days. But Nineveh repents. From the king to the humblest there is repentance in fasting and sackcloth. The very animals in Eastern fashion are brought under this 'Lent.' Great heathen Nineveh repented and was saved. What an extraordinary revelation this must have been to the exclusive Jew, namely, that it was possible for God's message to reach the depths of heathen hearts with such powerful effect that they were all saved from impending doom. Verily there is no limit to the possibilities of true repentance, nor yet to the boundless mercy of God.

Jonah has done his God-given work despite himself. He leaves the repentant city. He is angry at the unwelcome fact of God's mercy including the heathen. He says, as it were, 'I knew all along that God's long-suffering mercy was meant for the heathen. I hated the thought, and I hate it yet. It is all true, and I hate the truth, and am miserable.' How graphically that describes the exclusive Jews, and unfortunately a few other good people who would fain keep heaven for themselves, yet have a lurking consciousness that heaven can't be made a matter of monopoly.

Jonah calls for death, rather than face the hot downpour of the new truth, and God says, 'Dost thou well to be angry?' Note what follows here, as there is genius in our author's story. 'A touch of *ill*-nature makes the whole world kin.' 'A man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still.' Jonah erects a booth and sits down to see 'what would become of the city.' In other words, he reverts to the fascinating shelter of prejudice—previous conviction. Who does not, when a fond lifelong theory has been unduly broken in upon by new unwelcome fact? We think, as Jonah did, that surely a lifelong belief could not have been all a lie. Perhaps the new revelation is false, and the old will yet prove true. It is under the shelter of this natural reversion of thought that Jonah sits waiting to see 'what would

become of the city.' And this prophet had reasonable cause for such a reversion of feeling. Israel had been the chosen of God. The present writer ventures to suggest that our poet-prophet had, in this allegorical tale, a definite meaning in the final picture of God's special preparation of a gourd—a palm-Christ to shelter his disappointed protégé. If that be questioned, then it can be shown to be at least an illustration of the truth. Our interpretation is this. For one day God in his tender consideration for human nature allowed Jonah to recur to, and revel under, the idea of the old Dispensation,—God's kindness all for His chosen,—but the same God smote the gourd and revealed the worm at the root. At the very least, is not this a valuable illustration of the crumpling up of the Jewish belief or idea that God's kindness was all for themselves? It was under that belief they were fain not only to take shelter, but to await expectantly signs of the heathen's fate. When that belief was proved ephemeral; when it was shown that it must die and leave them to the downpour of the hot rays of the new revelation, they were sick and faint, ready to give up all because a favourite dispensation was abolished. But God says: 'When you are so sorry for your poor gourd, the timely termination of your monopoly of my special kindness to you as a nation, and are full of pity for your own disappointed selves, cannot you rise to the thought that mine is a greater, broader pity, and embraces not only you but all the poor heathen?'

So the little paltry selfish sorrow of the Jew for himself is swept away. He is now one with the great struggling, suffering world, enduring the sore heat and burden of the day, but God's pity and God's love are over all, the favoured and unfavoured, even heathen man and brute beast. As Coleridge puts the grand thought—

Fare-well, fare-well, but this I tell  
To thee, thou wedding guest,  
He prayeth well who loveth well  
Both man and bird and beast.

He prayeth best who loveth best  
All things both great and small,  
For the dear God who loveth us,  
He made and loveth all.



# At the Literary Table.

## THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

STONES ROLLED AWAY. BY HENRY DRUMMOND.  
(*Bagster*. Crown 8vo, pp. 184.)

The late Professor Drummond had a perpetual feud with the newspaper reporter, and mostly won it. But in America the reporter seems to have had the best of the battle. Here are seven of his addresses, reported, printed, and published in America, and now issued in this country in a very attractive form by Messrs. Bagster. They are highly characteristic. In America Professor Drummond was more himself than in Scotland. They are also highly stimulating, most provocative of thought, sometimes a little provocative of contradiction.

As one of their 'Guild Text-Books,' Messrs. A. & C. Black have published an edition of the Rev. George M. Mackie's *Bible Manners and Customs* (6d.). It is the best book on its subject in existence—and we know all the rest very well. Its only fault is its brevity.

To those who feel the pressure of the scientific difficulties to religion, we heartily commend Mr. Griffith-Jones's *The Ascent through Christ*. It has had a great reception, and now Mr. James Bowden, the publisher, has issued it in a new edition at a smaller price (crown 8vo, pp. 495, 3s. 6d.).

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS: BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM. BY ARTHUR LILLIE. (*T. & T. Clark*. Crown 8vo, pp. 233. 3s.)

We knew that Mr. Lillie was a Buddhist (in the sense we speak of a Grecian), and his choice for this volume in the series was natural. The risk was that he would simply popularise for us some of his previous writings. He has completely and triumphantly avoided that risk. This is a new book, and it takes us right into the heart of Buddhism (even of Buddha himself, so far as his heart can be discussed) by original and loving research. In the early disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ we observe their constant surprise—so great is this salvation, so wonderful He who brought it. Buddha is not as Christ, and he will

not make us followers. But precisely this is the note of all knowledge of Buddha and Buddhism—constant surprise at the greatness and originality both of the man and the system. There are touches in the book we do not like—little revelations of Mr. Lillie's ignorance of better Scriptures than the writings of Buddhism. But it is for Buddhism we go to this book, and we get that most loyally.

Mr. W. B. Clive of the University Tutorial Press has published a new edition of Mr. J. S. Mackenzie's *Manual of Ethics* (foolscap 8vo, pp. 492, 6s. 6d.). Its general merits are already known to us all. This edition contains a new chapter on the 'Authority of the Moral Standard,' which increases the bulk of the volume considerably. We are glad to receive this new chapter, and rejoice in the success of the book. We cannot study ethics too much, and we all hope soon to be able to practise it more.

To those who have to select their Scripture Lessons, it sometimes happens that a passage from the Old Testament and one from the New expressing the same thought can scarcely be found. Mr. M. W. Armour has published, through Messrs. Dent, a little book which will provide what is desired at once. He calls it *The Temple Treasury*. There are two small volumes, bound beautifully in red leather, and beautifully printed. Their first purpose is no doubt to serve for private or family reading. The portions chosen are quite short, and there are Scripture references on the margin. It is a good idea, worked out with patience and even enthusiasm.

Mr. Frowde has published at the Oxford University Press a new edition of the Bible, which is to be called *The Two-Version Edition*. It is the Authorized Version, with the differences of the Revised Version printed in the margin. It is cleverly done, and it must have cost enormous mechanical labour. But we cannot call it a success. Far uglier but far more useful is the American edition which contains the two readings on the

same line. We should as soon use a Parallel Bible as this (indeed it is a Parallel Bible we always do use, and we shall continue it), for it is just as easy to examine both columns as to scrutinize a column and its margin. But the American edition *compels* attention to the changes, and gives them at the same glance. If Mr. Frowde had come to terms with the American publishers and issued their edition here, he would have saved himself great labour and provided us with a more serviceable Bible. Of course it is a model of workmanship, delicious to handle, and delightful to read.

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THY KINGDOM COME. BY THE REV. T. LLOYD WILLIAMS, B.A. (*Wells Gardner*. Crown 8vo, pp. 214. 3s. 6d.)

It is sometimes difficult to discover why sermons have been published, and yet more what is the use of them after they are published. Mr. Williams frankly tells us that this volume was published because some of those who had read previous books of his wanted another, and the use of it we find without difficulty in a most earnest persuasive advocacy of the work of the Kingdom of God abroad. They are missionary sermons. They are strikingly forcible appeals for more men and more money and more faith,—appeals sent home by telling anecdote and fine Christian forbearance.

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Continuing his 'Heroes of the Covenant,' the Rev. W. H. Carlsaw, M.A., has now issued the *Life and Times of Donald Cargill* (Paisley: Gardner, fcap. 8vo, pp. 140, 1s. 6d. net). It is the most successful of the series. Donald Cargill is here admirably portrayed, and not Donald Cargill alone, his friends also, and his enemies, and he had his share of both. Mr. Carlsaw is an enthusiast, knowing his subject intimately, and yet he is able to write judicially. The sermons also are well chosen, and well worth reading.

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STUDIES OF THE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST. BY THE REV. GEORGE MATHESON, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Vol. II. Crown 8vo, pp. 367. 6s.)

There is extraordinary mental detachment in this book. There is no living theologian or exegete (except possibly Dr. Parker) who brings to the study of the Bible so original a mind as Dr. Matheson. That there should be occasional fancies, untenable positions, even irreconcilable doctrines, is not surprising. Nor is it very deplor-

able. For orthodoxy is less than life. But, indeed, there is no prominence of idiosyncrasy. There is never the smallest suggestion of originality for its own sake. There is no trumpeting of self in any shape or form. What is original is so because the author's mind is original. And even when it does not commend itself as sound, it stimulates thought and even touches into devotion. Together these two volumes of Dr. Matheson's *Studies in the Portrait of Christ* will rank as one of the most devout and stimulating of all the long series of Lives of Christ which this century has produced.

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Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published new editions of other two of Dr. Matheson's books, *The Lady Ecclesia* (crown 8vo, pp. 332, 6s. net) and *Sidelights from Patmos* (crown 8vo, pp. 350, 6s.). Both are on their way to become classics. The allegory of *The Lady Ecclesia* is of especial charm.

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THE SPIRIT OF GOD. BY THE REV. G. CAMPBELL MORGAN. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 246. 3s. 6d.)

This month has produced more than one book on the Holy Spirit. Mr. Campbell Morgan's is on the most familiar lines of the Keswick teaching. It is not a strong book, either doctrinally or historically, and can scarcely be said to touch the problems of its great subject. But for very beginners and ordinary people generally it will be found profitable. The things spoken in the Bible about the Holy Spirit have often been gathered together in this way, and it looks highly promising, but we seem to get no nearer the personal or ecclesiastical possession and power of the Spirit. Is it possible that we are giving Him too much attention? His work is hidden. It is solely the recommendation of Christ to our conscience and our life. He takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto us, and that is all He has to do. Is it possible that we are making the things of the Spirit blot out the things of Christ, that we are thinking of the Spirit when we ought to be reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord?

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SHORT STUDIES IN HOLINESS. BY THE REV. JOHN W. DIGGLE, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 214. 3s. 6d.)

A volume of Practical Divinity. Its subject is the one most important practical subject that can

be written upon. Archdeacon Diggle has written upon it not merely beautifully but (as our fathers would have said) experimentally. He has written both for and out of experience. Why is it, he asks, that so few Christian persons desire to be holy? It is certainly strange. Mr. Diggle believes it is because they think holiness means austerity; as if the holy people were those who always choose the disagreeable thing to do, and then take it out in making themselves disagreeable. That is not holiness. And much of Mr. Diggle's book is given to showing us that holiness is a beauty and a joy. It is a combination, rarer than it should be, of the theological treatise and the sermon—orderly thought and winning appeal go together.

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THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. BY EZRA P. GOULD, D.D. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 237. 3s. 6d.)

We welcome heartily another volume of Professor Shailer Mathew's 'New Testament Handbooks.' Its author is well known in this country as the author of *St. Mark* in 'The International Critical Commentary.' This little book will not only confirm those who believe in the former, but will bring new disciples to it. For Dr. Gould is more attractive when he has room to write straight on. Indeed, the exegete's difficulty is a special one, and he must be a special writer to say his say impressively in detached sentences and abbreviated words. Though Dr. Gould is an American Episcopalian, there is no bowing to authority here; there is conspicuous and very breezy detachment from all outside interference. And yet it is a steadying healthy student's book.

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ECHOES FROM THE BATTLEFIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA. BY DUDLEY KIDD. (*Marshall Brothers*. Crown 8vo, pp. 208. 2s. 6d.)

This is a personal narrative of the work at the Boer War of the South African General Mission. It is not possible for words to describe the scenes these devoted men saw (they do not seek to tell the things they suffered), but one can feel in some measure the pathos that cannot be expressed. It is light praise to call it a thrilling narrative. It is all the more impressive in its plainness. The illustrations will attract, the letterpress will hold.

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Under the title of *The Keswick Week, 1900*, Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published (4to,

2s. net) a report of all the addresses that were delivered at the recent Keswick Convention. They are mostly revised by the speakers. Nowhere else can we get so full and clear an idea of what is taught at Keswick, and what makes the Convention so great an attraction.

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THE CRISIS IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH. BY THE REV. THE HON. W. E. BOWEN, M.A. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 300. 6s.)

Since Mr. Walsh's *Secret History* no exposure of extreme ritualism so merciless as this has appeared. And yet there is no denunciation. Mr. Bowen calls his book a review. It is a narrative of events, a picture of practices. And Mr. Bowen shows that at the bottom of the wildest ceremony there is a wilder doctrine. The quotations he makes from children's catechisms are appalling in their ignorance, superstition, and blank atheism. Surely there will be a reaction and a reformation soon.

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Another book on the same subject, this time by Mr. Walsh himself, has been published by Messrs. Nisbet. It is called *The Ritualists* (fcap. 8vo, pp. 107, 1s. 6d. net). Its brevity will send it where Mr. Bowen's book cannot go. And it is written with Mr. Walsh's well-known vigour.

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ARABIA THE CRADLE OF ISLAM. BY THE REV. S. M. ZWEMER, F.R.G.S. (*Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier*. Post 8vo, pp. 434. 7s. 6d.)

True to their reputation as the publishers of missionary literature, Messrs. Oliphant have secured the copyright of this valuable work on Arabia—the most valuable, we believe, since Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*. Its religious tone does not make it less scientific, and will commend it the more to all earnest men. Even that it is in some sense a record of Mission work only increases its value. For missionaries cannot afford to tell lies, and are now known to give themselves some trouble to ascertain the truth. It is a religious description of Arabia, but on that account it is a complete description, for how could Arabia be described and no regard be paid either to Christ or Mohammed? The maps are excellent, and there are very many illustrations which are chiefly reproduced from photographs.



Messrs. Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier have published the 'Dying Speeches' of the United Presbyterian Synod and the Free Church Assembly. That is to say, the speeches of their last Moderators. Dr. Robson's title is *Our Last Synod and the Last of our Theological Hall* (crown 8vo, pp. 96, 1s. 6d.), the second part of the title being due to the presence in the volume of his speech at the close of the Theological Hall in April. Dr. Ross Taylor's title is *Religious Thought and Scottish Church Life in the Nineteenth Century*, a large subject, which is treated in a large and impressive manner.

Mrs. A. R. Simpson is ready in good time with her Christmas booklet. She calls it this time *These Three* (Oliphant, crown 8vo, pp. 64, 1s.). It is a pleasant fireside chat about the graces of Faith, Hope, Love.

POPULAR MISCONCEPTIONS AS TO CHRISTIAN FAITH AND LIFE. BY THE REV. F. T. LEE. (Boston: Pilgrim Press. Crown 8vo, pp. 261.)

It may not be pleasant, but it ought to be profitable to be reminded of our mistakes in following Christ. They are very many, and they are often very avoidable. This is the best account of them we have ever seen. In a way it is a volume of systematic and practical theology, only it is all negative—the things we should *not* believe, the deeds we should *not* do. There are preachers who fear that their subject will not hold out, and they begin by telling their audience what they are *not* going to say. This book will be a blessed discovery to them. For it will fill up the time with real profit, and (if the preacher manages it as well as this author does) with considerable pleasure too.

THE SUPREME LEADER. BY F. B. DENIO, D.D. (Boston: Pilgrim Press. Crown 8vo, pp. 278. \$1.25.)

We fear that *The Supreme Leader* is an unwise title. By suggesting to our minds Browning's *The Lost Leader* it carries them away from its subject, which is the Holy Spirit. But it is a wise book. Dr. Denio is no doctrinaire—and

that is much to say of a writer on the Holy Spirit. His mind has gone out unhindered towards the Scriptures and the facts of Christian experience. He has exercised great pains, and he possesses a good manner of writing. Finally, he has read carefully what we believe to be the best literature on the subject.

The result is a book on the Nature and Work of the Holy Spirit of distinct merit. It contains four 'Studies': the biblical teaching, the teaching of Christian experience, the work and person of the Spirit, and the Spirit in relation to Christian life and service. The scope is thus well defined, and within that scope it gives us a well ordered, easily learned account of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It is interesting to notice the *recent* books on his subject which Dr. Denio recommends. They are Walker's *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, Starbuck's *Psychology of Religion*, Clark's *The Paraclete*, Inge's *Christian Mysticism*, and Robertson's *The Holy Spirit and Christian Service*.

CHINA. BY ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. (*Fisher Unwin*. Crown 8vo, pp. 456. 5s.)

'The Story of the Nations' has passed its fiftieth volume. This is the fifty-first. The hunger for information, so widespread in our day, is met and satisfied, and there is no necessity for severe and prolonged study, which is so distasteful. The narrative is always easy, it can sometimes be read like a novel; and then there are the illustrations which we can look at and gain much knowledge from without reading a word of the narrative. Professor Douglas is a great authority on China, and he has met all the requirements of the series. It is at once a learned and a popular book. Furthermore, it deals chiefly with the present century. That is a fortunate feature, in view of the present crisis. For we can learn here all the steps that led up to the crisis, and form our judgment on their wisdom or their folly. And we can really see what the crisis is. So the book is likely to have a great circulation, and it deserves it.

# The Gospel of the Kingdom of God.

BY THE REV. W. L. WALKER, LAURENCEKIRK.

UNDER the influence of a deepened or renewed sense of the importance of certain evangelical truths there are symptoms of a revolt from the idea of 'the Kingdom of God' as being adequate to embrace the entire Christian gospel. When that term was 'rediscovered' some years ago, it was felt to indicate a great advance on the conceptions which at that time dominated Theology, although there was always a danger of taking it in such a restricted sense as should exclude much that belongs to the 'saving truths' of the gospel. For many reasons it would be a great misfortune were we to give up that which was Christ's own conception of the gospel, and it would be well before doing so to inquire whether it is the term itself that is inadequate or our own conception of its scope.

The gospel that Jesus preached was, undoubtedly the gospel of the Kingdom, and under this term of the Kingdom of God He included all that was distinctive in His teaching. It was that, too, which should *come* when His work was completed, and, while it was founded in Time it extended into Eternity. The Kingdom was something that came 'without observation' and was present in the heart; yet it was also that in which His followers should have their everlasting joy and reward. He Himself was the Lord of the Kingdom. With Christ the Kingdom of God was certainly the dominating and the all-embracing conception.

With Paul, however, elements came in which it is sometimes supposed cannot be embraced or adequately represented under the idea of the Kingdom. Yet Paul as well as Jesus preached the gospel of the Kingdom. In the synagogue at Ephesus, and when at Rome he met the representatives of the Jews, his testimony was of 'the Kingdom of God,' and the Book of Acts closes with the statement that Paul remained in Rome, 'preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ' (see also Ac 20, 25). With Paul as with Jesus the Kingdom of God was the general designation of the gospel; to the Romans (14<sup>17</sup>) he says, 'the Kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but

righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit,' and to the Corinthians (1st Ep. 4<sup>20</sup>), 'the Kingdom of God is not in word but in power'; in both instances the term is evidently used as the designation of the gospel generally. And with Paul, as with Jesus, the Kingdom was not only something present (as the foregoing quotations indicate), but something to come also—that in which the Christian believer was to have his future eternal inheritance (Gal 5<sup>21</sup>, etc.). The Christ that he preached was the Lord of the Kingdom, who was reigning, and who should reign till He had put all enemies under His feet and delivered up the Kingdom, completely won, to God, even the Father (1 Co 15<sup>24, 25</sup>).

Paul's use of the term, therefore, was the same as his Master's. What ground is there for thinking that its contents differed? We certainly find much theology in Paul which we do not find explicitly in Jesus. But is not Paul's theology simply the filling up of the idea of the Kingdom as it existed in the mind of Jesus in view of His completed work in relation to the Kingdom? To Jesus, prior to His death on the Cross, the Kingdom had not yet come, in its truth [and fulness. While He preached the gospel of the Kingdom, His disciples were to keep praying, 'Thy Kingdom come!'] To some of them He said that they should not see death till they had seen the Kingdom come in power. He was to drink the new wine with them in their Father's Kingdom. There can scarcely be a doubt that in His own view He died to bring the Kingdom in. He had proclaimed its coming: this was the gospel which He invited men to believe. But it did not come in that fulness and power which would make its coming a real gospel for men. What kept it back? This was the momentous question. It was *sin*, and He gave Himself as 'a sacrifice to take away sin,' that the Kingdom of God might come; in other words, that the gospel which He had proclaimed might become a blessed reality in the experience of men. Now this is just what Paul teaches in the 'theological' portions of his Epistles. In the Epistle to the Romans (as we see from Ro 14<sup>17</sup>) he is still thinking of the

gospel as that of the Kingdom of God, and in the opening portion of that Epistle he has shown how the death of Christ on our behalf took away the barrier that stood between man and God, so that the Kingdom of God might come in all its blessed power, first, into the individual heart reconciled to God. But it was ultimately to come in the whole wide world, through the victory of Christ the Lord over all His foes, when it should be delivered up to God as a perfected Kingdom, and God should be all in all.

It seems quite clear, then, that with Paul the Kingdom was still the dominating conception, and that what we need is not to get away from the idea, but to make our conception of the Kingdom wide enough, deep enough, and true enough to embrace Paul's theology. We cannot, indeed, be loyal to the Spirit's teaching through Paul if we fail to do this. Under no term can we better gather up Paul's evangelical teaching than under this of the Kingdom of God. For, let us ask what in reality is that Kingdom? It is the reign of God in men's hearts. It was this, first of all, with Jesus, and it was the same thing with Paul—God reigning in His Divine-fatherly Kingdom in the heart, and manifesting His gracious presence as He of whom His children are accepted—children in whom He is well pleased, and with whom He dwells. That which stands in the way of this joyous experience on men's part is sin—both as that to which the Divine Righteous-

ness is opposed, and as that in man which closes the heart to God and His Kingdom. Was it not the very purpose of the death of Christ to take away sin in both of these aspects; so to satisfy the Divine Righteousness that God could draw nigh to sinners in acceptance, and so to move the heart that it should gladly submit itself to God? *Then* the Kingdom of God comes into the heart—that Kingdom which is 'righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost'; and just as human hearts thus become God's, and wholly His, does the Kingdom extend itself in the world, until Christ has thus completely won the Kingdom for the Father, and it becomes the eternal inheritance of His children. The Kingdom of God is spiritual, and its coming depended on the coming of the Spirit. It was as the Spirit came in power that the Kingdom came. But that Spirit could not so come till Christ's work in the flesh was finished and He Himself 'glorified.' Paul shows *how* Christ's necessary work was done, and how Jesus became that 'Son of God in power' who brought this Spiritual Kingdom in, and who as its Lord shall yet establish it universally.

Much more might be said, but the foregoing may be sufficient to show that the idea of the Kingdom was neither changed nor transformed by Paul, but simply filled out by those elements of the work of Christ which bring in the Kingdom in its power, and which make the gospel of the Kingdom a real gospel in the experience of men.

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## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., OXFORD.

SIR CHARLES WILSON has just revised *The Bible Atlas* of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It is needless to say that the maps and plans in it have been made as perfect as the present state of our knowledge can allow them to be. The editor has an unrivalled acquaintance with his subject, and he has embodied in the *Atlas* all the latest information, a good deal of which is derived from his own experiences in the lands of the Bible hardly more than a year ago. The maps are exceedingly clear, as well as trustworthy and numerous, and in the explanatory notes and

exhaustive geographical index prefixed to them by the late Mr. Samuel Clark and Sir George Grove the reader will find all that he can desire to know about the geography and ethnology of the Bible.

Doubtless, certain of the notes relate to questions which are still matters of controversy, and to which I would myself return a different answer from that given by their author. As regards the route of the Exodus, for example, and the position of Sinai, he has misapprehended the theory I have put forward, and consequently his arguments against it are beside the mark, as may be seen by a reference to



my *Early History of the Hebrews* (pp. 181-184). In other cases, as, for instance, the site of Calvary, certainty is never likely to be attained. But wherever geography or history is involved doubtful questions are sure to arise, and where the evidence is imperfect there is always room for more than one interpretation of it.

Mr. Clark quotes my suggestion that the Elishah of the Old Testament represents the Greek Hellas. That is still possible, but it has been rendered unlikely by the discovery that the Alsa of the hieroglyphics is written Alasia in the cuneiform texts of Tel el-Amarna. That Alasia is the biblical Elishah admits of no reasonable doubt, but its exact geographical position is still uncertain. Professor Maspero places it in Cœle-Syria; the younger German scholars identify it with Cyprus; I should myself prefer Lycia or the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor. In any case we now know that the

name goes back to the century before the Exodus, instead of belonging, as was at one time supposed, to the time of Ezekiel. It is even possible that the name of Gomer may also have been known at an early date to the people of Syria; at all events Gamir is described as a district of Cappadocia in one of the letters written by Sennacherib to his father, more than twenty years before Esar-Haddon came into conflict with the Cimmerians on the Assyrian frontier.

I have noticed only two passages which need correction in a future edition of the book. The Hebrew original of Millo is misprinted on p. 56, *resh* being printed for *waw*, and the statement that the name of Shinar 'is found nowhere but in the Old Testament' (p. 37) is incorrect. The name occurs under the form of Sankhara in one of the letters of the king of Alasia to the Egyptian court.

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

#### HEBREWS I. 14.

**'Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation?'** (R.V.).

#### EXPOSITION.

**'Are they not all ministering spirits.'**—He brings the whole class under the category of service, not dominion, for the words 'all' and 'ministering' are emphatic. None are excepted, not even the highest in rank; not even the princes of the nations, who rule not, but act as tutelary spirits, guardian angels. The assertion that they all *serve* is absolute, not merely relative to the kingdom of redemption, concerning which a supplementary statement is made in the closing words: 'Being sent forth for ministry for the sake of those who are about to inherit salvation.' Service is not an incident in the history of angels, it is their whole history.—BRUCE.

THE word here rendered 'ministering' is used in N.T. to express the temple service; and the word rendered 'ministry' or service is a form of the word that expresses deaconship or subordinate service generally. The worship and the work of angels is carried on in the great temple of nature and grace, and their service originates in the needs and claims of those who are soon to possess complete salvation. Of their ministry, for the benefit of all who believe, we have many examples under both Testaments. It is none the less real now that it is unseen.—ANGUS.

Two radically different Greek words, which call up in the mind associations of an opposite character, are translated [in A.V.] by one and the same English word, 'minister.' 'Are they not all *ministering* spirits?' The word used here is that from which our word 'liturgy' comes. It sets before us the angels as priests of the Heavenly Temple, engaged in the service of praise and adoration. Perhaps the one word which in English conveys the sense most accurately, is 'officiating.' . . . 'Sent forth to *minister*,' etc. Here the ministration is not the performance of a devotional function, but simply the doing of service. The same word is used where Martha is said to have been cumbered about much *serving*; where the widows of the Hellenists are said to have been neglected in the daily *ministration* (i.e. in the daily distribution of Church funds); and, again, where the disciples of Antioch are said to have determined to send relief (send 'for a *ministration*' of temporal resources) 'unto the brethren which dwelt in Judæa.'—GOULBURN.

**'Sent forth.'**—Continually—ever afresh—sent forth (pres. part.) on His errands.—KAY.

**'To do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation.'**—Not to be primarily referred to help or assistance rendered to the heirs of salvation (in which case it would be τοῖς μέλλουσι, cf. Ac 11<sup>29</sup>, 1 Co 15<sup>16</sup>), but to service rendered to God who sends them. The service, however, which they discharge towards God, has the heirs of salvation for its object: it is done for the sake of those for whom is destined the inheritance of salvation.—DELITZSCH.

'**Salvation.**'—The salvation is both the *state of salvation* here, and its full fruition hereafter. When we are 'justified by God's grace' we are 'made heirs according to the hope of eternal life' (Tit 3<sup>7</sup>). Spenser widens the mission of the angels when he speaks of

'Highest God, who loves His creatures so  
That blessed angels He sends to and fro  
To serve to wicked man—to serve His wicked foe.'

FARRAR.

The all-including term under which prophecy had spoken of the blessings of Messiah's kingdom. This 'salvation' would endure after the heavens had 'vanished away.' The emphatic word 'salvation' (with which chap. 9 also terminates) furnishes the keynote to the following chapter (v.<sup>3</sup>, 'so great salvation'; v.<sup>10</sup>, 'captain of their salvation').—KAY.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### The Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces of the Soul.

*By the Rev. E. M. Goulburn, D.D.*

Suppose a good man born in affluence, without the necessity of any regular occupation, to be congratulated by another whose work leaves him no leisure, on his opportunity for devotion. He might say that his mind recoiled from incessant devotion and craved active employment. Is such a recoil a natural instinct or a disease of the mind? If it is natural, a life of constant devotional exercises, such as monks have striven for, is unnatural. If the craving for active work is the result of the sin in us, we are furthering the end of our existence only when engaged in religious acts.

This passage seems to answer the question. True, it speaks of angels, not of men. But there is an advantage in this, for mind, in men or angels, is of the same quality, and in the angels we see it undisturbed by sin. Our Lord Himself made the service of the angels a model for us when He taught us to pray that God's will may be done upon earth as it is in heaven.

What has God's word revealed to us regarding the angels? (1) They are *ministering* spirits, that is, engaged in praise and adoration. (2) They *minister* to the heirs of salvation. Here ministration is simply doing service. So there is an element of worship towards God, and an element of service towards men. We pray in the Collect for the Feast of St. Michael that 'as God's holy angels always do Him service in Heaven, so, by His appointment, they may succour and defend us

on earth.' With this description agree the notices of them in Scripture. So in the life of our Lord, nights of prayer were followed by days of toil for the ignorant and suffering.

There is then no sin in the desire of external activity; it is not due to the depravity of the mind but to its original constitution. We have two tendencies which may be illustrated by the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the material universe. A planet is driven through space by the one impulse but confined by the other to its regular orbit. So we are sent into this fallen world where much is to be done, but where no pursuit is in itself sufficient for man's happiness; the soul must also be continually drawn to its centre—God, who can alone satisfy it. The feeling of unrest out of God is the soul's centripetal force, as the craving for work is its centrifugal force; and both together, the recognition of God while we are busy doing His work, is the only path which can content the soul.

Devotion and work must not be separated. The planet is always under the influence of both forces. Stated periods of devotion there must be, but at all times the soul must never leave God. We must pray without ceasing. Ejaculatory prayer is the means of lifting the heart to God in the midst of work. The mind is constantly being thrown off its balance, and needs steadying, like a compass on a rickety table when the least stir makes the needle swing round. Be silent for a few moments, thinking of Jesus. Drop the thing that troubles you; let it fall, like a sediment, to the bottom until the soul is no longer turbid; and say secretly, 'Grant, I beseech Thee, merciful Lord, to thy faithful servant pardon and peace; that I may be cleansed from all my sins, and serve Thee with a *quiet mind*.' Thus setting the mind's needle true we shall little by little attain that devout frame which binds the soul to its true centre even while it travels through the world.

### II.

#### The Ministry of Angels.

*By the Right Rev. J. J. Stewart Perowne, D.D.*

The passage implies the existence of angels, and their intimate relation to men. This is not a speculative doctrine of which the truth does not concern us; if it is true there are beings who can

succour and serve us. The doctrine is as much a truth of Scripture as that of the immortality of the soul. No one has seen a soul, yet we believe in the existence of the soul. No one of us has seen an angel, yet Scripture tells us of their missions to the world. In this material age it is well to lift our thoughts to the heavenly powers lying very near us. The text contains two statements with regard to angelic natures and occupations.

1. They are worshipping spirits engaged in the perpetual worship above, which has never been marred by sin. Isaiah has given us a vision of that worship. Yet there is thought of earth there. The *earth*, they say, is filled with God's glory; to God's prophet on earth the seraph comes. So also the Seer of the New Testament describes the heavenly worship, and again we see the fellowship of angels with men, for they praise the Lamb, the sacrifice for human sin.

2. There is also a ministry of angels in the world. It has been supposed that the whole visible creation is carried on by their agency, that behind the winds and the waters and the lightning may be discerned God's ministers, taking literally the words of the Psalmist: 'Who maketh his angels winds and his ministers a flame of fire.' But the language is figurative, and such an interpretation is not supported by Scripture. What are we taught in Scripture of the offices of angels? The angelic appearances in the Old Testament have been generally believed to be appearances of the Son of God, but we find the ministry of angels definitely referred to in the New Testament. (1) They are deeply interested in human salvation. The angels rejoice when a prodigal returns, (2) They are the comforters of our Lord,—after His temptation and in Gethsemane. They guarded His tomb, and witnessed His resurrection. (3) As with His human life, so with ours; He did not disdain their ministry, neither may we. Daniel acknowledged their succour. So did St. Peter, delivered from prison. So did St. Paul, assured of safety in shipwreck. So did St. John, in the isle of Patmos. And the writer to the Hebrews does not consider such service exceptional. Nor has the angelic ministry ceased; we are still surrounded by angels. (4) What is the practical use of this doctrine? We derive much comfort and strength from our friends even though absent. We feel a mysterious connexion with them; we

are strengthened by their love in temptation and sorrow. Again, any belief which makes the unseen world more real helps us to rise above the things of sense, and we become more heavenly as heaven seems nearer. (5) We may learn for our own lives the lessons of willing obedience, of service to others, and of sympathy for those beneath us. (6) The doctrine has been much abused. Our Lord's own words ('their angels do always in heaven behold the face of my Father') may imply that God has given to each of His children a guardian angel. It is one thing to say God gives us friends to help and defend us, another to render them homage due only to God. It is not lawful to give worship to any being but God, nor can we trust any mediation but that of His Son, who died to save us, and lives to plead for us.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

EVERY man, says a Turkish allegory, has two angels—one on his right shoulder, and another on his left. When he does anything good, the angel on his right shoulder writes it down in his book and seals it, because what is done is done for ever. When he has done evil, the angel on his left shoulder writes it down; he waits till midnight; if before that the man bows down his head and exclaims, 'Gracious Allah, I have sinned, forgive me,' the angel rubs it out with a sponge; if not, at midnight he seals it, and the angel on the man's right shoulder weeps.

How oft do they their silver bowers leave,  
To come to succour us that succour want!  
How oft do they on golden pinions cleave  
The flitting skies like flying pursuivant,  
Against foul fiends to aid us militant!  
They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,  
And their bright squadrons round about us plant;  
And all for love and nothing for reward.  
Oh why should heavenly God to men have such regard?

SPENSER.

A UNIVERSE in which the higher grades of rank are *not* worshipped by the lower, but in which the higher minister to the lower, is a spectacle which thrills every sense of the noble and heroic in the soul of man! Think of God's order, brethren, and God's order it must be, for no creature would ever have dreamt of it. 'The elder shall serve the younger'—the greater shall minister to the less—the angels shall wait on man; and God shall wait on all. You pray the prayer that God's will shall be done on earth as it is done in heaven! Do you know what it is you ask? You are asking a reversal of all that is counted convenient and





But if the translation given by the English Revisers cannot be accepted, what are we to put in its place? Professor Ramsay seems inclined, on the whole, to adopt the marginal rendering of the American Revisers. This evades the difficulty of the antithesis between *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον* and *ἄλλο (εὐαγγέλιον)* by deleting the punctuation mark after *ἄλλο*, and immediately connecting *ἄλλο* with *εἰ μή*; so that *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο εἰ μή* simply means *non est aliud nisi*—‘is nothing else save that.’ At the same time, he refers with very evident sympathy to another possible rendering, which would retain the antithesis between *ἕτερον* and *ἄλλο*, and give to each the distinctive meaning which properly belongs to it in the ordinary Greek usage, in cases where the two words are expressly contrasted. According to this rendering, Paul’s meaning would be that the gospel preached by the older apostles was indeed a different version (*ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον*) from the gospel as preached by himself, but was not in reality a different (*ἄλλο*) gospel—except in so far as it was distorted by some troublesome men.

But while Professor Ramsay appears to be attracted by this interpretation of the apostle’s words, he states (without discussion) two objections which are likely to prevent most scholars from accepting it—

1. That, at the time when Paul wrote, the distinction between the two Greek words had so far disappeared that ‘a pointed contrast between them could not have suggested itself to his mind.’

2. That in 2 Co 11<sup>4</sup> ‘Paul speaks of *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον*, *ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν*, *ἄλλο πνεῦμα*, using the two adjectives as practically equivalent.’

As regards the second objection: Professor Ramsay appears to have quoted 2 Co 11<sup>4</sup> somewhat carelessly; for the words are not as he gives them, but *ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν*, *πνεῦμα ἕτερον*, *εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον*. And when the correct words are taken, they seem to suggest, not an indiscriminate use of the two adjectives, but rather a very definite and finely contrasted use on the precise lines which Professor Ramsay has made good as against Lightfoot and the Revisers. The *ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν* comes first, for Paul is thinking of the absolute uniqueness of Jesus within His own sphere; so that if any other Jesus is preached by Paul’s opponents, it must be a totally different Jesus from Him of whom the Corinthians have heard from the apostle himself. But if, on the

other hand, the Judaizing teachers do not, and cannot, go the length of preaching an absolutely different Jesus from the Jesus of Paul, yet if their presentation of the gospel is different (*εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον*), or if the Christian spirit produced by that presentation (and Paul does not question the possession of a Christian spirit by his opponents; he regards them as belonging to the genus Christian, although not to the species of the spiritually free) is of a lower type (*πνεῦμα ἕτερον*) than that of which he has so often told them, then the Corinthians ‘do well to bear with them,’ *i.e.* for it is quite evident that Paul is speaking ironically, they would do well to be on their guard against them.

As for the first objection, that when Paul wrote the original distinction between the two Greek words had been practically lost, that, as Professor Ramsay says, would require ‘a more detailed study of the words than has ever been made.’ But it appears to me that without attempting any exhaustive study of the usage of contemporaneous Greek writers, one might arrive at an answer by simply examining all the passages in the N.T. in which *ἕτερος* and *ἄλλος* are used conjointly. Now, so far as I can discover, in addition to the two passages already referred to (Gal 1<sup>6.7</sup> and 2 Co 11<sup>4</sup>), there are only eight other passages in the N.T. in which such a conjoined use of the two words occurs. Of these eight passages, four are from the pen of Paul himself, and these, curiously enough, are all found in 1 Corinthians. The remaining four are made up of a passage in Matthew, one in Luke, one in Acts, and one in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

1. Taking Paul first, we find him saying in 1 Co 10<sup>29</sup>: ‘Conscience, I say, not thine own, but the other’s (*ἕτερον*); for why is my liberty judged by another (*ἄλλης*) conscience?’ Now, in this case, it is true, there is no pointed contrast between *ἕτερος* and *ἄλλος*, and yet the use of the two words does not appear to be indiscriminate, but altogether in keeping with the principle that *ἄλλος* denotes a difference of a more absolute kind from that expressed by *ἕτερος*. ‘*ἕτερος* is ‘the other man,’ the second of the two who are supposed to be sitting at the same table, the man who has just said, ‘This hath been offered in sacrifice.’ But when the apostle proceeds to make his general statement, he employs *ἄλλος*, for now he is asserting the rights of the individual conscience against every other conscience whatsoever.’



2. 1 Co 12<sup>8-10</sup>. In this passage Paul is speaking of the diversities of gifts by the same spirit, and, in passing from one spiritual gift to another, he uses ἄλλος six times and ἕτερος twice, in what appears to be a practically indiscriminate fashion. This passage, however, really sheds no light upon the question at issue; for the sense shows quite plainly that there can be no conceivable shades of difference in the contrasts between the separate gifts, and so ἕτερος and ἄλλος are simply used interchangeably, as they often are where no contrast is, or can be, intended, in order to mark the transition from one member to another of a long series.

3. 1 Co 14<sup>17-19</sup>. Here we have an exact parallel to the use of the two words in 10<sup>29</sup>. There is no pointed contrast, but there is the difference between the special and the general. 'The other (ὁ ἕτερος) is not edified'—i.e. the particular man who is unable to say Amen at the giving of thanks. But 'that I might instruct others (ἄλλους) also,' is said in the wide and absolute sense.

4. In 1 Co 15<sup>40, 41</sup>, as in 12<sup>8-10</sup>, ἄλλος and ἕτερος are apparently used without any distinction, to mark the transition from one member to another of a lengthy series. But here again we have to say that, as the meaning of the passage precludes the idea of differences in the contrasts between the various members of the series, the employment of the two words here does not shed any light upon the question at issue; for it is granted by every one that in such cases ἕτερος and ἄλλος are used interchangeably.

5. Passing now to the four non-Pauline passages, we find in Mt 16<sup>14</sup>: 'Some say, John the Baptist, others (ἄλλοι δέ) Elijah, others (ἕτεροι δέ) Jeremiah or one of the prophets.' Now it is possible, no doubt, to take the view that no differences in contrast are intended here, and that ἄλλος and ἕτερος merely indicate the transition from one to another of various alternatives. And yet the idea of a distinction between the first contrast and the second may very well be supposed to be present; and if so, it is plain that ἄλλος denotes the greater contrast, and ἕτερος the less. For those who held that Jesus was no other than the recently murdered John the Baptist, the well-known preacher of repentance to that very generation, might be broadly distinguished from all the rest, who took Him to be one or other of the ancient prophets. This wider distinction, accordingly, is made by the

use of ἄλλος. But within the class which held Him to be one of the prophets of the olden time, there were minor divisions; for some thought of Elijah, some of Jeremiah, some of others still; and this slighter contrast is expressed by using ἕτερος.

6. Lk 22<sup>58, 59</sup>. The evangelist is telling how Peter was three times challenged in the hall of the high priest, and he describes the three persons who challenged the apostle as παιδίσκη τις, ἕτερος, ἄλλος τις. And the way in which the words are used confirms the general distinction between ἕτερος and ἄλλος. The first two challenges took place about the same time (vv.<sup>57, 58</sup>), and so may be classed together; but the third was not made until 'after the space of about one hour' (v.<sup>59</sup>), and so may be separately classed from the other two. And there is another possible ground of distinction. Both Matthew and Mark agree in telling us that the first two challenges came from two maids of the high priest. And while Luke uses the masculine form ἕτερος to indicate the second challenger, it does not follow that he meant that the person was a man. The word may be meant indefinitely, so far as any determination of sex is concerned: and this is not contradicted, but rather confirmed, by the fact that Peter replied, \*Ἄνθρωπε, οὐκ εἰμί, since ἄνθρωπος is properly used without any reference to sex distinction. But though Luke does not describe the second challenger as another maid, it is most probable that he was fully aware of the ordinary tradition (cf. Luke 1<sup>1</sup>) as recorded in Matthew and Mark, and had not forgotten that the first two who challenged the apostle were fellow-damsels of the high priest's palace. So he distinguished them from each other by the use of ἕτερος. But it was someone quite different (ἄλλος τις), the kinsman of Malchus, or some other person who was standing in the circle around the fire, who, about an hour after, challenged Peter for the third and last time.

7. Ac 4<sup>12</sup>: 'And in none other (ἄλλῳ) is there salvation; for neither is there any other (ἕτερον) name under heaven that is given among men, wherein we must be saved.' Is not ἄλλος used here in the most absolute sense, as utterly precluding the idea that there is any other Saviour but the one; while ἕτερος suggests the thought that there is no name that is second to the one, no other name like the name of Jesus?

8. Heb 11<sup>35, 36</sup>: 'Women received their dead



raised to life again: and others (ἄλλοι) were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. And others (ἕτεροι) had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings,' etc. A more exact illustration of the proper distinction between ἄλλος and ἕτερος could scarcely be found. The writer is telling of the trials and triumphs of faith. In the first clause he speaks of some of faith's triumphant rewards: 'Women received their dead raised to life again.' From that he passes suddenly to the absolute contrast in the experience of others, who passed on to the 'better resurrection' by the dolorous way of a death of torture. This great contrast is expressed by the use of ἄλλος. But in the third clause he is speaking still of the martyrs of the faith, of those who belong to the brotherhood of the sorrowful way; and he distinguishes them from their persecuted brethren previously mentioned, by the use of ἕτερος.

To sum up, then, it appears that the N.T. writers do not use ἕτερος and ἄλλος as 'practically equivalent.' The original distinction between the two words has not yet been lost. The rendering of ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο by 'another gospel which is not a different gospel,' is thoroughly justified by the analogy of N.T. usage, in cases where the two adjectives are contrasted. And if this rendering is the 'more vigorous and more characteristic of Paul's habit,' as Professor Ramsay believes, there seem to be no adequate grounds for regarding it as 'less probable' than that which is suggested in the margin of the American Revision.

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## The Original Name of the First Book of Maccabees.

THAT the First Book of Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew and not in Greek, in which it has come down to us, is expressly stated by Jerome, who had still the book before him in its original form (ed. Vallarsi, t. ix. p. 459 f: 'Machabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi'). By 'Hebrew' he means here the ancient Hebrew, or, more correctly perhaps, a Renaissance form of it, and not Aramaic, as is quite plain from

the whole diction of the book, as well as from certain errors in translation (cf. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. A.T.*, 1898, p. 25). This conclusion is rendered probable also by the circumstance that the later Jewish authors, when they composed a work, chose by preference the ancient sacred historical narrative as their model. Now, Origen (*ap. Euseb. H.E.* vi. 25. 2) has preserved for us the original name in question, but, as E. Schürer, in the latest edition of his great work on the *History of the Jewish People* (3rd ed., 1898, p. 141), has to confess, this name presents 'a hitherto unsolved enigma.'

The passage in Origen occurs at the end of his enumeration of the O.T. writings, and reads thus: ἔξω δὲ τούτων (*i.e.* the books that belong to the O.T. canon) ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ ἅπερ ἐπιγράφονται Σαρβῆθ Σα[ρ]βαναιέλ. It would appear at first, indeed, as if we had here the title belonging to the whole Maccabæan history (τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ), and not merely that of the First Book of Maccabees (so B. Niese in *Hermes*, xxxv., 1900, p. 269, note). But when we consider that 1 Mac treats of the Maccabæan history from the accession of Antiochus iv. (Epiphanes) down to the beginning of the reign of John Hyrcanus, *i.e.* the period from 175 to 135-34 B.C., whereas 2 Mac includes only a small segment of this, merely fifteen years (176-161), it is readily intelligible how Origen could briefly designate the First Book by the title τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ. The enigmatical σαρβῆθ σα(ρ)βαναιέλ is therefore to be taken as the Hebrew title merely of 1 Mac, as has indeed been generally done.

Of attempts at explanation there has been for long no want. These may be briefly enumerated as follows:—

1. An interpretation in every respect untenable is that of Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 205), which makes the title='Obstinacy of those who offer opposition to God' (Heb. סרבת סרבני אל).

2. The same character belongs to the interpretation 'Sceptre (*i.e.* rule) of those who offer opposition to God' (Heb. שַׁרְפֵּיט סרבני אל); so Junius, Huëtius (*Demonstrat. evang.* p. 526, making the reference to be to the rule of the Syrian kings, who are spoken of as rebels against God because they oppressed the Jews), Herzfeld (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 457). But if this were the meaning, we should have expected to find in the Greek a form σαρβήτ.

3. Others explain as 'Sceptre (see No. 2) of the prince of the sons of God' (Heb. שֶׁרְבִיט שֶׁר בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים), by which is supposed to be meant the reign of the Maccabee Simon; so Bochart, Buddeus, H. Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, iv., 1864, p. 604, note), and others. But this interpretation is possible only if one agrees with Ewald in regarding the chapters (13-16), which treat of Simon as the main portion of the book, and views all that precedes as simply an introduction to this, which Grimm (*Kurzgef. exeget. Hdbuch. z. d. Apokr. d. A. T.* iii., 1853, p. xvii) quite rightly pronounces to be 'an untenable position.'

4. What has been for long a favourite explanation is 'History of the prince (or princes) of the sons of God' (Heb. שֶׁרְבִיט שֶׁר [שְׁרִי] בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים; so e.g. Michaelis, J. G. Eichhorn (*Einleit. in die apokr. Schriften d. A. T.*, 1795, p. 221 f.), L. Berthold (*Histor.-Krit. Einleit. in sämtliche kanon. u. apokr. Schriften d. A. und N. Test.*, 1813, iii. p. 1046 f.), Grimm (*op. cit.*). But apart from the circumstance that 1 Mac treats not of one (see No. 3) but of four Maccabæan princes, the pure Syriac שְׂרָבָה, which is found neither in Hebrew nor in Aramaic, is quite impossible in the Hebrew title of the book. שְׂרָבָה is properly 'generation,' 'family,' and would answer to such a Heb. term as הוֹלָדוֹת (S. I. Curtiss, *The name Machabee*, 1876, p. 30), and could only in a wider sense signify 'history.'

5. Wernsdorf (*Commentatio de fide libb. Maccab.*, 1747, p. 173) interprets the title by 'princes templi, principes filiorum Dei' ('prince of the temple, prince of the sons of God,' Heb. שֶׁר בֵּית (!) שֶׁר בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, i.e. 'pontifex maximus et dux populi Judaici,' cf. 1 Mac 13<sup>42</sup> 14<sup>27</sup>). See on No. 4.

6. J. Derenbourg (*Essai sur l'hist. et la géogr. de la Palestine*, 1867, p. 450 ff.) sees in σαβῆθ a corruption of σαφασῆθ, and accordingly interprets the mysterious words to mean 'Book of the family of the prince of the sons of God' (Heb. סֵפֶר בֵּית שֶׁר בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים), suggesting that Mattathias may have borne the title 'prince of the sons of God,' inasmuch as he was the head of the faithful Jahweh worshippers who set themselves to oppose the aims of the רִשְׁעִים ('ungodly'). Possibly, he suggests further, -ελ is an abbreviation of ελιων = עֲלִיֹן, 'Most High,' which was then a specially favourite designation of God (Geiger, *Urschrift*, p.

33 ff.; cf. Ps 82<sup>6f.</sup> and Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13. 5 [*Saramalla* = שֶׁר עִם אֱלֹהִים]).

7. Simply for the sake of completeness, we may mention finally the explanation, which is improbable to the extent of being impossible, proposed by Senior Sachs (*Revue des Études juives*, t. xxvi., 1893, p. 161 ff.), who holds the original title to have been שְׂרָבִיט סַרְבָּל (Aram. equivalent of Heb. שְׂבֵט סַרְבָּל), and takes this to mean 'the family of Sarabel' or 'the family of the Hasmonæans,' holding *Sarabel* to be a synonym of Jojarib, the name of the ancestor of the Maccabees (1 Mac 2<sup>1</sup> 14<sup>29</sup>, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8).

The whole of the above explanations start from the reading σ. σαβαναιέλ or σαβανέ ελ. The latter is the form offered by Robertus Stephanus in his great edition of Eusebius (Paris, 1544), and which was then adopted, further, in the editions of Henricus Valesius (Paris, 1659, followed by ed. Chr. Gerlach and S. Beckenstein, Mainz, 1672), as well as by E. Zimmermann (in the *Corpus Patrum Græcorum*, t. i., 1822) and others; Zimmermann gives σαβαναιέλ in the footnotes as a variant. Besides this, there are found the forms βασαναίηλ (in Cod. O = Venetus, No. 338, of the tenth century, and thence in H. Laemmer's (1862) ed. of Eusebius' *H.E.*); σαβανέελ (in Cod. A = Regius, bibl. Paris., No. 1436, of the thirteenth century); and σαβαναιέλ (so the other witnesses for the text). Of these last three forms, the first, notwithstanding its support by the oldest and best codex, has evidently arisen simply through corruption from the reading σαβαναιήλ = σαβαναιέλ. Hence in seeking to explain the title, we have to take account only of the forms σαβαναι [or αι] ελ and σαβαναι [or αι] ελ. Schürer (*op. cit.* p. 142), Kautzsch (*op. cit.* p. 25, note a), G. Schmidt (in *ZATW*, xvii., 1897, p. 19 f.), and others prefer the best attested (by the MSS) form σ. σαβαν. (without the ρ), and Schmidt cites in its favour also the form of the Syriac translation of 1 Mac, namely, סַבְעָאֵל (corrupted from סַבְנָאֵל), which goes to support the form without ρ. But in the matter of proper names tradition has its own fashions, and it happens only too frequently that a poorly attested form is nearer to the truth than one that has the strongest support. As to the שְׂבֵט שֶׁר בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, 'of the sons of God,' (a genitive, if we read σαβαν.) of Schmidt (*op. cit.* p. 20), nothing can be made of it so long as the pre-



ceding *σαρβήθ* is not equally explained, for a half explanation is in this instance no explanation, and it is barely conceivable that the Maccabees should be designated by the title 'sons of God.' The only form with which anything can be accomplished is *σαρβαν.*, as by far the majority of interpreters have rightly felt. How little importance Schürer himself, for instance, attaches to the absence of the *ρ* in the best attested form, is shown by the fact that, in spite of the testimony of the MSS, he does not hesitate to compare the word with *σαραμέλ* of 1 Mac 14<sup>27</sup>. The reading *σαρβαν.* must then be taken as the basis of our explanation, and this form can be nothing else than the transcription of the Hebrew שָׂרֵי בְנֵי אֱלֹהִים, 'princes of the sons of God,' where 'sons of God' is a designation of the Jews as God's chosen people (cf. Hos 2<sup>1</sup>, and the above cited (א) *σαραμέλ*, which, notwithstanding the article of Professor A. R. S. Kennedy [THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, August, p. 523 ff.], is probably still best taken, with Wernsdorf, as שָׂרֵי עַם אֱלֹהִים, 'and prince of the people of God' [striking out the preceding *ἐν*, and understanding the whole as a title of Simon]).

The principal difficulty is presented by the first word, which has been unanimously handed down as *σαρβήθ*. It needs no further discussion to show that none of the explanations of this word hitherto proposed can be regarded as satisfactory. I myself venture to propose the following explanation, namely, that the questionable word is the transcription of a Heb. סָפֶר אַרְבַּעַת, *i.e.* 'ס' אַרְבַּעַת סָפֶר, where simply the abbreviating mark in 'ס' was overlooked. The original name of the First Book of Maccabees will thus have been 'BOOK OF THE FOUR PRINCES OF THE SONS OF GOD' (Heb. סָפֶר אַרְבַּעַת שָׂרֵי בְנֵי אֱלֹהִים, *sepher 'arba' ath sarê bënë 'él*). The allusion is to Judas, Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus I., the first four of the Maccabæan princes. These alone of all the Maccabees bore the title 'prince' (שָׂרֵי), for the son and successor of John Hyrcanus I., namely, Aristobulus I. (105-104 B.C.), already assumed the title 'king' (מֶלֶךְ), which the rulers of the Maccabæan house henceforward continued to bear. As a matter of fact, 1 Mac treats of events from the beginnings of the Maccabee revolt till the accession of John Hyrcanus I. The author dispensed with carrying his account of the latter farther, which he could all the more readily do, seeing that a special historical work dealing with the reign of Hyrcanus had already appeared. This is cited in 1 Mac 16<sup>24</sup> as 'the book of the days of his high priesthood' (βιβλίον ἡμέρων ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, *i.e.* in Hebrew סָפֶר יְדִיּוֹת הַיָּמִים לְיוֹם הַקֹּדֶשׁ, cf. 1 K 14<sup>19, 29</sup>, etc.). The Hebrew title of 1 Mac

thus indicates precisely the contents of the work. The abbreviated form in which סָפֶר is written is nothing strange, in view of other much older abbreviations in Hebrew, nor is it at all remarkable that the sign of abbreviation should have dropped out (cf., on this point, *e.g.* F. Perles, *Analekten zur Text-kritik d. A.T.*, 1895, p. 4 ff.). In support of the reproduction of 'Ayin by an *e* sound (η), we can adduce the circumstance that in Assyro-Babylonian an *e* (for the most part a long one) answers almost uniformly to a Heb. 'Ayin (cf. *e.g.* Heb. *Ba'al* [בַּעַל] and Assyr. *Bêl*, Bêlos, *Belus*; Heb. 'āphār [עֶפֶר], and Assyr. *ēpru*), and that it is still the custom with the Jews, in transcribing foreign words into Hebrew, to express an *e* by 'Ayin. A close relation thus subsists between 'Ayin and *e*. But what tells especially in favour of the correctness of our explanation of the name in question, is this, that the title of 1 Mac thus ranges itself best, alike as to form and contents, alongside the designations of the canonical books, such as 'Book of Joshua,' 'Book of the Judges,' 'Book of the Kings,' which are derived in like manner from the contents of the particular books. It was, in fact, quite the habit of the Jews to express the names of the Sacred Writings—with the exception of the Prophetical—according to their contents, by means of סָפֶר (cf. L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, 1894, p. 31 f.).

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## The Date of the Talmud.

To the joint communication of Messrs. Bacher and Nöldeke on this subject (in the EXPOSITORY TIMES for August) I beg to offer the following reply:—

1. The correct date of the writing of the Talmud was not discovered by me, but is given by Rashi in his note on *Baba Mezia*, 33a, where he observes 'our generations began to write the Gemara.' Rashi was born 1040 A.D., and by 'our generations' cannot possibly mean those who lived 500 years before his time; 150-200 years is the utmost length of time which the words will bear. This gives the date 840-890 A.D., which agrees with *a priori* and internal evidence. In the later editions of Rashi's commentary for 'our generations' the editors substitute 'later generations.' But the editor of the Livorno collection of *Responsa* is indignant with them for doing this. Hence I can be no more accused than Rashi of wishing to deprive Professor Bacher of the Talmud.



2. The merit of having discovered the importance of the word *kharāg* for dating the Talmud belongs to Max v. Berchem. In his treatise on *La propriété territoriale*, 1886, he observes (p. 20) that the employment of this word for 'territorial impost' should be traced to the age of Omar I.; that it must be admitted that the Talmudic word is borrowed from the Arabic vocabulary (p. 21); and he offers a reason (*ibid.*) why the *new word* was applied (by the Jews) more specially to the capitation tax. But to whom the merit of first deriving the Talmudic *cherag* from the Arabic *kharāg* belongs cannot be easily ascertained; for Jewish scholars of mark are almost agreed about it. This etymology was evidently accepted by Grätz (iv. 276, 2nd ed., 1866), who spells the Talmudic word *charag*; it is given positively by Fischer in his edition of Buxtorf (1869); by Levy in his New-Hebrew dictionary (1879), without dissent on Fleischer's part; and by Kohut in his *Aruch* (1891). Fränkel, in his *Aramaic Words in Arabic* (1886, p. 283), perhaps following a hint of Fischer, thought the word was Persian, and had come through Aramaic into Arabic; but his opinion was based on a spurious line, which, besides, was wrongly interpreted; for that line must mean, 'we, after *ousting* Kiswa and the Jewish tribes, have to pay the *kharāg*.' Instead, therefore, of implying that the word was Persian, it confirms the theory of Mawerdi and v. Berchem that it was given the sense of 'impost' by Omar. Sammt derives the word from the Greek *χορηγία*; but I have already been ridiculed sufficiently for referring to his decidedly useful work.

That the Jews themselves identified their word with the name of the Mohammedan tax is shown by their pointing it כְּרִיג in the Targum (Lam 1<sup>1</sup>). Nöldeke's objection to the transliteration of the Arabic G by the Aramaic G is shown to be groundless by the fact that the equivalent *Gizyah* is transliterated *G' zitha* by Dionysius of Tell-Mahré (ed. Chabot, p. 162, 10, etc.), whose date is as early as we require (see Nöldeke's note ap. Fränkel, p. 284).

Mawerdi's view of the meaning and history of the Arabic word is confirmed by a book to which v. Berchem had not access, the work on the *Kharāg* by the Qadi Abu Yusuf (ob. 798 A.D.; Cairo, 1302 A.H.). On page 72, 8, he uses the word in its older sense of 'earning' or 'acquisition': 'if a man turn Moslem after the completion of the year, the *gizyah* has already become due from him and become a *kharāg* ("acquisition") of the whole Moslem community.' He also uses the word as the equivalent of *gizyah* on page 76, 3.

Further, as v. Berchem points out, the word has so obvious an etymology in Arabic that all the

senses, 'juice,' 'produce,' 'earnings,' 'revenue,' 'ground-tax,' 'tax,' can easily be grouped; Nöldeke can find no trace of the word in Persian, and if it had been a Persian word adopted by Omar, the Arabic etymologists would assuredly have recorded the fact.

Although a contribution from Nöldeke to this controversy can only be welcomed, I fear that the value of his communication to Professor Bacher lies chiefly in its confirming the statement of v. Berchem, that no Persian etymology can be assigned the word. Perhaps it should be added that a poet excerpted by Hamdani ap. Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser* (SBWA, xciv. 403, 8-10), puts the word repeatedly in the mouth of a pre-Islamic chieftain; but I do not think Nöldeke will argue thence that it is ancient.

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Oxford.

## The Earliest Language of the Israelites.

It is certainly not Professor König's fault (see last month's issue, p. 45) that I contended in my *Anc. Heb. Trad.* (p. xiv and oft.) that 'the Israelites down to the time of Joshua spoke a dialect of Arabic.' But this is the uniform *biblical* view of the matter (see chap. vi. of my book, where also the originally much closer affinity between Arabic and Aramaic is referred to). It is in this way that we must explain, for instance, how Moses still pronounced the new name of God not as the Canaanitish *Yihye*, but as the pure Arabic *Yahve*. We may assume, I suppose, that he meant to be understood by the mass of the people.

I am glad to see that recently Professor Guthe (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, Freiburg, 1899, p. 9) also maintains a similar view, although he underates the change of language (*Sprachwechsel*) when he sees in this not much more than an exchange between dialects whose points of difference were quite trivial. All the same this is a decided swing in the direction of my view, and I am convinced that the time will yet come when it will be considered nothing short of monstrous to hold that the Israelites prior to Joshua's conquest of Canaan already spoke Canaanitish. When that result is reached, it likewise will not be Professor König's fault nor his merit either.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

PROFESSOR MARGOLIOUTH'S address at the recent Church Congress appears to have had a disturbing effect upon some men's minds. He seems to have conveyed to them the impression that there were two classes of scholars occupied at present in the study of the Old Testament: the one, headed by himself and Dr. Wace (to quote a *Pilot* reviewer), the guardians of traditional beliefs; the other, certain revolutionary critics who had ceased 'to believe the Bible.'

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This impression was apparently conveyed to the mind, among others, of the reviewer in the *Pilot* of the third volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible*. That volume convinces him that the impression is a mistake. There are not two classes of Old Testament scholars, there is only one. 'Professor Margoliouth writes the admirable article on the "Language of the Old Testament" in this *Dictionary*, and adopts as his own the precise methods, so far as one can discover, which his name is being used in "orthodox" circles to discredit.' So between one Old Testament scholar and another 'the difference is only a difference of degree and as to details.' And this reviewer thinks that 'a frank admission on the part of scholars like Dr. Wace and Professor Margoliouth and Professor Sayce that their methods and conclusions are widely divergent from the methods and conclusions of Protestant

orthodox interpretation of half a century ago is imperatively called for, if the public is not to be misled.'

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The ordinary layman, says this candid reviewer, 'does not care two straws whether Professor Margoliouth is right or wrong about the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus, or whether Mr. Harford-Battersby has or has not sufficient evidence for his elaborate analysis of the books of Leviticus and Numbers.' But there are two things he does care for; whether there is real disagreement among critics as to the *legitimacy* of the methods of analysis being applied to the Old Testament, and whether those who adopt such methods can consistently claim inspiration in any unique sense whatever for the literature of the Older Covenant.

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The first question he himself answers and in a word. There is no real disagreement. The other he finds some answer for in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. He quotes from Dr. Curtis's article on the 'Old Testament,' and he quotes from Dr. Stanton's article 'Messiah.' And he says, 'The articles in Dr. Hastings' Dictionary on Old Testament subjects will show to any candid reader that the suspicion that there is no proper and unique inspiration in the Old Testament is ill-founded so far as the personal convictions of the writers are concerned.' 'That,' he adds, 'is a great step to

have made. 'It is one of the chief benefits which the publication of this great work has conferred upon the Christian public.' But more than that is needed. And he warns our Old Testament scholars that they cannot expect their methods to be favourably received among devout Christian people unless they explain distinctly and without reserve wherein *their* view of the Old Testament literature differs in principle from that of scholars who are purely naturalistic.

The review appears in the *Pilot* of 27th October. In the very next number the request is granted by Dr. Driver. Dr. Driver refers the reviewer to his *Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament*. There, he says, he has more than once expressed what he intended to be regarded as his belief in the 'unique' inspiration of the Old Testament. He quotes from the sermon on 'The Voice of God in the Old Testament,' where, after remarking on the manner in which the Divine and human elements are blended, in different degrees, in Scripture, he has said: 'But viewed generally, the human element, whether it be present in a larger or smaller proportion, is interpenetrated and suffused by an element higher than itself; it is illumined, elevated, and refined by a peculiar and unique operation of the Spirit of God.'

Thus in this sermon, as well as in another which he also quotes, Dr. Driver has used the very word 'unique' and applied it in the very way desiderated by the *Pilot* reviewer. Nor is this all. He has said that apart from the special illumination vouchsafed to the great teachers who originated or sustained the principles of its faith, there is no ground to suppose that the religious history of Israel would have differed materially from that of the kindred nations by which it was surrounded. And he refers to others—Sanday, Ottley, Ryle—who have written as he has written, 'distinctly and without reserve.'

In his book, *Christ, the Truth*, published by Macmillan and elsewhere noticed, Professor

Medley explains the phrase which St. John uses for expressing faith in the Personal Christ. The phrase is πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστόν. It literally means 'to trust towards Christ.' But, says Mr. Medley, the English is scarcely sufficient here, and he 'indulges in a brief word of grammatical analysis.'

He tracks the great word πιστεύειν to its root, πῖθ, a form most clearly akin to our own word *faith* and the Latin *fides*. And so he finds that its essential meaning is trust, reliance, *repose*. It is the perfect rest of a human spirit in the spirit of another.

Then he turns to the preposition εἰς. And he says that 'if there is anything entirely certain in the interpretation of Greek words, it is that this preposition εἰς, in all its variety of usage, always and without exception carries with it at its centre the conception of *motion forwards*.' Thus this phrase is a combination of two conceptions that are antithetic and even logically contradictory to one another. The one implies rest, the other motion. But it is just this combination that carries the complete idea of faith in Christ. For it is rest or repose, absolute and unflinching, in Christ; and yet, while it rests, it is ever vitally moving forwards and upwards.

The two conceptions may be contradictory in logic, but they are familiar in life. This is the analysis of all true friendship. An absolute trust, abiding alone, is but a stagnant, dead, inert thing—a stone securely built into a wall. On the other hand, an ever-continuous movement, cut off from repose, is a vain, empty restlessness. Neither of these is life. But combine the two: make the Person in whom the trust is reposed worthy enough, and then perfect rest joined with unlimited progress make fellowship perfect and entire, wanting nothing.

Of the books of the month the most important, theologically, is one published by Messrs. Longmans, and entitled *Priesthood and Sacrifice* (8vo, pp. xix, 174, 7s. 6d.). It is also of most



human interest. It is a Report of a Conference held in Oxford, on the 13th and 14th of December 1899, and edited by Dr. Sanday.

It was Dr. Sanday that called the Conference. He had found that ecclesiastical warfare was being conducted with excessive and most unseemly bitterness. He believed it was partly due to ignorance. Men did not know one another. They did not know what was believed and taught by one another. More than that, he knew that 'much of the keenness of controversy has at all times turned on the more or less latent suspicion that opponents were aiming at objects that were really immoral.' 'We draw consequences,' are his words, 'we draw consequences for them that they would not draw for themselves; we press these consequences to the furthest logical extreme of which they are capable; and then our indignation is roused by a picture that is more than half our own creation. The process is often quite honest, but none the less disastrous for the peace of the world.'

There are real differences. There are differences that possibly cannot be removed. But Dr. Sanday felt that 'outside the irreducible minimum of real difference' lay a whole region of uncertainty and suspicion. If men from both sides could be brought together, well, at least they might be led to entertain more respect for each other's sincerity; they might even be led to see that they were nearer to one another than they had dreamed. So he called the Conference. When it was over, he said, 'The Conference has been of great interest to me, and it has also caused me some anxiety, but the result has far exceeded my expectations.'

The bitterness of modern ecclesiastical controversy turns upon the associations of what is called Sacerdotalism. Now Sacerdotalism involves two things: the existence of something to offer in sacrifice and the existence of special priests to offer it. The Conference therefore dealt with *Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice*, to

quote the full title of the book. Its members numbered fifteen. Five were High Churchmen, their names—Father Puller of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Dr. Moberly of Oxford, Canon Gore of Westminster, Canon Scott Holland of St. Paul's, and the Rev. C. G. Lang of Portsea. Five more were English Churchmen, but not High, their names are Archdeacon Wilson of Rochdale, Dr. Ryle of Cambridge, Canon E. R. Bernard of Salisbury, Dr. Sanday, and the Rev. A. C. Headlam. Five were from outside the Church of England—Dr. Fairbairn of Oxford, Dr. Salmond of Aberdeen, Dr. Davison of Birmingham, the Rev. Arnold Thomas of Bristol, and Dr. Forsyth of Cambridge. Perhaps Mr. Headlam would call himself a High Churchman. On Dr. Sanday's invitation he took the place at the last moment of Dr. Moule of Cambridge, who could not be present.

Before the Conference met, fifteen questions or groups of questions were sent to each member to answer in writing if he chose. These questions and answers are also printed in the volume, together with Notes by Dr. Driver on the words for Sacrifice, for Priest, and for the Laying on of Hands. Three discussions took place; each member spoke for five minutes, and then the conversation became general. The subject of the first discussion was Sacrifice and Priesthood before the New Testament times; of the second, Sacrifice and Priesthood in the New Testament; and of the third, the Mystical Body with its Priestly Organs. But freedom was given. The last subject was sometimes found first and the first last, or anywhere in the middle. One man, however, had a definite scheme of doctrine in his mind, which he uttered in admirable order, and when he had uttered it he said no more. It was Father Puller.

Father Puller always spoke first. If we follow his three speeches and neglect the rest for the moment, we shall obtain a fairly complete view of the High Church doctrine of Sacrifice and Priesthood—in other words, of Sacerdotalism.

In his first speech Father Puller laid stress on the fact that the sacrifices of the Old Testament consisted of various acts. Some of these acts were done by the offerer and some by the priest. The offerer brought the victim, laid his hands on it so as to constitute it in some sense his representative, and killed it. Then—but not till then, *not till the death had taken place*—did the priest's part commence. The priest caught the blood as it flowed from the victim, and sprinkled it on the altar. Then he burned the victim, or such parts as were to be burned, according to the nature of the sacrifice. The feast followed, in which if it was a whole burnt-offering, nothing could be eaten but the accompanying meal-offering, which was eaten by the priest alone. If it was a peace-offering, the priest had his share, and the offerer and his family had their share. That was Father Puller's first speech. At the end of it, and in a sentence, he said that in like manner our Lord's priestly action *begins after His death* and goes on in the life of glory.

In his second, ignoring all that the rest had said, Father Puller started from the point he had reached in the first. Our Lord's priesthood began when He ascended on high. He thought that that was the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and he thought he could quote Dr. A. B. Davidson's 'remarkable commentary' on that Epistle in his favour. He said, 'Thus it would appear that, when our Lord entered the heavenly sanctuary and was about to present Himself to the Father, He became a High Priest, and in some mysterious way He fulfilled what the High Priest did on the Day of Atonement, when He went within the veil and offered the blood.' As a Priest in heaven, then, Jesus offers, is always offering, His own blood. And not His blood only; but as the priest laid the victim on the altar, our Lord is continually 'presenting His Holy Body as a sacrifice.' Father Puller finds evidence for this in the Book of Revelation. There it is said that St. John saw 'in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing as

though it had been slain.' That Lamb, as though it had been slain, is the Lord's own sacrificial Body. And it is 'standing' because it has resurrection life in it. Having passed through death, Jesus is now alive for evermore, and can offer Himself a living sacrifice continually.

In the third discussion Father Puller began with that. Our Lord is a Priest for ever in heaven. He has also a sacrifice to offer for ever, His own body and His own blood. But that same sacrifice is also offered on earth, in the celebration of the Eucharist. Father Puller omits a link here, which, however, Dr. Moberly or Canon Gore will endeavour to supply. He omits to show the connexion between the offering of Christ's body and blood in heaven, and the offering that takes place in the Supper. He only proceeds to say that the language used by our Lord in instituting the Supper is sacrificial language. He says that every detail is sacrificial. The bread and wine are sacrificial. For the meal-offerings at sacrifices consisted of fine flour, and the drink-offerings consisted of wine. He says our Lord blessed and consecrated these sacrificial things, and when He had consecrated them He identified them with His own body and blood, saying, 'This is My body; this is My blood.' Further, he says that when our Lord spoke of inaugurating a new covenant—'This is the new covenant in My blood'—He was using sacrificial language, for covenants were made and ratified by sacrifice. And the very word 'memorial' (*ἀνάμνησις*) is sacrificial, being used in the Septuagint at Lv 24<sup>7</sup> of that part of the offering which was burnt on the altar. And he concludes that thus 'the holy Eucharist was instituted by our Lord as a sacrifice, the earthly counterpart of the sacrificial oblation which is being carried on in the heavenly tabernacle.'

That is Father Puller's scheme of sacrificial doctrine. Let us repeat its points. Christ became a Priest only when He entered within the veil. His offering is a perpetual one, for He is alive for evermore. It consists of His own blood

and His own body. It has a counterpart on earth, the holy Eucharist. In it also a perpetual offering is made—made, that is to say, as often as the Eucharist is properly celebrated. And the offering made in the Eucharist is the same as the offering that is made in heaven—Christ's body and Christ's blood.

Father Puller, we have said, omits in his speeches the link of connexion between the offering in heaven and the offering on earth. He supplies it to some extent in his written answers. He says that 'Christ exercises His Priesthood in heaven in His own Person; He exercises it on earth in and through His Church.' Again he says, 'Our Lord perpetuates His sacrifice in the heavenly tabernacle, "appearing openly before the face of God on our behalf" in His glorified Body as the Lamb without spot, and cleansing "the heavenly things" with the "better sacrifices," that is, with the incorruptible "Blood of sprinkling." And the matter of the Church's sacrifice is also primarily Christ's body and blood. It follows that the sacrifice which the Church offers is identical with the heavenly Sacrifice which Christ offers. In other words, Christ's sacrifice is perpetuated not only in heaven above, but also in His Church below.'

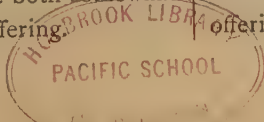
It may be felt that Father Puller's phrase, 'It follows,' makes a leap in the dark. Why, we may ask, must Christ's offering in heaven be made by the Church on earth? Why does it follow? Dr. Moberly supplies an answer. He says, 'Because what Christ is, the Church is; because the Church is the body, whose breath is the spirit, of Christ; because the Church is Christ.' And Canon Gore also answers, though not quite so definitely, 'The Church is the Body of Christ. Christ lives, as quickening Spirit, in this body, in order that the priesthood and sacrifice of man may be realized in the Church.'

Well, if the Church on earth sacrifices, it is necessary, no doubt, that she have both ~~some what~~ to offer and priests to make the offering.

When we seek to understand what the offering is, we find a little obscurity and perhaps some difference of opinion. Father Puller says, distinctly enough so far, that it is the same offering as Christ makes in heaven, His own body and blood. What that involves, however, it is impossible with confidence to say. Does it, on the one hand, involve transubstantiation? And, on the other hand, does it involve propitiation? Perhaps with Father Puller it involves both.

And for a moment Dr. Moberly seems to go even further. For it is to be understood here that the whole conception of Christ's sacrifice being perpetuated in glory comes from the writings of the late Dr. Milligan of Aberdeen. Now on this point what Dr. Milligan says is that 'the Church does on earth what Christ does in heaven *according to her capabilities and opportunities*,' and again that 'what Christ is or does the Church must *in a measure* be or do.' But Dr. Moberly drops the limitations which we have thrown into italics. He says that 'Christ's people are what He is,' and even more strongly, 'the Church is Christ.'

It is probable, however, that Dr. Moberly does not indorse the literal offering by Christ of His body and blood in heaven. For he does not once refer to that idea, and when he speaks of Christ's sacrifice he refers to the sacrifice consummated on Calvary. If we understand him aright, he means to say that what Christ once did the Church continues still to do. Now, Christ offered Himself as a propitiatory sacrifice in perfect obedience to the Father's will, or, as Dr. Moberly puts it, 'in perfect love, to consummate human penitence.' So the sacrifice which the Church still offers is the sacrifice of a contrite heart. But it needs an outward expression. Says Canon Scott Holland, 'The inward motive is not in itself sacrificial until it has obtained an outward realization—until it can succeed in making an offering. The "Lo! I come to do Thy will"





becomes sacrificial when it has completed its intention in the offering of the *body* prepared for it. The will that is to be done is that He should have a *body* to present in sacrifice. And so it is that our own offerings of spiritual thanks and praises only gain the right to use sacrificial language through the sacrifice, present in their midst, of the body and blood. It is this that constitutes them sacrifices.'

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That is not yet a definite statement of what the offering is. But it is the nearest we have. One thing is clear, it is an actual sacrificial offering, a victim external to the offerer. Whether it has propitiatory value, there is, perhaps, a difference of opinion. Canon Gore says distinctly that it has not. But Dr. Moberly speaks of the propitiatory value of penitence. And though he guards himself by saying *perfect* penitence, we understand that he would allow the Church to possess perfect penitence through her perfect union to Christ.

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Well, if the Church has an actual Victim to offer, she must have priests to offer it. Now it is unreservedly held by all these High Churchmen that the Church possesses a universal priesthood, and that every member of the Church is a proper priest. More than that, it is emphatically stated that no priest can come between a member of the Church and God. 'The idea of a priest coming between me and Christ,' says Canon Scott Holland, 'is inconceivable.' So the official priests are simply, in Dr. Moberly's phrase, 'ministerial organs of the Church's priesthood.' It is the Church that sacrifices Christ's body and blood. The act must be performed by certain members of the Church. But they have no right to be called priests that the other members do not have. They are simply the Church's ministers or servants in the performance of this act. The point is that the whole Church, and therefore every member of the Church, is a veritable sacrificing priest.

And that leads to two questions. What is the Church? and How are the operating priests appointed? Both questions are keenly pressed, especially by Dr. Fairbairn and Dr. Salmond. Canon Gore is almost ready to admit that where the Spirit of Christ is (as witnessed by His fruits) there is the Church of Christ (*Ubi Spiritus ibi Ecclesia*). But Dr. Moberly demands something more than that. These are his words: 'I do not think it would be right to say *simpliciter*, or in the way of definition, upon earth, that where the Spirit of Christ is, there is the Church. In other words, I believe that, while the whole meaning of the Church is Spirit, there is, none the less, such a thing as a *true* and *proper* outward organization of the Church; and that in the orderly continuity of that organization is the due historical expression of the Spirit on earth.'

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And in like manner he holds that, as there is a historical continuity belonging to the Church, according to this true and proper outward organization, so is there a historical continuity in respect of the Church's ministerial organs. They discharge only the priestly functions which belong to the whole Church, and they must be authorized by a public and ministerial action of the body. But 'their authorization requires something more than a popular appointment, whose method might depend upon the unfettered fancy of the contemporary body.' Now, the right to represent the whole body belonged originally to the Twelve. By them it was passed, through the laying on of hands, to those whom they thought fittest. And at the same time provision was made 'for its authoritative devolution for ever.' The words are Canon Moberly's. We understand him to mean apostolical succession.

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Such then, so far as we have been able to discover and dispassionately set them down, are the essential points of what is known as Sacerdotalism. For the present it is enough.

## Maran Atha.

AN ADDRESS ON THE SECOND COMING OF OUR LORD.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. GEORGE G. FINDLAY, B.A., HEADINGLEY COLLEGE, LEEDS.

THERE is scarcely any subject in respect of which the difference between the earliest and the present Christian age is more signal than in regard to our Lord's Second Advent. This difference may be explained—may be to some extent inevitable; but it calls for serious inquiry. Where our religious temper, our prevalent mood of thought and feeling, is not that of the New Testament Church, the presumption is that we are wrong; and we are bound to 'try ourselves, whether we are in the faith' in this particular respect. In a remarkable sermon of J. H. Newman's, upon the Intermediate State, he touches on this point to the following effect: 'We are used in this day to look upon death as the point of victory and triumph for the saints. . . . Still, it will be found, on the whole, that death is not *the* object put forward in Scripture for hope to rest upon, but *the coming of Christ*. Now, if the sacred writers uniformly hold out Christ's coming, but we consider death as the close of all things, is it not plain that, in spite of our apparent agreement with them in formal statements of doctrine, there must be some hidden and undetected difference between them and ourselves, some unfounded notion on our part, some assumed premise, some lurking prejudice, some earthly temper, or some mere human principle? . . . It is our Saviour's usual custom, as well as His Apostles', to insist on two events chiefly, His first coming and His second,—our regeneration and our resurrection,—throwing into the background the prospect of our death, as if it were but a line of distinction (however momentous a one), not of division, in the extended course of our purification.' We should substitute for *purification* in the last sentence the larger term *redemption*; but, with this qualification, we must admit that the above passage is a true representation of the doctrine of the New Testament, and makes a just reflexion upon the prevailing attitude of Christians toward the Last Things. Our thoughts respecting them are practically bounded by our own death; and our horizon is limited, to a greater degree than in any previous epoch of the Church, to the existing world.

There are reasons for this absorption in the present, not altogether blameworthy. Let me allude to one or two of these. The present world has become in our times vastly more interesting, in every legitimate sense, than it was even a few generations ago. Science has thrown, within the last half century, a dazzling and sudden flood of light upon the world of nature; and we are witnesses of an *unveiling*, beyond all precedent, of the presence and glory of God in the material universe. At the same time, the human world has been brought under our gaze—by travel and traffic, by history and literature—in its magnitude, its seething life and shifting colours, its tragic situations and passionate wants, with overwhelming effect. 'All the ends of the earth' are crying to us at once; we are introduced to our fellow-men of every kindred and tongue and time, and have their acquaintance to make and our relations with them to adjust. The nearer horizon has been lighted up, and we find immensely more to be seen and studied in it than was previously conceived: can we wonder that the farther horizon has become to our preoccupied minds comparatively dim, that 'other-worldliness' is at a discount even in the Church, and that comparatively few of us '*mind* the things that are above, where Christ sits on the right hand of God,' in the sense in which the first Christians, or even our own grandfathers, were used to do? If God is in truth 'working all things after the counsel of His will,' then He has determined the scientific and humanitarian trend of the times; and it is in vain for those who are untouched by these interests to cry out against them. The human mind is limited and cannot be absorbed in many things at once, nor learn all its lessons at one sitting; and until this mass of fresh knowledge and sympathies has been mastered and our eyes have grown familiar with the new lights that are flashing upon us, it is likely that 'Present-day Religion' will be in the ascendant.

The Church appears, in this respect, to have reverted for a while to the dispensation of Moses, under which Israel was filled with the sense of God's living presence amongst men and engaged

with the social and national duties of the hour, and the world beyond death receded into a shadowy distance, so that Egyptian thinkers were more interested in matters of eschatology than God's own people. But this phase of Christian thought will pass.' The old home-sickness will return, and we shall feel again that we are 'strangers before God, and sojourners, and our days on the earth are as a shadow.' Science and philanthropy, in their amplest unfoldings and their noblest occupations, must weary the human heart at last and toss it back upon God and the eternal. Only for a moment can the children of God seem to forget the Father's house; only for the hour will the Bride of Christ, busy in preparing her wedding-robes, be oblivious of the Bridegroom's coming. A richer earth gives promise and earnest of a grander heaven.

What has been said is some excuse for the neglect into which 'the promise of His coming' has fallen; it is only an excuse. This forgetfulness is a thing to be blamed, and to be corrected. The friends of Christ can never, surely, be indifferent to the hope so dear to Him and that so much occupied His last earthly thoughts. He spoke of Himself as the bridegroom going away for a little time, soon to return to claim His espoused; as the princely heir journeying to the Imperial Court where He will receive the crown-rights due to Him, and leaving his bondmen meanwhile in charge, then to come home in triumph with dominions to bestow on His faithful servants, who will 'enter into the joy of their Lord.' With the 'times and seasons' of His arrival they must not meddle, but the coming itself—how much they will count upon that! A loyal Christian man should reproach himself if he lets any day pass without some wishful thought of his Lord's return.

Since the Apostolic age there has been an alternation of long periods of apathy respecting this matter with sudden crises of extreme excitement and alarm. And while at the present time the subject enters but little into the thoughts and aims of ordinary Christians, and scarcely forms part of their working faith, amongst limited circles of believers there is intense activity of mind upon the question, and a strained and almost feverish expectation of the Lord's near coming. From these circles there proceed bold calculations in prophetic chronology and sensational announcements, repeatedly falsified by the event. I am

old enough to remember the prognostications made about the time of the Crimean War by Dr. Cumming,—a Scottish divine of some learning and of very impressive eloquence,—and the immense vogue which for years they enjoyed, only to be thrown into the limbo of futile millenarian speculations. These endeavours, renewed with strange persistence, have served at least one purpose, to verify the solemn words of Jesus, 'It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath appointed in His own right': words by which, as St. Augustine said, 'Omnes calculantium digitos resolvit'—'He *puts down the fingers* of all that count the times.'

These errors naturally excite a reaction in sober minds; they tend to aggravate, while they serve to excuse, the popular indifference. Many have come to look on the Second Advent as a theme for dreamers and fanatics, as a subject likely to turn the brain, and on which it is hardly possible to hold a sound and balanced judgment. Now, neither of the above states of mind is satisfactory: certainly not the first, the condition of practical unbelief, which ignores and dismisses from thought 'that blessed hope'; nor the second, in which it becomes matter of presumption, that goes beyond the rule of Scripture, while it divides the Church and diverts earnest Christians from the daily work of faith and love. It is right and needful for us to think much of the Lord's return; it is possible to think soberly about it, and according to the proportion of faith.

The two Syrian words, *Maràn athá*, at the end of St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, give a characteristic expression to the love of His appearing felt by the people of Christ in the first ages. The sentence is properly retained untranslated, for it was as foreign to the ears of the original Greek readers as now to our own. It is in the Aramaic (Syrian) dialect, the mother tongue of Jesus and the primitive Church at Jerusalem, and was transmitted by them, like *Abba* and *Amen*, to their Gentile brethren. In the margin of the Revised Version the two words are rendered, 'Our Lord (*Mar-an*) cometh (*atha*)'; other scholars read it, 'Our Lord, O come!'<sup>1</sup> In the former case, they

<sup>1</sup> For a full philological discussion of *Maran atha*, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, pp. 12, 174; and for a synopsis of its interpretation, Meyer's *Commentar*<sup>8</sup> (Heinrici); also Edwards' and Ellicott's *Commentaries*, and the *Expositor's Greek Testament*.



are matched by the saying of Paul to the Philip-  
pians, 'The Lord is at hand,' and by the words of  
this epistle relating to the Last Supper, 'Ye pro-  
claim the Lord's death, *till He come*'; on the  
latter view, they are identical with the closing  
prayer and sigh of the Apocalypse, and of all  
Scripture, 'Come, Lord Jesus!' Some think, not  
without probability, that *Maràn athá* served as a  
kind of token, or secret password, amongst the  
first Christians, who were often scattered by per-  
secution and met under cover of night, and who  
would need some signal by which to recognize  
each other. In the Eucharistic Prayer of the  
*Didachê* (10<sup>6</sup>) it stands as a closing liturgical  
formula—*Maran atha, Amen*—apparently in the  
sense of 1 Co 11<sup>15</sup> ('till He come'!); comp.  
Rev 22<sup>20</sup>.

St. Paul applies this solemn and mystic phrase,  
in his concluding salutation to the Corinthians, to  
seal the warning which he has just uttered to cold  
and false hearts within the Church: 'If any loves  
not the Lord, let him be anathema!—*Maran  
atha!*' as much as to say, 'The Judge is at the  
door, He who knows all hearts, and from whom  
feigned love will receive its exposure and righteous  
doom.' So this Apostolic token is a sign at once  
of hope and dread, the brightest hope and the  
darkest fear that the human mind can entertain.  
It accompanies the Church's pilgrimage like the  
pillar of cloud and fire attending the march of the  
Israelites, which guided and cheered God's people,  
while it shot dismay into the ranks of their  
pursuers.

There are two reflexions brought home to us  
by this watchword, upon which it may be worth  
our while to dwell: First, *the certainty and actuality  
of the event*; secondly, *the complete uncertainty of  
its date*.

I. 'The day of the Lord *will come*.' This is  
the most sure and glorious of our unfulfilled anti-  
cipations. The whole New Testament rings with  
its announcement. It stands in the forefront of  
all the ancient creeds: 'He shall come again  
with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead.'  
It is the burden of the prophecies of Jesus. He  
is pledged to a definite and visible return to this  
earth, in language than which none can be found  
more express and positive. St. Paul appeals to  
this expectation as to the most solemn and  
unquestioned of Christian certainties, when he

charges St. Timothy 'before God, and Christ  
Jesus, who is to judge the living and dead, and by  
His manifestation and His kingdom'; he writes  
to his Gentile converts as those who 'turned to  
God from idols, to serve a God living and true,  
and to wait for His Son from the heavens.' This  
'waiting' is one half of their religion. St. Peter's  
First Epistle glows with the same prospect from  
beginning to end; it is written by the light of the  
dawn of the Great Day. And the Apostle John,  
although he says in his Gospel and Epistles less  
about the future than others and more about the  
present possession of eternal life, yet exhorts his  
readers to the same effect: 'And now, little  
children, abide in Him, that if He be manifested,  
we may have confidence and not be ashamed be-  
fore Him at His coming.' Throughout the Book  
of Revelation Jesus is heard proclaiming, 'Surely  
I come quickly,' and His Church echoes, 'Amen!  
Come, Lord Jesus!' Universal Christendom de-  
clares in its *Te Deum* every Lord's Day, 'We  
believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge';  
she accepts the message of the angels recorded as  
given at His visible departure: 'This Jesus who was  
received up from you into heaven, shall so come  
in like manner as ye beheld Him go into heaven.'

If there is any truth in divine prophecy, any  
reliance to be placed on the explicit word of Christ  
and His apostles, any meaning in the yearnings  
and fond or fearful 'looking for' of the ages  
since, then it is certain that Jesus Christ will  
return to this world from which He ascended to  
heaven; He will come back again in manifest  
glory, to raise the dead, to judge the nations, to  
gather the redeemed to Himself and make them  
partners in His endless reign. Attempts are made,  
and by some professed theologians, to resolve the  
promises of Christ and the hopes of the apostles  
on this point into symbols and highly coloured  
pictures of the spiritual progress of Christianity.  
But the assertions made upon the two subjects  
are quite distinct; and the identification can only  
be effected by setting aside the meaning of the  
plainest words, and by assuming that those who  
delivered the New Testament predictions were  
entirely mistaken. All prophecy that has been  
fulfilled is a pledge of this fulfilment; all that  
Christ has done and suffered, all that has been  
thus far realised in the establishment of His king-  
dom on earth, gives assurance that the sublime  
consummation will take place. We may differ, and

are likely to differ till the end of time, upon the details of prophetic interpretation and the train of events connected with the Second Advent of our Redeemer. This difference must not detract from our agreement respecting the great Return itself, nor break the unanimity with which we join in the catholic cry, 'Come, Lord Jesus!' On His trial before the Jewish Sanhedrin, and virtually before the whole world, He has said it: 'Ye shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven.'

2. Now, in the second place, *the uncertainty of the time* does not diminish in anywise the certainty of the Advent, nor derogate from its sovereign importance. Nay, as our Lord appears to intimate, it rather belongs to the transcendent glory of the Advent, to the majesty of the occasion, that this veil should hang over it. We gaze on it as upon the mountain peak of revelation, swathed in clouds and conversant with eternity. That summit is hidden from our eyes; 'the Father hath set it within His own prerogative.' The awful 'hour' belongs to the secrets of Omniscience, and is guarded by the lightnings that are about the Throne.

That the hour of His coming should be undisclosed is a thing proper to the relations of such a Master and such servants, and befits a state of faith and patience. It promotes vigilance, and feeds expectancy; it is the test of loyalty and diligence. To know that *the Lord cometh* is enough for servants who love His appearing. They will feel that His plans are too large and deep for them to grasp in their evolution, His movements are too vast to be mapped out and arranged in peddling 'schemes' and apocalyptic time-tables. Whether it be at the first watch or at midnight or at the cock-crowing, *He is coming*, and He must find us watching and busy at our post. The dishonest servant may presume on the doubtfulness and lateness of the hour, giving the rein to his self-indulgence and his tyranny, while he says in his heart, 'My lord delayeth his coming.' But the effect of delay and of the uncertain date upon the true men of Christ's house is precisely the opposite of this. Let it be in ten or in ten thousand years, or in the next ten minutes, that is *His* affair, and not mine or yours; your part and mine is to be always ready, prepared to open the door and greet the Master on the instant, whenever it shall please Him to come to His own.

If it were announced from the pulpits of Christendom, and believed, that by the year's end Christ would come again, that the clock of time would stop with the expiring century, that the material fabric of the earth would be dissolved, and the thrones of the Last Judgment would be immediately set up, what an inconceivable effect the message would produce, what consternation in all political, commercial, and scientific circles, and in the minds of millions of professing Christians! Yet, I think, the purest faith would be little affected by the news. Nothing would be added to its certainty, nothing taken away from its composure. To the true Christian heart, as to the Lord of its love, one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day. While He delays, every hour is an age; when He is come, the ages will seem but an hour.

In view of 'the eternal things,' how insignificant is the mere length and lapse of time. Calvary is but of yesterday. The Cross is no less potent to ourselves than it was to our Protestant forefathers, or to the Church of the apostolic first-born. *There He is*, 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,'—the Lamb slain till the world's last hour of doom! He has 'offered one sacrifice for sins *for ever*,' and the healing stream 'still flows as fresh as ever from the Saviour's wounded side.' As we contemplate the grand everlasting facts of redeeming love, time with its revolving suns and its historic dynasties 'removes as a scroll when it is rolled up'; there are but two objects in the universe—Christ crucified and my sinful soul, meeting in the embrace of faith. The certainty, the sufficiency of the event—these are all I want. 'He loved me, *Hè* gave up Himself for me'; the blood was shed, the sacrifice was made—that suffices, that saves, that stands for ever! So it is when we look backward to the First Coming, across the breadth of nineteen centuries; and so it is when we look forward to the Second Coming—how many months or ages distant, as men count time, none can tell. He will come again, He will stand in the latter day upon the earth: that is enough for me. I shall see the King in His beauty—see the very face of Jesus. I shall see Him coming in the clouds and sitting on the throne of judgment. He shall wear the crown, with every knee bending before Him, where once He bore the cross and heard the shout, 'Away with Him!' *When I*

care not, if only once it shall be! The splendid certainty of the fact fills my hope and vision of the future; and the near and distant seem as one. In this loftiness of faith the first believers said, 'The coming of the Lord *draweth nigh*'; nor were they wrong. He died for my sins; He will come again to judge me, and to save me into His everlasting kingdom: the one assurance implies the other, which is never to be separated from it, —'future and past subsisting now.' The Second Advent is the complement of the First; it is the other limb of that stupendous arch of revelation and redemption, which spans the history of mankind. 'As Christ was once offered to bear the sin of many, *so* shall He appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation.'

Seen from this standpoint, our individual decrease is but a fugitive circumstance, a mere passage from one room to another in the house of many mansions, where, alike on this side or on that side the veil, we await the coming of the Son of Man. By this hope death is shorn of its terrors; it is swallowed up in Christ's victory. The entire pathway of our future being, far as it may stretch, is illuminated by this magnificent expectation. In its glory the gloom of the grave vanishes; death becomes a welcome sleep, preparing for a serene and glorious dawn. The event, when it comes, will be worthy of its antecedents

and grander for the long delay. Then the yield of the toiling ages will be gathered and brought home, the fruit of the labour and sorrow of the Son of God—all that has been redeemed from this evil world by blood and tears, by mortal agonies and cleansing fires, through boundless expenditure of grace and unsearchable depths of wisdom. Then the harvest of the earth will be reaped, and the travail of His soul presented to the Father with infinite satisfaction by the Son of His love. Of all the strange scenes of the world's story, and the mysteries here transpiring that 'angels desire to look into,' this will be the climax, the glory of glories and height of heights in the ascent of our race through Christ—'*the day of the Lord.*'

For this day and hour, known to neither man nor angel, He waits, and 'sits expecting'; His Church waits, and the buried nations of the dead are waiting. The great tide of time moves with a quickening pace, a swifter rush and swirl in its current, toward this fateful unseen point, where it will break at an instant and leap into the gulf of eternity. The Lord sitteth above the water-floods; He sitteth King for ever. He guides their courses and manages their fury with a sure hand. He knows and will choose His hour, keeping His counsel to the end. 'The vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end, and shall not lie: though it tarry, wait for it.'

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### The New 'Herzog'.<sup>1</sup>

IN the eighth volume of Dr. Hauck's reissue of Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, Dr. Caspar René Gregory of Leipzig pays a graceful tribute to the memory of

DR. HORT.

The brief sketch of Dr. Hort's life and work is written with the sympathy and insight of one whose labours in the same field enable him to estimate at their true worth the great services ren-

dered by Dr. Hort to all students of the New Testament and of early Church history. Hort, Lightfoot, and Westcott are spoken of as 'the three English theologians who, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, have in a special degree attracted the attention and gained the esteem of continental scholars.'

The work actually accomplished by Dr. Hort is regarded as ample proof of the vast stores of learning which were at his command. Any such enumeration, however, adds Dr. Gregory, takes no account of two important spheres of this great and modest scholar's activity: his correspondence with all kinds of people, friends and strangers, at home and abroad; and the toil which he ungrudgingly bestowed on the perfecting of the work of others,

<sup>1</sup> *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. Begründet von J. J. Herzog. In dritter verbesserter und vermehrter Auflage herausgegeben von Professor D. Albert Hauck. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.



especially of young men. Invaluable hours were devoted to the correcting of proof-sheets of the writings of his friends. 'Such service Hort freely rendered to the writer of these lines; but the greater accuracy of his own work is not a recompense for the loss of writings from Hort's own pen.'

Dr. Gregory closes his appreciation with a few glowing but condensed sentences, which it is often easier to paraphrase than to translate: 'Dr. Hort was a great man, and the task of each moment wholly absorbed him: whether he was caring for children during an epidemic of scarlet fever in his village parish, or was engaged in the translation of Plato; whether he was describing a plant he had recently discovered, or was expounding a forgotten sentence from a Church Father; whether in his study he was diligently tracing the transmission of the text of a document, or on the summit of the Jungfrau was endeavouring to distinguish the outlines of the surrounding mountains. His interests lay in the study of science and in the study of other people,<sup>1</sup> in an active Altruism. In his investigations he was indifferent to nothing and to no being whom God had created; engaged in such pursuits only one thing he forgot—himself.'

Professor Volck of Rostock is the author of the article on

#### HOSEA.

It has merits which make its brevity disappointing, and the bibliography omits such works as Dr. G. A. Smith's *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, and Dr. von Orelli's commentary. Like most modern students of the difficult passages in this book, Volck uses the LXX translation to correct obscurities and corruptions in the Massoretic text, but in discussing the relation of Hosea to Amos, he never refers to the possibility of explaining some resemblances as glosses. The dependence of Hosea on Amos he regards as 'indisputable,' but the only passages quoted in proof of this assertion are Hos 4<sup>3</sup>, cf. Am 8<sup>8</sup>; Hos 4<sup>15</sup>, cf. Am 5<sup>5</sup>; Hos 8<sup>14</sup>, cf. Am 2<sup>5</sup>; Hos 7<sup>12</sup>, cf. Am 9<sup>2</sup>. The first passage (4<sup>3</sup>) contains verbal resemblances to the parallel cited from Amos; the next two (4<sup>15</sup> and 8<sup>14</sup>) belong, in Dr. G. A. Smith's judgment, to 'the class of suspected passages, because of their reference to Judah'; the last (7<sup>12</sup>), which is the only

<sup>1</sup> Seine Interessen lagen in der Wissenschaft und in der Anderer-schaft.

verse on which Volck makes any comment, contains the sentence, 'I will chastise them, *as their congregation hath heard*'; but the words in italics may as well refer to Hosea's earlier preaching as to the prophecy in Am 9<sup>2</sup>; indeed, when the context of each verse is studied, Dr. Cheyne's conclusion is irresistible—that the difference in the figures employed proves that the passages are 'not parallel.' The treatment of the New Testament quotations from this book is also very meagre. All that is said of Matthew's use of Hos 11<sup>1</sup>, 'Out of Egypt did I call my son' (Mt 2<sup>15</sup>), is that 'the evangelist cites the words to show how the prophecy contained in Israel's coming out of Egypt was fulfilled by the flight of Jesus thither.'

More helpful and suggestive is the section in which Volck expounds Hosea's methods of dealing with the religious degeneracy of his time. Neither Amos nor Hosea proclaimed a new God to their contemporaries, but the God of their fathers, who of old had revealed Himself in Israel's history. Of this God these prophets reminded the people, and called them to return in penitence to Him. If it be said that in the preaching of Hosea there appears for the first time the thought of marriage as representing the relation in which Jahweh stands to Israel, it must also be remembered that this conception underlies the words in the Decalogue 'a jealous God' (Ex 20<sup>5</sup>, Dt 5<sup>9</sup>), and such ancient modes of speech as are found in Ex 34<sup>15ff</sup>. But Hosea has carried out this analogy most thoroughly and most suggestively. For the picture he draws of marriage is not of a legal relation merely, but of a real fellowship of love (Hos 2<sup>17ff</sup>).

Of great value to historical students is the lengthy and learned article on the

#### JESUITS,

by Professor Zöckler of Greifswald. It is divided into six parts, which treat respectively of the Founder of the Order and his work, the organization of the Order, the pedagogy and literary activity of the Jesuits, the external history of the Order to the middle of the eighteenth century, the internal development of the Order until its dissolution, and the Society of Jesus in the nineteenth century.

Zöckler calls especial attention to the opposition to the freedom of Science, of which during the last fifty years the Jesuits have been the leaders. Under their influence the papal Curia in 1857

condemned the philosophy of Günther. In 1862 the writings of Frohschammer were placed under the ecclesiastical ban. In 1863 Döllinger and Haneberg called a meeting of Roman Catholic scholars in the hope of securing some recognition of the rights of scientists to pursue their researches without restriction; the result, however, was the exaltation of Christian philosophy above secular science, and the subjection of the latter to ecclesiastical authority. In 1864 the Jesuit organ, the *Civiltà cattolica*, declared that the *sacrificium intellectus* was of greater merit than the sacrifice of money or of blood.

In the loss of temporal sovereignty sustained by the pope in 1871 Zöckler sees the righteous Nemesis for the intoxication of pride which had led to the proclamation of papal infallibility in the Vatican Decrees of 1869. Amongst the gains of Ultramontanism in Great Britain he mentions: the emancipation of the Irish Catholics in 1829; the conversion of many Anglican clergymen and members of the aristocracy which was the result of the Tractarian movement; the founding of a Roman Catholic hierarchy for England by Pius IX. in 1850, and for Scotland by Leo XIII. in 1878; the establishment of a specifically Roman Catholic university in Kensington in 1874; and the celebration with great pomp of the centenary of the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst in 1894. In the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century the English province of the Society of Jesus numbered 554 members, of whom 249 were priests; the Irish province, 254 members, of whom 126 were priests. J. G. TASKER.

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### Dr. Kautzsch on 'The So-called Popular Book of Job.'<sup>1</sup>

THE book is from beginning to end marked by the soundness and thoroughness of the veteran Hebraist. Most valuable to the student are the two sections (pp. 22-44) in which Dr. Kautzsch

<sup>1</sup> *Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob und der Ursprung von Hiob*, cap. i., ii., xlii. 7-17. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Integrität des Buches Hiob. Von Dr. Karl Kautzsch, Hilfsprediger an der Reformierten Gemeinde zu Dresden. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B., und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1900.

shows, from the vocabulary and style, that (1) the Prologue and Epilogue are not, as Duhm thinks, pre-Deuteronomic, and (2) that the author of these must also be the author of the Dialogues. To the list of words and phrases bearing on the first point I should add בָּרַךְ מַעֲשֵׂי יְרִים (1<sup>10</sup>), which occurs in Dt only (2<sup>7</sup> 14<sup>29</sup> 16<sup>15</sup> 24<sup>19</sup> 28<sup>12</sup>). He contends (p. 49) that Duhm reads too much between the lines when he infers from the use of י' בָּרַךְ (1<sup>5.11</sup> 2<sup>5.9</sup>), תַּפְלָה (1<sup>22</sup>), נִבְלָה (42<sup>8</sup>) that the author of the so-called popular book had a deeper reverence for God than the author of the Dialogues. I find this æsthetic use of words also in the latter: נִשְׁחָה, which often has a very bad ethical sense, and which occurs 166 times elsewhere, is not found once in Job; and among the words which he uses instead is בָּלַע (2<sup>3</sup> 8<sup>18</sup> 10<sup>8</sup> 37<sup>20</sup>).

To discuss the question whether Hebrew was to the author of Job as Latin was to the West in the Middle Ages is beyond the scope of this note. There are, however, some striking phenomena, which may be noticed briefly.

The expression used with reference to Hades in in 3<sup>10a</sup> is unique in Hebrew, but in an Egyptian papyrus a woman in *Amenti*, describing to her living husband the state of things there, says that before the God Utter-Death 'the great are as the small' (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1897, p. 97). By the way, οἱ αἰώνιοι of G for אֲחִירִים (v.<sup>18</sup>) does not, as some scholars suppose, imply a different reading; the translator, being puzzled at the idea of prisoners being in Hades, interpreted the word as the plural of Osiris, the *immortals*, in accordance with the Egyptian dogma that every good person who dies becomes an Osiris. The Vulgate improves on the original by rendering *quondam vincti*.

In 11<sup>6</sup> בִּי-רַבָּלִים is variously altered by Merx, Cheyne, Bickell, and Beer (see G. Beer, *Der Text des Buches Hiob*, 1895), because the Massor. statement that God is only doubly wise and no more is against Hebrew usage. The Egyptians, however, did not think it derogatory to Râ to use the same figure of speech: 'Hail to thee, Râ Harmakhis, Khepera, who art self-begotten, twice beautiful.' (Wiedemann, *ib.* p. 43); similarly, Thoth is called 'twice-great' (*ib.* p. 228).

21<sup>80</sup> is admittedly difficult; Hoffmann, Merx, Siegfried, Dillmann (see Beer, *op. cit.*, 1897) and Duhm (*Comment.*, 1897) have emended the verse



variously. I think the context suggests merely the reading  $\text{רַע}$  for  $\text{רָע}$  and  $\text{יָבֵל}$  for  $\text{יָבֵל}$ , taking the final  $\text{ו}$  with the next verse. Vv.<sup>27-30</sup> would then mean: 'I know what ye, my former friends, think of me and what cruel thoughts ye harbour in your hearts when ye say, Where are the homes of the exalted wicked? Have ye never heard what people commonly say, or recognized their prognostics? "In the day of calamity a friend is vanished and in the day of wrath he comes to an end."' A sentence strikingly like this verse occurs on the stēla of Piankhi, where a rebel chief, on making his submission, is represented to say: 'I have not found a friend in the day of my adversity, nor one that could stand in the day of battle' (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 1891, p. 397).

In 31<sup>26</sup> Job uses  $\text{אֵוֶר}$  uniquely for  $\text{שִׁמְשׁ}$ , the latter word being used only once as a fructifying power (8<sup>16</sup>). I think he uses the former as an assonant to Râ and shuns the latter, which must have become an offensive term ever since the flagrant idolatrous conduct of the Judæans in Egypt. (Cf. Jer 41<sup>17-44</sup><sup>29</sup>.) Similarly, the use of  $\text{יָאֹר}$ ,  $\text{נַחַל}$ , and the non-mention of the common poetic  $\text{עֵץ}$ ,  $\text{מֵעֵץ}$ ,  $\text{מִבֹּעַ}$ ,  $\text{בְּיָאֹר}$  suggest that the author was a native of Egypt.

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### Hommel's 'Aufsätze und Abhandlungen.'

In the issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for December 1899, p. 126, we noticed Professor Hommel's *Die süd-arabischen Altertümer des Wiener Hofmuseums und ihr Herausgeber Professor D. H. Müller*, which contained also an important excursus on the moon-worship of the ancient Arabs. That work was really a publication in advance of pp. 129-167 of the *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen* which now lies before us. The new features of the complete work include first of all a glossary to the Glaser inscriptions in the Vienna Hofmuseum (pp. 168-206). This is followed by the production of further evidence in favour of the existence of a goddess Athirat (= Ashera) as consort of the originally Minæan god Wadd

<sup>1</sup> *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen II.*; mit 16 *Abbildungen in Zinkotypie*. Von Fritz Hommel. München: H. Lukaschik, 1900. Price M. 13.50.

(='Amm). Then comes a supplementary discussion of the 'feather crown,' and further particulars regarding the Arabian god *Besa*, who is always portrayed wearing this head attire, which is worn also by the goddess 'Anuket, who was worshipped on the cataract-island Satit (modern *Sohêl*) and at Elephantine. Hommel is inclined to assent to all the main contentions of Glaser in his work *Punt* (Berlin, 1899). For instance, he believes 'Punt' to have been originally a designation of E. Arabia, whence it migrated to the S. Arabian incense coast, and was, finally located on the incense coast of Africa (Somaliland). Much interest and importance would belong to the view, if it should be established, that the latter part of the Hebrew personal names *Jerub-besheth*, *Ish-bosheth*, *Mephi-bosheth* is the name of the above ancient Arab god, instead of being, as we have been accustomed to hold, an intentional corruption of the name -*baal*. [But what, then, is the relation of these names to *Jerub-baal* (Jg 6<sup>32</sup>), *Esh-baal* (1 Ch 8<sup>33</sup>), *Merib-baal* (1 Ch 8<sup>34</sup>)?] Hommel thinks he finds support for this conclusion in such Arabic personal names of the Hammurabi dynasty as *Muti-Bashti* ('my husband is Bast'). A third dissertation is devoted to the god Hadad, who is alleged to have borne other names, such as *Mur*, *Mir*, *Bur*, *Bir* [Professor Hommel find this name in the much discussed  $\text{בר נשקו}$  of Ps 2<sup>12</sup>, which he renders, 'Kiss ye (the god) Bir,' the latter being viewed as an antiquated designation of Jahweh], *Pir*. Then comes an interesting discussion of the *makânât* of the Habesh inscription, which is supposed to find its analogue in the *mekônâh* of 1 K 7<sup>27-28</sup>.

A special section of the work is devoted to the Minæan inscription Hal. 535 (= Gl. 1155), which Hommel pronounces to possess at least as much historical importance as the inscription of king Mesha. Our author discusses the question of the original home of the Sabæans, the place whence 'the queen of Sheba' came, and examines the views of Winckler on *Misru*, etc. [We venture to question, however, whether the context of Hos 5<sup>13</sup> 10<sup>6</sup> is favourable to our author's identification of *Jareb* with a Sabæan kingdom *Aribi* in N.W. Arabia.] Finally, comes a very full and valuable section on the signs of the zodiac, for which Professor Hommel, on absolutely convincing grounds, claims a Babylonian origin, in opposition to the contentions of G. Tiele in his *Antike Himmelsbilder*, 1898.



The book contains much that is of importance for O.T. study, and cannot be ignored by any school of investigators. Professor Hommel, who long ago established his claim to speak with authority on S. Arabian antiquities, will be universally admitted to have rendered a service by

its publication. Even those who cannot see their way to accept some of his *conclusions* in their bearing on the O.T., will yet feel grateful to him for the many important *facts* he has brought to light.

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## The Salt of the Earth.

BY THE REV. JOHN KELMAN, M.A., EDINBURGH.

JESUS did not go far afield for His illustrations. Daily life and its commonest things suggested vivid parables to Him. In several passages we have an interesting example of this. To the Eastern, salt was precious for many reasons. In hot and fainting lands, where appetite fails and eating is often burdensome, that which makes food palatable is almost as important as the food itself. Again, in such lands food soon decays, and the traveller, the besieged, and the solitary dweller in the wilderness, depend wholly through long periods on stores of food laid up, so that salt as a preserving agent is in a second way precious. Tradition, also, had associated salt with all things offered in sacrifice, thus giving it a third and more mysterious preciousness; and they utilized this sacred meaning, by making it the inviolable bond of hospitality to have eaten salt with another as his guest.

It was no small part of the natural wealth of Palestine that it was a land abounding in salt. The Salt Sea, the Salt Desert, and the Phœnician markets on the north-west seaboard kept the land always in good supply.

Here then, in this most common and yet most precious of things, whose many and peculiar uses gave it so unique a popular interest, Christ found something ready to His hand. It may be useful to gather together the various teachings connected with it.

From all the passages cited, this general truth may be gathered, that there is a something in Christianity which renders true Christians different from all other people. What that something is, it is not easy to express in any simple definition. There is a mystic spiritual element in it, for, after all is said, Christianity in its inner forces remains

a mystery. From this point of view we may speak of the spiritual element as the new birth, the work of the Spirit, the touch of God. On the other hand there is an ethical element, not so mysterious, which men call truth to manhood, reality and grit of character. It may be permitted us to combine these two ideas in the phrase 'Spiritual Reality,' which in a general way will answer to the meaning of the various texts. Taking the passages in the order which is followed in this paper, we have Spiritual Reality (1) as it concerns ourselves, (2) as it affects our relations with others, (3) as it determines our approach to God.

1. Mk 9<sup>50</sup>: 'Have salt in yourselves.'—Here we have the simplest reference, the demand for Spiritual Reality within the soul as a necessity of its own religious life.

In this connexion it is instructive to remember the very obvious meaning of 'seasoning.' In Greek and Latin the word 'salt' stood for 'wit,' 'sparkle,' that charm of cleverness or that fine sense of individuality which makes a man good company to himself and to his friends. This was also a Hebrew use of the word; at least we may be sure that some of Christ's hearers must have remembered the curious passage, Job 6<sup>6</sup>, while He spoke such words to them.

In this sense the passage speaks eloquently to those moods of individuals or of times, when a cynical spirit is abroad, when enthusiasms are out of fashion, and to many life seems 'flat, stale, and unprofitable.' There are books and there are persons who have adopted this poverty-stricken view of life, and cultivate a kind of inverted pride in being miserable. And there are but too many who, without adopting it as the teaching of any school, yet fall into a way of regarding life and

feeling about it, which is practically the same thing. Pleasures lose their keen edge as years increase; business becomes routine, when it no longer demands the strain of early ambitions and anxieties; 'a common greyness silvers everything.'

Now that against which our age has rebelled most vigorously is this ennui—this dulness of life. Anything will be forgiven to a man now in certain quarters—any wickedness, any falsehood—so long as he is not dull. Dulness is the one unpardonable sin. And to combat it (for it has crept up on many hearts and threatened them with death), we have much highly-spiced realism in conversation, books, plays. As if representations of horror or of vice were the only things that could be depended on to maintain interest.

Long ago Christ met this need and gave us His own answer to the question whether life can be made interesting enough to be worth living. In His view a man's life need not be stale to him, nor dependent either on such unhealthy stimulus as we have mentioned, nor yet on any foolish heroics or hair-brained optimism. Its interest need not depend on any external sources at all. 'The water that I shall give him shall be *in* him, a well of water springing up into everlasting life'; and that is the teaching of this passage also.

Christ can and does get at the life of men and touch it to healthy interest and brightness. His touch is well named 'a new birth,' 'life from the dead.' Only those who have felt the change know how true such words are. *Character*, instead of being the mere instinctive mass of habits we have found, becomes purpose, individuality. *Duty* is a high calling, a daily vocation, instead of a slavish round. There is a *faith* which is simply believed, but which is dry and dull, and which the believer seldom troubles himself to think over. And there is a faith which is also a fascination. The man without spiritual reality has probably a *Bible* in his house, but it is the least interesting book in the library to him. He has, like everybody else, a number of excellent *principles*, but they are useful to him only for reference. The man who has 'salt in himself,' finds his principles matters of surpassing interest, and spends the strength of his soul in understanding their bearings upon life, and in applying them to life's exigencies and details as these meet him.

These instances serve to show how very much

is implied in this command, 'Have salt in yourselves.' We cannot kindle the heart's fires indeed, nor force life thus to take on an interest. But we can be real in our spiritual life, and we shall find that He whose task it is will freshen the dull spirit to keenness. It is thus far our task—its result is Christ's affair.

2. This, however, is but the beginning of the Christian ideal. No life can be wholly kept within one soul. It must ever tell on the lives around it. So we pass from interest to influence as we hear Christ saying (Mt 5<sup>13</sup>), 'Ye are the salt of the earth.'

This is one of the points of insistence in all true Christian teaching. The temptation of the ancient Greek, the crime of the cultured egoist in all ages, is to be content with a life interesting only to himself. The Christian cannot, dare not, live to himself alone, but must regard all that is in him as his for the sake of others. As salt acts upon what it touches, so from the Christian's soul there should ever be a direct and effective play of action on the surrounding world.

The two texts connect the inner and the outer life in a striking way, by their use of the one word in the two references. That spiritual reality which shows itself within the soul as Interest, acts outwardly as a real force and power—as Influence. This is indeed but the highest application of a general rule. The more interesting to himself a man's life is, the more influence will it exert on others. The enthusiast, the man of one idea, impresses his idea upon others and changes their ideas, in proportion as his own has first taken possession of his own mind and imagination. It is a solemn consideration, but a deeply true one, that the thing which is most interesting to a man, that and that alone is his real influence. There are some people whose real interests are all selfish, yet by some freak of circumstances, unselfish Christian work falls to them to be done. To avoid a quarrel with conscience or to fall in with their surroundings; they try to do it as best they can. But it cannot be done effectively. The salt will tell, and nothing but the salt. They will be seen through, and they will know it and feel themselves failures. The thing we are interested in, eventually that 'will out'; it will be our influence—that and no other thing.

Those who have in themselves the salt of spirituality, are indeed the salt of the earth. There

is an indefinable something about them which the world feels and knows. St. Paul speaks of it as 'the savour of Christ,' and he refers to it when he tells Christians to let their 'conversation be with grace, seasoned with salt.' It indicates a subtle, sometimes unconscious but always unmistakable force of influence for Christ.

This influence will be both bitter and gracious. It will be bitter sometimes. There will be times when the world will find it offensive. Deep in its heart and conscience it will respect it, and will recognize its goodness. Yet the world's taste will not find it pleasant. We are indeed told to 'have salt in ourselves, and be at peace one with another'; *i.e.* while our religious life is to be interesting to ourselves, we are not to insist on everybody seeing everything just as we see it—we are not to become religious bores, thrusting our views offensively on others. Yet, on the other hand, we may as well make up our minds to it that the savour of spiritual reality will often not be welcome. It has a bite, a bitterness in it—'the sharp and austere savour of holiness.' Into the street with its easy morals, into the market with its selfishness, into the world with its slightness and its shams, must the Christian bear this salt of purity and principle and earnestness and reality. Of course this will give offence—the 'offence of the Cross'—to those who live falsely and whose so-called charity is a cloak for sin. And that is as it ought to be. It is by our differences perhaps more than by our conformities that we influence men. It is often good to appeal to men's good nature as congenial spirits; but the highest influence is that which appeals to their sense of truth and smites upon their conscience.

The influence of spiritual reality does not however manifest itself only in provoking opposition. It would be useless if it did. It is a gracious influence, and the world owes its preservation to it. Just as salt preserves the thing that is salted, so does the quiet influence of truly Christian men and women preserve all that is best and worthiest in the world. In the crowd who feel the influence of such lives, there may perhaps be many who resent it; but there will always be some who find it a defence and shelter to them. There are many young, many weak, many who are sorely tempted, many who are anxiously striving to be Christians, but who find it so difficult that they are on the point of giving up the effort. The world, in this

age of ours, is full of such. When these meet with one in whom there is this 'salt' of real Christian character and experience, all that is best in them is confirmed, and they are sent forth into the future with strength and courage which will enable them to realize their ideal life through times when they have to be alone and unsupported. Thus in them faith is preserved—belief in life and trust in Christ; and character is preserved also, and inspiration and hope.

He who imagines he has no influence and can have none, though he knows that he is honestly living the life of Christ's disciple, is widely mistaken. It may be he will never know of anyone whom he has influenced; but the salt cannot but tell, and the day will declare it. At the end he will thank God for some, all undreamed of until then, who have owed the preservation of their faith and character to his unostentatious but real life.

On the large scale of history this preserving power of true Christian life has been exercised more than most of us realize. We have in our own time heard some voices proclaiming that old moralities are dead and done with, and others wailing because they feared it was true. But some public scandal has arisen, and public sentiment, which a hundred years ago would have condoned the offence, has rung out an unequivocal note of condemnation. 'The salt of the earth' has been at work, keeping that part of society which is really most influential clean and wholesome, and cleansing the conscience of the whole nation, more than men knew. So that our greatest novelist has written, 'Those whose aim is at the leadership of the English people know that, however truly based the charges of hypocrisy, soundness of moral fibre runs throughout the country and is the national integrity.' Mr. Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, has pointed out a similar fact of the greatest significance in regard to the relations of the classes—the fact that it has been conscience rather than constraint that has induced the ruling classes to concede the measures which have strengthened and enlightened the rest. Again we see here how the salt of the earth has been at work, preserving the sentiments of mercy and of justice, and fixing them in society.

Surely this is work worth having to do. It is worth while to gain this influence, though the price of it be self-sacrifice and pain, though it



give offence to a hundred friends, if indeed we may preserve the righteousness, the endeavour after God, the honour and the earnestness and the hope, of even a few souls; and if we can add in the smallest measure to that public influence which is preserving the world.

3. The third reference in which Christ has used this figure is that of sacrifice. It is the essentially religious way of regarding life—the whole life of man, public and private, being taken as a sacrifice perpetually offered up to God. Mk 9<sup>49</sup> reads, 'For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.'

This takes us back to very early times. In all the nations of antiquity salt was used in sacrifices. It is the oldest form of sacrifice, older even than incense. Homer speaks of it as 'divine.' And centuries before Homer Israel used it. It was the emblem of sanctity—the thing which made the offering holy and so fit to be offered.

Christ is here expounding His great doctrine of sacrifice, which St. Paul so often echoed, as when he said, 'Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God.' This is ideal Christianity; it is the religious way of regarding human life. Sometimes it will be little more than a way of thinking about life. Sometimes, as the context here tells us, it will mean a very real and bitter sacrifice, in which the most precious things will have to be surrendered when they are hindering the spiritual life.

But the point of the text is that in neither case is the sacrifice acceptable except on the condition of spiritual reality. There is no abstract value in self-sacrifice. Many a man has offered a happy life to God day by day, and many a man has made his life unhappy and offered it mutilated and miserable, without attaining to the dignity of a religious act. Sacrifice is not a commercial matter—an exchange of commodities—so much pleasure given up for heaven and God's favour. It is a spiritual act, or it is worse than nothing.

This thought casts a light on the Christian life which may often be terrible, but is always glorious. It is terrible indeed to human nature to find how costly this salt may be—costly in suffering. Salt is for sacrifice, and reality means pain. The interest and the influence of which we have been thinking are under a strange and awful law. All real men will

find an element of pain and loss in their life. So keen will this be that the salt will seem like fire at times—'every sacrifice shall be salted with fire.' At such times the interest of the Christian life can only be maintained by the ruthless quenching of other interests which are fascinating the soul; its influence may bring upon us the hatred of those whose conscience it arouses or whose interests it thwarts.

But then how magnificent is the compensation. The spiritual reality which in such ways costs us dear, raises the whole life to a new consciousness of the worth and dignity of living. Sacrifice, when it is spiritually real, means nothing less than the communion of the Cross, 'the fellowship of Christ's sufferings' when the soul is made 'conformable unto His death.' But in the very act of dying with Christ, men rise to new heights of life. Living on these high spiritual levels, they do not grudge the pain of any sacrifice; nor do the simple details of every day's work and pleasure seem too trifling to dedicate to God. The unreal man finds his costliest offerings ever coming back upon his hands rejected. The real man has attained to a life whose record always is, 'Accepted in the Beloved.'

This also has its public aspect, and the apostle's claim that Christian men are 'priests unto God' has this most striking reference. The Bible, from its story of Sodom downwards, is full of instances in which nations and communities were rendered acceptable by the presence of certain accepted persons in their midst. History since then has offered many further examples. The prosperity of nations has not depended wholly either on commercial enterprise, or success in war, or diplomatic skill. They cannot prosper without a certain element of men who are spiritually real in them. France once killed out such men, and she paid the price; had there been no massacre of St. Bartholomew there would have been no French Revolution. There have been times in our own nation when Church and State were corrupt, but when Christian families and Christian men lived on. While the powers that were seemed bent on wrecking the nation by sensual luxury that might soon have led to ruin, the nation was not wrecked. A future generation saw a new moral tone, a new enthusiasm for goodness, and a fresh, clean life rise from the ashes of the wicked past. The religious interpretation of such facts is this,

that God accepted the national life, and established it, because of that 'salt of the earth' which was in it.

This vicarious element enters into all life, and is conspicuous in many religious ordinances. We see it in Baptism, where parents offer their vows to God for their children; we see it in Prayer, where friend pours out his soul to God for friend. And the law of sacrifice holds in all such cases. Whether such offerings shall be but hollow forms mocking the offerer, or whether they shall be sacramental experiences which shall go forth as effective powers, depends wholly on whether there be or be not in them the element of spiritual reality. In these days many are realizing the demand for vicarious sacrifice made, not only on Christ for all, but on all with Christ. To every man it is given to bear upon himself the sorrow and the need and the sin of the world. It is a high calling this demand for sympathy, for thought, for helpful action. Every serious thinker perceives that it demands unselfishness and self-denial in some form or other. But not every one

has realized that its demand is even more far-reaching and more exacting. It demands spiritual reality. Only he can bear these burdens whose hands are clean and whose heart is pure; only he can take up the weight of other lives upon his heart and conscience whose own religious life is an honest fact.

Thus has a simple figure used by Christ led us to very wide views of the manifold grace of God. Within the soul, it is the secret of interest; towards the outer world, it is the spring of influence; in its Godward aspect, it is the condition of acceptable sacrifice. There is evidently a deep mystery here, and we feel that these are the effects of more than human effort—the touch of the Divine Spirit upon the soul. Yet what can be more healthy, what more human, than the demand here made upon us so far as its practical fulfilment is concerned? In other matters, between man and man, we require sincerity—it is all that God requires. His own condition in the spiritual life is reality; his one demand is 'truth in the inward parts.'

## What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

BY AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., HON. PHIL. DR. (HALLE-WITTENBERG), CAMBRIDGE.

### II.

#### The Gospel of Mark.

1<sup>1-11</sup> are on a lost leaf.

\*1<sup>21</sup>.—'And they go into Capernaum,' is omitted.

\*1<sup>28</sup>.—'And his fame went abroad through all the region of Galilee, and many followed him.'

1<sup>32, 33, 34</sup>.—'Now when the sun did set, they brought all them that were sick with sore diseases, and all the city were gathered together at his door. And he healed many and cast out many demons, and suffered them not to speak, because they knew him.'

Here we have forty-five words as against sixty in the Revised Version and fifty-nine in the Authorized. Yet we do not miss a single idea.

1<sup>44</sup> to 2<sup>20</sup> is on a lost leaf.

2<sup>27, 28</sup>.—'The Sabbath was created for man. Therefore the Lord of the Sabbath is the Son of

man.' Seventeen words as against twenty-four of the Revised Version.

3<sup>8</sup>.—'And from Idumæa,' is omitted (with the Codex Sinaiticus).

3<sup>11</sup>.—'And they who had plagues of unclean spirits upon them fell down before him' (almost with the Peshitta).

3<sup>15</sup>.—'And to have power to heal the sick and to cast out demons' (with the Codex Alexandrinus and other ancient Greek and Old Latin MSS, and the Peshitta).

\*3<sup>17</sup>.—'Which is, sons of thunder,' is omitted, obviously because 'Beni-Ragshi' needs no interpretation to a Syrian reader. Yet the Peshitta has it, whilst the Curetonian and the Palestinian Syriac are here deficient.

3<sup>18</sup>.—'Simon the Zealot' (with the Peshitta).

3<sup>31</sup> has been only partially deciphered.

3<sup>24</sup>.—‘Behold, my mother and my *brothers*,’ (with the Peshitta).

\*4<sup>1</sup>.—‘And again he began to teach by the *lake*.’

\*4<sup>1</sup>.—‘He sat in a ship on the *lake*; and the whole multitude was standing by the *lake*.’

\*4<sup>16</sup>.—‘And those that are upon a rock, are those who, when they hear the word, receive it with joy.’ The first clause of this verse, by the omission of the word ‘sown,’ σπειρόμενοι, shows the metaphor to be rather less mixed than we have it in the Revised Version.

Vv.<sup>18-41</sup> are on a lost leaf.

\*5<sup>2</sup>.—‘out of the tombs,’ is omitted.

\*5<sup>4</sup>.—‘and no man could bind him with chains, because he had broken many fetters and chains, and escaped, and no man could tame him.’ This has twenty-four words, as against forty-seven of the Revised Version.

\*5<sup>10</sup>.—‘And *those demons* besought him,’ etc.

5<sup>12</sup>.—‘And *those demons* besought him,’ etc. (with Codex Bezae, several ancient Greek and Latin MSS, and the Peshitta).

\*5<sup>13</sup>.—‘Ran and fell,’ instead of ‘rushed down the steep.’

5<sup>23</sup>.—‘My daughter is *very sick*,’ instead of ‘is at the point of death’ (with the Peshitta).

5<sup>27</sup> to 6<sup>5</sup> is on a lost leaf.

\*6<sup>14</sup>.—‘And he said, John the Baptist; he is risen from the dead, therefore *great is his power*.’

6<sup>20</sup>.—‘For Herod feared John; for he knew that he was a just man and a holy, and observed him; and many things that he heard from him he did; and heard him gladly’ (with some Old Latin MSS, the Peshitta, and the Palestinian Syriac).

6<sup>33</sup>.—‘and outwent them,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS).

\*6<sup>37</sup>.—‘Shall we go and buy a *hundred penny*-worth of bread?’

\*6<sup>47</sup>.—‘In the midst of the *lake*.’

\*6<sup>48</sup>.—‘And when he saw them tormented *with the fear of the waves*,’ etc.

\*6<sup>48</sup>.—‘About the fourth watch of the night,’ is omitted. It has perhaps been carried here from Mt 14<sup>26</sup> by other scribes of the Greek codices, in order to make the story more complete.

6<sup>53</sup>.—‘and moored to the shore,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae, some Old Latin MSS, and the Peshitta). There is a possibility that it has been interpolated into other codices from Mt 13<sup>48</sup>.

6<sup>55</sup>.—‘Where they heard he was,’ is omitted.

7<sup>4</sup>.—‘And they keep many things which they have received, the washing of cups and vessels;’ ‘brasen’ being omitted.

\*7<sup>6</sup>.—The word ‘hypocrites’ is omitted. It may well have crept in here from another passage.

\*7<sup>8</sup> is omitted. We do not miss it, for v.<sup>9</sup> says precisely the same thing.

\*7<sup>13</sup>.—‘which ye have delivered,’ is omitted.

7<sup>24</sup>.—‘and Sidon,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae, some other Greek and Old Latin MSS, and the Palestinian Syriac). It was perhaps transferred here from v.<sup>31</sup>.

\*7<sup>26</sup>.—‘That woman was a *widow*, from the borders of Tyre of Phœnicia.’ Here the omission of one letter would give us ‘heathen’ instead of ‘widow,’ but my photograph of the page shows that there is no mistake.

\*7<sup>31</sup>.—‘And again he went out from the borders of Tyre and Sidon, he came to the *lake* of Galilee.’

8<sup>10</sup>.—‘And they came into the hill of Magedan,’ instead of ‘into the parts of Dalmanutha’ (with Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS). The word *tura*, ‘hill,’ may also mean ‘field’ or ‘uncultivated land.’ (See Dr. G. A. Smith’s *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 79, 80.)

\*8<sup>13</sup>.—‘And went to the other side of the *lake*.’ Some Old Latin MSS have ‘*abiit trans fretum*.’

\*8<sup>32</sup>.—‘Then Simon Cepha, *as though he pitied him*, said to him, Be it far from thee!’

Mr. Burkitt<sup>1</sup> has drawn attention to a remarkable variant in this verse, ‘*And they will kill Him, and the third day He will rise, and openly speak the word*.’ It is supported by a similar reading in Codex Bobbiensis (k): ‘*et occidi, et post tertium diem resurgere, et cum fiducia sermonem loqui*,’ and also in the Arabic version of the *Diatessaron*. This would imply a prophecy that our Lord would Himself preach publicly after His resurrection, a prophecy which He has fulfilled only through the agency of His disciples. With all my partiality for the Sinai palimpsest, I feel strongly that the reading of the Greek manuscripts—‘And He spake the saying openly’—is a much better one. The imperfect tense of the verb ἐλάλει, which is here used, signifies that our Lord spoke publicly of His crucifixion and resurrection, not once, but several times; and it is very satisfactory to us to

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1900.



know that the evangelist was able to record this as an unchallenged fact. The variant might easily arise from a mistake on the part of some Syriac or Latin translator, who, finding no punctuation, no accents, nor even a separation of words in an uncial Greek manuscript, divided the sentence wrongly, and wishing to make sense, added one letter, or even two, to ἐλάλει, so as to make it into the infinitive ἐκλαλεῖν, which Mr. Burkitt has suggested as being the original form.

9<sup>3</sup>.—‘And his raiment became white like snow’ (with the Codex Alexandrinus and other ancient Greek and some Old Latin MSS, and the Peshitta).

9<sup>3</sup>.—‘so as no fuller on earth can whiten them,’ is omitted (with one Greek and two Latin MSS). As the phrase occurs only in this place, we cannot suggest that it has come from one of the other Gospels.

\*9<sup>12</sup>.—‘and be crucified,’ instead of ‘and be set at nought.’

\*9<sup>27</sup>.—‘and delivered him to his father,’ instead of ‘and he arose.’

9<sup>29</sup>.—‘This kind cometh out by nothing, but by *fasting* and prayer’ (with Codd. Alexandrinus, Ephraemi, Bezae, and other Greek and Old Latin MSS, the Peshitta, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic).

\*9<sup>36</sup>.—‘and looked at him,’ instead of ‘and taking him in his arms.’

\*9<sup>39</sup>.—‘for there is no man who doeth *anything* in my name,’ instead of ‘shall do a mighty work.’ This is surely a gain to ordinary Christians! and it corresponds with the ‘cup of cold water’ in v. 41.

Vv. 44, 46 are omitted (as in the Revised Version). They are an anticipation of v. 48.

\*10<sup>1</sup>.—‘he healed and taught them,’ instead of ‘he taught them again.’

10<sup>2</sup>.—‘And they asked (that is, the multitude) him, tempting him,’ instead of ‘and there came unto him Pharisees, and asked him’ (with, probably, Codex Bobbiensis); ‘tempting him’ is not repeated at the end of the verse.

10<sup>4</sup>.—‘a bill of divorcement, *and give it to her*, and to put her away.’

10<sup>7</sup>.—‘and shall cleave to his wife,’ is omitted (with Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus). It has probably been carried into other MSS from Mt 19<sup>5</sup>.

\*10<sup>11</sup> is placed after v. 12.

10<sup>16</sup>.—‘And he called them,’ instead of ‘and he took them in his arms’ (with Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS).

\*10<sup>19</sup>.—‘Do not defraud,’ is omitted. It is superfluous, being included in ‘Do not steal.’

10<sup>21</sup>.—‘*and take up thy cross*, and follow me’ (with the Codex Alexandrinus and four other Greek MSS, an Old Latin one, the Peshitta, and the Coptic).

\*10<sup>40</sup>.—‘But to sit on my right hand or on my left hand is not mine to give, but for *another* it is prepared.’ The word ‘another’ is masculine singular.

\*10<sup>42</sup>.—‘Ye know that the chiefs of the nations are their lords. Let it not be so among you.’ The second clause of v. 42 is omitted, and we therefore have the idea in eleven words as against twenty-four of the Revised Version.

\*10<sup>50</sup>.—‘And he (Timai Bar-Timai) rose, and *took up* his garment, and came to Jesus.’

It is much more in accordance with the habits of Orientals, so far as I have observed them, to *put on* their upper garment (like Simon Peter in Jn 21<sup>7</sup>) than to take it off when they are summoned into the presence of a superior. Amateur photographers, unless armed with a kodak, suffer many sorrows on this account, for the most picturesque group of Bedawin or of beggars will subside into a state of decent but prosaic respectability whilst you set up your camera. I have been told that this reading of the Sinai palimpsest threatens with destruction whole cart-loads of books on divinity—books which represented ‘our own righteousness’ as the garment which we must cast away. But I do not regret it. Other texts, such as Ro 10<sup>8</sup>, may be used to enforce this lesson; and it is open to doubt whether we are justified in attaching symbolical meanings to a narrative of actual events, unless these are plainly indicated in the context. By allegorizing too much, we perhaps weaken our own conviction that we are dealing with real history.

\*11<sup>6</sup>.—‘And they let them go,’ is omitted.

11<sup>8</sup>.—‘And others branches, which they had cut from the fields,’ is omitted.

Perhaps the clause found its way here from Mt 21<sup>8</sup>, a passage which is unfortunately on a lost leaf of our codex. Or from Jn 12<sup>13</sup>.

\*12<sup>28</sup>.—‘who love to walk in the *porches* (or *Stoae*),’ instead of ‘in long robes’ (with B and C of the Palestinian Syriac version).

\*12<sup>44</sup>.—‘*even* all her living,’ is omitted.

13<sup>8</sup>.—‘And there shall be earthquakes in divers places, famines, and *tumults*’ (with the Codex Alexandrinus and three other ancient Greek MSS, a Latin one (*q*), and the Peshitta).

13<sup>9</sup>.—‘But take heed to yourselves,’ is omitted. (with the Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS).

This may have been transferred from Lk 17<sup>3</sup> or 21<sup>34</sup>.

\*13<sup>9</sup>.—‘And they shall deliver you up *to the people*, and to councils; and ye shall stand before kings, and ye shall be beaten before governors, for my sake.’

13<sup>9</sup>.—‘for a testimony to them and *to all nations*’ (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus).

13<sup>10</sup>.—‘For this gospel must first be preached’ (‘to all nations’ being omitted). This reading depends on grammatical structure, and not upon punctuation (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus).

\*14<sup>12</sup>.—‘when the passover was being eaten,’ instead of ‘when they sacrificed the passover.’

\*14<sup>14</sup>.—‘The Master saith, *My time is come*. Where is the guest-chamber,’ etc.

\*14<sup>19</sup>.—‘Not I surely?’ in a tone of deprecation, instead of ‘Is it I?’

\*14<sup>25</sup>.—‘Until that day that I drink it *with you* anew in the kingdom of God.’

14<sup>41</sup>.—‘Sleep, and take your rest; the hour is come, *the end is at hand*; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners’ (with a few Old Latin MSS and the Peshitta).

14<sup>56, 57, 58</sup>.—‘Many bare false witness against him, and their witness agreed not together; but people rose up against him, saying, We heard him say, I will destroy the temple that is made with hands,’ etc. Note that the second ‘bare false witness against him,’ is omitted. I think rightly, for those who repeated what our Lord had said about destroying the temple, though they spoke maliciously, were perhaps not bearing false witness. Possibly some over-zealous scribe, in copying one of the oldest of Greek MSS, repeated the *ἐψευστομαρτύρουν* of v.<sup>56</sup> also in v.<sup>57</sup>.

14<sup>65</sup>.—‘And to cover his face,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS).

15<sup>3</sup>.—‘And the chief priests accused him of many things, *but he gave them no answer*’ (with a few ancient Greek and Latin MSS).

15<sup>7</sup>.—‘And there was a prisoner, a man, a male-

factor, who was called Bar-Abba, and he was a man who had done wrong and committed murder. Here nothing is said about an insurrection.

15<sup>28</sup> is omitted, as it is also in the Revised Version.

15<sup>34</sup>.—The latter clause of this verse, being a translation of the first, is naturally omitted.

15<sup>39</sup>.—‘Now when the centurion, who was standing beside him, saw him *crying out* and expiring, he said,’ etc. (with Codd. Alexandrinus, Bezae, Bobbiensis, some other ancient Greek and Latin MSS, and the Peshitta).

\*15<sup>40</sup>.—‘And Mary the *daughter* of James the Less, the mother of Joseph, and Salome,’ cf. Mt 27<sup>56</sup>.

15<sup>42</sup>.—Instead of, ‘and when even was now come, because it was the Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath,’ we have, ‘*and it was on the Sabbath*.’ This doubtless means that our Lord’s burial took place after sunset on the Friday night. I cannot attempt to explain this. But if our Lord was buried when the sun was just disappearing, so as to leave it a matter of dispute when the Sabbath actually began, the discrepancy between this reading and that of Lk 23<sup>54</sup> would be accounted for.

So would also the delay of the women to perform those last offices of love which we read about in Mk 16<sup>1</sup>. Is it possible that our codex gives the true reading of Matthew’s narrative, and that the form found in Greek codices is an attempt to harmonize it with that of Luke?

\*15<sup>43</sup>.—‘Who also looked for the kingdom of *heaven*,’ instead of ‘the kingdom of God.’

15<sup>47</sup>.—‘And Mary the Magdalene and Mary the *daughter of James* beheld where he was laid.’ (The Palestinian Syriac version has ‘the *daughter* of James and of Jose.’)

16<sup>1</sup>.—‘Mary the Magdalene, and Mary the *daughter* of James, and Salome’ (with Codd. B and C of the Palestinian Syriac version).

16<sup>3</sup>.—‘And they said among themselves, But who shall roll us away the stone of the sepulchre? *for it was very great*.’ The last clause of this verse seems to be in its true and original position, whence it wandered at a very early period to the end of v.<sup>4</sup>. Possibly a scribe left it out by accident, then inserted it on the margin, and a later scribe copying his work embodied it in the text at the wrong place. Codex Bezae and the Palestinian Syriac version have it also at the end

of v.<sup>3</sup>, whilst the gospel of pseudo-Peter, published in 1892, actually puts it into the speech of the women as they walk to the sepulchre, instead of only into their thoughts, as it is here.

\*16<sup>8</sup>.—‘And fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them,’ is omitted.

16<sup>8</sup> reads thus: ‘And when they had heard, they went out; and went, and said nothing to any man, for they were afraid.’

‘Here endeth the Gospel of Mark’; and after a row of red dots, we have, on the same narrow column, also in red, ‘The Gospel of Luke.’ The omission of vv.<sup>9-20</sup> is the more surprising, because vv.<sup>17-20</sup> are the only portion of St. Mark’s Gospel which are extant in the Curetonian manuscript. On this subject, which has given rise to so much discussion amongst scholars, it may be presumption in me to venture an opinion, but apart from the fact that a name, that of Ariston the Presbyter, has been discovered by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in an Armenian manuscript, I think that they put into the mouth of our Lord some words which it would be difficult for anyone to justify; for the promise contained in vv.<sup>17, 18</sup> has not been fulfilled. It is indeed recorded that the signs here described did follow the Apostles and early disciples, but after the first century we have no trustworthy historical evidence that they ‘followed’ anyone who believed. Why did miracles cease with the Apostolic age? I have a theory on the subject, which is at least not more fanciful than some which I have met with. It is this—

Jesus Christ, being the Son of God, was, even in His human body, the source of all the life in the universe—animal life as well as moral and spiritual. An inexhaustible vital force lay hid under His humble exterior. He could exert or repress it at will, but repression was not the usual impulse of His loving heart. Sinners felt uncomfortable in His presence; they shrank from His direct gaze; and bodily disease, which springs from decay and corruption, was simply arrested by this ever-flowing stream of vital force which, emanating from His person, flowed into the persons of those who came near Him. Physical defects were thrown off by the persons who were thus quickened. And something of the force remained with those who had been much in His society, gradually subsiding as the years rolled on. Thus the power of healing the sick by the laying on of hands was possessed by the Apostles; but it could not be transmitted to those who had not seen God manifest in the flesh.

In Cureton’s manuscript the Gospel of John follows that of Mark, and is in its turn followed by that of Luke. The Sinai palimpsest, on the contrary, shows us the four Gospels in their usual order. Why do these two representatives of the Old Syriac version differ from each other in so important a point? They are linked, and yet separate. But their relation to each other, to the Diatessaron, and the Peshitta will for some time continue to present a fruitful field for discussion.

## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

VOICES OF THE PAST. BY HENRY S. ROBERTON, B.A., B.SC. (*Bell*. Crown 8vo, pp. 219. 4s. 6d.)

Many people have too low an estimate of their own ability. It is quite a rare thing for a man to believe that he is capable of mastering the Archæology of the Bible. When the occasional man does attack it, he finds himself speedily possessed of so much interesting and unique knowledge that he forthwith sits down to write a book. And his book sells. All the people who think they cannot master the subject themselves, and yet know that

they must not be ignorant of it, buy the book. So we have a new book on the Monuments every other month and an audience ready for it. Mr. Robertson writes for this accommodating audience. He knows his subject quite well. He is anxious that it should agree with the Bible, which he knows well also. And he writes so pleasantly and modestly (it is a miracle he ever dared to study this subject) that everyone will be charmed with his book, wishing there were more of it, and especially more illustrations.



Messrs. Bagster's 'Gem' editions of the great oratorios are beautifully printed. *Mendelssohn's St. Paul* is the latest (1s.)

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. BY R. H. CHARLES, D.D. (*A. & C. Black*. Crown 8vo, pp. lxxiv, 155. 7s. 6d. net.)

Professor Charles has attached this department of study to himself. Scholars leave it to him. There are many who are engaged in the delightful study of the apocalyptic literature, but they leave the editing of the apocalyptic books to Dr. Charles. He does it so whole-heartedly and so nearly finally; he is also so often able to make up his mind where others waver, that it seems to be the work for him, and he seems to be the man for this work. An account of the Ascension of Isaiah by Canon Armitage Robinson will be found in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. Dr. Charles in a burst of enthusiasm describes that article as 'a splendid article.' This is the *Ascension of Isaiah* itself. It is translated from the Ethiopic version. And that same Ethiopic version is printed in full, with the Greek fragment, the Latin versions, and the Latin translation of the Slavonic. And to all that, Dr. Charles has added an essay on Antichrist, because the Christian portion of the *Ascension* has much to say of his appearing. It is the student of the earliest Christianity that will find this book most useful.

A CONCORDANCE TO THE SEPTUAGINT. BY E. HATCH, D.D., and H. A. REDPATH, M.A. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*. Supplement. Fasc. I., folio, pp. 162. 16s.)

The promised Supplement to Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance* has been divided into two parts. The first part, now published, contains the Concordance of Proper Names in the Septuagint. The second part will contain various small supplementary matters and an index to the Hebrew of the whole work. It will probably be published in 1901. We shall welcome it when it comes, but this is the part we have been waiting for. It will greatly help us out of the maze (the muddle, we might say) of the proper names in the Septuagint, and save us great labour and worry. What this volume must have cost its author (for we suppose it is wholly Mr. Redpath's work), one can only vaguely and awfully conjecture. As usual the Hebrew, when there is Hebrew, is given; when

there is no equivalent Hebrew, we are simply told it is otherwise there (*aliter in Heb.*). One of the minor matters it recalls to us is the question of the pronunciation of Hebrew two hundred years before Christ. The work is a marvel of accuracy, for which we have to thank the printers, no doubt, as well as Mr. Redpath's practised eye.

HENRY BARROW AND THE EXILED CHURCH OF AMSTERDAM. BY F. J. POWICKE, PH.D. (*Clarke*. Royal 8vo, pp. xlvii, 363. 7s. 6d. net.)

It is not long since Mr. Gladstone prophesied the era of cheap books and groaning shelves, warning us to see to our joists and beams. The era is on us. This book would have been published in Mr. Gladstone's time at a guinea. But we who buy it at a third of that price do not simply load our shelves with it. We read it. For it is an original research into a great formative period in the history of religion, and an estimate of a great and immovably religious man. By the aid of Dr Powicke's intimate conversational manner of writing, added to his careful and even minute researches, we get very close to the daily life of the 'Separatists.' We find it daily suffering for the most part, and we scatter praise and blame. But more than that, we see the meaning of the whole historical movement, and gather useful lessons for our own time. There are pages in the history of the Church we all would gladly blot out if we could. Let us see to it that we are not writing such pages ourselves. We thank Dr. Powicke for his book. It is full of reliable matter, and it is free from sectarian bitterness and narrow judgment.

THE MESSAGES OF THE BIBLE. THE MESSAGES OF THE APOSTLES. BY G. B. STEVENS, PH.D., D.D. (*Clarke*. Crown 8vo, pp. 271. 3s. 6d.)

Have these books taken in this country? This is the fourth of the series. It should settle the question of their acceptance. It should yet more increase Professor Stevens' great reputation. What does it contain? It contains the apostolic discourses in the Book of Acts and the General and Pastoral Epistles of the New Testament arranged in chronological order, analyzed, and fully rendered in paraphrase. It must either be done masterfully or be a miserable failure. It is a strong man's best work, and gives us these discourses and epistles with almost the surprise of novelty.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE LORD'S PRAYER. BY C. W. STUBBS, D.D. (*Wells Gardner*. Crown 8vo, pp. 114. 1s. 6d.)

The Dean of Ely is one of our foremost authorities on Christian Socialism. He is also a preacher. The four sermons in this volume are true sermons, yet they contain much real scientific teaching on our duty to one another. The Lord's Prayer is more social, claims more from us, than we thought, 'Give, give, give,' we cry; and it echoes the cry back to us. 'As we forgive,' it makes us say, and much else. Dr. Stubbs tells us where and how to find its socialism. And especially he shows us how impossible it is for us to love God and hate our brother.

THE DOCTRINES OF GRACE. BY JOHN WATSON, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 371. 6s.)

Is there any man in whom the old and the new meet as in Dr. Watson? 'Suckled on a creed outworn,'—the strict Calvinism of the Shorter Catechism,—he thinks he holds it still. But it is the modern spirit he holds, the ethical social creed. And the two continually meet, meet in every book and on every page, and never coalesce. How strange a product is this book. When the articles which make it up appeared in the *Expositor*, men rubbed their eyes and said, 'Dr. Watson is most astonishingly orthodox.' Why astonishingly? Because it was not Dr. Watson. It was the 'creed outworn'—outworn we mean by him. It was the faith he learned at his mother's knee, which would come back when system and order had to be considered in laying out the doctrines of grace, but which was not *his* creed nor him. Dr. Watson is a much more charming man than this. For you cannot make the old creed charming,—that is never the right word for it even at its most gracious, and it can be gracious,—still less can you make the combination. Dr. Watson's is the modern creed; he wins his heaven by patient perseverance in well-doing, and that is always charming, often deeply moving, but never, never true.

But if this is not Dr. Watson, why does he preach this? It is the homage we pay to our youth. If, as they tell us, the man is made by the age of seven, then the preacher is made by the age of ten. After that there are three ways possible. One is for the man and his youth to keep together, the early creed only developing into flower and fruit. Another is for the man to

think he has left his early creed and preach another, while it holds him still, as George MacDonald does. The last is Dr. Watson's way. He has travelled and he does not know it. This is only his theology, the other is his life.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have issued a new edition of Professor Agar Beet's *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (crown 8vo, pp. xx, 386, 7s. 6d.). It is the most popular (this is the ninth or tenth edition), and we think the best, of all Dr. Beet's commentaries. It is at any rate the one we have got most out of. And now it has been wholly written over again, so that with the essential features of the old, it is a new book. Going through it again, and especially noting places we had marked before, we find it altered not a little in detail. For Dr. Beet is himself a student still; what he would have others do, he leads the way in, and when he finds he can improve on his own statement or even alter his own view, he does not hesitate to do it. There is not only reference to the commentaries on Romans published since his first edition, but also frequently to his own works. For Dr. Beet's works fit in together, and they do not repeat one another: together they form a complete system of biblical theology.

THE FACT OF CHRIST. BY P. CARNEGIE SIMPSON, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 200. 3s. 6d.)

This is preaching, with all the modern grace and all the ancient strength. Its first concern is character, and that ought to be our first concern. He who does not preach to the making of character does not preach. But it never dreams that character can make itself. Outside the character, outside the man, is the motive power, the life, the spirit. When that comes into the man, then character begins to form. It is a transformation Mr. Simpson preaches, a transformation by the Spirit and into the likeness of Christ. And after that comes the real sense of sin and the incredibly comfortable sense of pardon. That is the order of experience, and therefore the order of preaching, though in actual fact the repentance and the forgiveness no doubt precede the making of character. It is not exactly a volume of sermons that lies before us, it is a volume of Bible-class addresses. It is a right manly, man-making volume.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M.A., FIELD-PREACHER.

By J. P. GLEDSTONE. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 371. 6s.)

Mr. Gledstone tells us that he has prepared this briefer life of the great field-preacher because of the favourable reception given to his *Life and Travels of George Whitefield*, published in 1871, and now out of print. So it is in a sense an abridgment. But it is the most lively and independent abridgment we have seen. Whitefield himself is an unmistakable portrait, and with all shortcomings an evidently great and good man. The marvellously wild hard time he lived and laboured in is also set in full clear vision. And, more than that, a great theology is tested and tried, set to do its work in that unlikely soil, and found triumphant. For unto Whitefield, too, was this grace given, that to the wide world he should preach the unsearchable riches of Christ.

THE GOLDEN GATE OF PRAYER. BY THE REV.

J. R. MILLER, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 256. 3s. 6d.)

Todd's *Student's Manual* and other moralists used to advise us to read with pencil in hand and notebook beside. Dr. Miller actually does it. There is no good thing in any book he reads that he lets slip. And when he is ready for it, in it drops into its proper place in his own writings. These chapters on the Lord's Prayer owe much of their charm to their numerous and apt quotations. It is a gift of itself both to know a good quotation and then to find the very place for it. And Dr. Miller's simple devotional style makes the introduction of quotations particularly easy and effective.

CHRIST THE TRUTH. BY THE REV. WILLIAM MEDLEY, M.A. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 288. 6s.)

This is the third series of the Angus Lectures. To keep things unmixed, let it be said that the Angus is a Baptist lectureship. It was established in honour of Dr. Angus, the Principal of Regent's Park College, who was himself the first lecturer. His subject was *Regeneration*. Next came Dr. S. G. Green, who chose *The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, and gave us an able, liberal study of the subject under a title that could be shorter. Mr. Medley is a new name in literature,

though not unknown to scholarship. His work is an apology (using the word in its large, noble sense) for the Christian faith, addressed to the mind of the average untheological man. It is not hard reading, for its style is good and its arrangement orderly. But it demands close attention. When that is given and persisted in, the book is found to be weighty and inspiring. Mr. Medley shows that he is a student of current thought, capable of separating its essence from its accidents, and withal fully persuaded in his own mind that the free thought of the noblest men to-day is toward the truth as it is in Jesus. 'There lies then at the very core of the Christian conception of religion—the throbbing heart whence the spiritual life derives all its inspiration and power—the essential belief that Religion, in its all-inclusive sense, is the elevation of the human spirit to an ever-deepening and enlarging fellowship with the Divine Spirit.'

THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS. BY EDWIN CARUS SELWYN, D.D. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 277. 6s. net.)

When an author tells us that he writes 'from the standpoint of reverent common sense,' we fear for him. For common sense is often a sugared synonym for laziness. When a man will not take the trouble to master a subject, he often approves or condemns it from the standpoint of common sense. But it is all the other way in this case. Dr. Selwyn is not lazy. He has mastered his subject. His discoveries have led him farther than he meant to go, but he would not publish anything till he had mastered it.

What are his discoveries? They are these. In the earliest Church the most influential and the most honoured persons were the Christian prophets. They not only taught but wrote. They wrote much of the books we now possess—some of them, it is probable, wholly, such as the Apocalypse. And so the Apocalypse was not written by St. John, or whoever wrote the Fourth Gospel. These two writings are diverse and even contradictory. The writer of the Gospel answers the writer of the Apocalypse.

It is a study in early Church History of the most interesting kind. But it cannot be wholly accepted. Far more is made of the prophets than can be proved. And there are opinions about date and authorship that cannot stand.



THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER. BY THE REV. J. HOWARD B. MASTERMAN, M.A. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 200. 3s. 6d. net.)

It has often happened that a single book, it has sometimes happened that a single theological book, has given a man a reputation. We are not afraid to say that this small commentary on this small Epistle will make the reputation of the Principal of the Midland Clergy College. It does not greatly differ in outward form from the small scholarly commentaries we have received from Edinburgh and Cambridge. It contains a full introduction, a paraphrase, and notes on the Hebrew text. But it has an accuracy of expression and a saneness of thought that even scholars rarely possess. Thus, on page 86: 'Mr. Pattison, writing about *Paradise Lost*, says of Calvinism, "It must be acknowledged that a predestinarian scheme, leading the 'cogitation upward to dwell upon the heavenly things before the foundation of the world, opens a vista of contemplation and poetical framework with which none other in the whole cycle of human thought can compare." It was when the mind was directed from this sublime contemplation to dwell on the thought of personal security that Calvinism became hardened into a merciless dogma of predestination and reprobation. The recognition of the principle of evolution has now restored to us the significance of *προεγνωσμένον* and *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων*. All time has been a progressive *φανερώσις* of the Divine, leading on to the Incarnation and the Death of Christ.'

THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. BY HENRY S. NASH. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 204. 3s. 6d.)

The Higher Criticism of the *New Testament* is almost a new idea. It is at least scarcely a fact we expect to have to reckon with. We have been told that the New Testament is waiting the methods and results that have been applied to the Old, but we have not thought they had come. Nor does Professor Nash mean to say that they have come. That is not the Criticism he means. Criticism is a sacred word with him. It means the study and interpretation of the Bible. And so his book is a history of the work that has been done in the attempt to understand the New Testament, what it is, and what it has to tell us. In this sense, Criticism is a science, and like every other, science has its

progress. It has showed many foolish theories by the way, but it has never lost the sense of God's presence. And now, if the most natural is felt to be the most accurate meaning of the New Testament, that is largely due to the sense of God's immediate presence and inspiration.

This is one of Professor Shailer Mathews' 'New Testament Handbooks.' It deserves most careful reading.

STUDIES IN TEXTS. BY JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. (*Horace Marshall*. Vol. VI. Crown 8vo, pp. 228. 3s. 6d.)

This is the last volume of the series of expository sermons and suggestions to which Dr. Parker has given the title of *Studies in Texts*. Their freshness is as abundant at the end as at the beginning. And it is freshness of word as much as of idea. Nor is it such originality as paralyzes thought or prevents appropriation. One can read Dr. Parker with greater safety than Dr. Maclaren. It is not matter, it is inspiration, or at least stimulus that he gives us. We cannot reproduce him, but we can produce better sermons because of him.

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published the *Life of Faith Almanack* (1d.), the *Faithfulness of God* by Mr. Webb-Peploe (1d.), and the *Fulness of the Spirit* by Mr. Inwood (1d.).

In uniform binding, price, and the rest of it, with Mr. Smellie's 'Books of the Heart,' Mr. Melrose has published the second series of Dr. John Pulsford's *Quiet Hours* (crown 8vo, pp. xiv, 352, 2s. 6d.). It is a peculiarly attractive edition of a peculiarly fascinating book. Dr. John Pulsford is as 'mystical' as the best of them, but yet you know what he is saying. And he is a theologian, though he finds his theology neither in Calvin nor Dr. Denney. He finds it in his own heart's fellowship with the living God.

THE SOUL OF A CHRISTIAN. BY FRANK GRANGER, D.LIT., M.A. (*Methuen*. Crown 8vo, pp. 313. 6s.)

'A popular preacher not so very long ago went up into the North of Scotland to conduct a mission, and his experience there brings out very well the relation that holds between the professional standpoint of the pulpit and the beginnings of the spiritual life. He complained amongst other

things that "in the North they could soak up a great amount of preaching and make no sign." I suppose the scientific phrase would be that they were supersaturated. "One of the great difficulties there, too, was instantaneous conversion. Somehow they did not want a sudden change." A woman rebuked him by saying that her mother had been praying in the hills for five years before she was converted: how was she to be converted in five minutes? Think of those lonely years amid the mountains and lochs, where the Celtic imagination traces its legends of love and death, and then think of the bustling gentleman from the South offering to furnish salvation complete within five minutes!

The anecdote will illustrate Mr. Granger's method and indicate his place. He is deeply interested in the soul. And he thinks it has not been studied scientifically enough by religious teachers. It is more complete, greater in possibility, than they take into account. Especially it is not to be captured, it is to be enticed and educated. This is a book to be read carefully; it must neither be flouted nor neglected. It is full of true things. This is one: 'The Christian profession involves neither the sacrifice of our own proper reserve, nor the duty of intruding upon the proper reserve of others.'

After a long interval, Messrs. Nisbet have published another volume of Mr. Exell's *Biblical Illustrator*. It covers Joshua, Judges, and Ruth (8vo, pp. 648, 7s. 6d.). The pages are packed as closely as ever, and the matter is as patiently selected. Few are the homiletical writings on these books that have not had their substance squeezed into this volume. But it is only their substance. The editor wades through the writings for us, we read the sum and pith in a few sentences.

FOR THE LAMBS OF THE FLOCK. BY THE REV. CHARLES JERDAN, M.A., LL.B. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo pp. 431. 5s.)

There is a crook in every lot, and in the preacher's it is as often the 'children's portion' as anything. The command is unmistakable, 'Feed My lambs'; but the man is made to be a keeper of sheep, and the lambs are beyond his ability. What is to be done? Some simply copy other men's portions—Mr. Jerdan's for example, who has a most special gift in this way—and do

not believe that the eighth commandment is in it. Perhaps there is a less perilous way. Why not gather the great books that contain children's sermons—Messrs. Oliphant could send a sufficient library of them—and study the subject as one studies systematic theology? No one takes to systematic theology by nature, and yet the meanest intellect, especially if it be Scotch, is very soon at home in it. Mr. Jerdan has two volumes. Tell Messrs. Oliphant to include them both.

FROM THE DUNGEON TO THE PALACE. BY THE REV. THOMAS TAYLOR. (*Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier*. Crown 8vo, pp. 124. 2s. 6d.)

The history of Joseph may be, as Professor Sayce tells us it is, an adaptation of an Egyptian romance; but certainly it has life in it. It never grows old and it will never pass away. It is the child's first entrance into the intellectual fairyland; it is the old man's comfort as he passes to the sunset and the crown. So it is easy to make the story of Joseph interesting, and a new book will always find new readers. Mr. Taylor is modest and earnest. He takes the narrative as he finds it, retells it, illustrates it, draws from it its natural lessons, and sends them home to our hearts.

Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster seem to find no diminution in the demand for Spurgeon's sermons. Not only are the weekly and the monthly parts and the yearly volumes still appearing regularly, but scarcely a month passes without seeing some other volume or volumes published in some other shape or form. This month six volumes appear, each containing twelve sermons. The sermons are gathered together because of the affinity of their subject. Thus one volume contains sermons on Heaven, another on Repentance, another on Backsliding, another on Death, another on Temptation, another on the Christian Warfare, and another on Forgiveness. Each volume costs one shilling.

A collection of Spurgeon *Anecdotes*—anecdotes about not by Spurgeon—has been published by Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster (crown 8vo, pp. 102, 1s.). The field is large, and this gleaner, whose name is not given, has gathered industriously. *Ex uno disce omnes*: A certain American, a D.D., in an interview with Mr. Spurgeon, told him that

he was going to Germany to study. 'Haven't you any theological seminaries in America?' asked Mr. S. 'Yes,' said the Doctor, 'but I don't think I know everything, though I graduated at Princeton, and I am going to Germany to try and learn more.' 'Well,' said Mr. Spurgeon, 'I hope you will not be like that calf I once heard of. The milk of one cow was not enough for it, so they gave it the milk of two, and the more milk it drank the more of a calf it became.'

The latest addition to Messrs. Rivingtons' 'Oxford Church Text-Books' is an account of the *Text of the New Testament*, by the Rev. K. Lake, M.A. (1s.). It contains only about a hundred small pages, but they are in small type and closely packed, and so skilfully has Mr. Lake used his thorough knowledge that the little book is a quite competent introduction, and supersedes all the small introductions that have gone before it.

Under the title of *Assurance* (pp. 160, 1s. or 1s. 6d.), a small volume of addresses by the late Bishop Ryle has been published at the Tract Depot, Stirling. The addresses are based on 2 Ti 4<sup>6-8</sup>.

THE LIFE OF DWIGHT L. MOODY. BY HIS SON, W. R. MOODY. (*Morgan & Scott*. 8vo, pp. 509.)

There has been great stir among the publishers and great competition among the biographers since Mr. Moody died. But this is the 'Life.' It is a handsome volume and very rich in photographs. Indeed a determined effort has been made,

and made successfully, to produce a worthy memorial of the great evangelist, and outdo all competitors in sheer excellence. Moreover, no one could claim the right or the knowledge which belong to Mr. Moody's son.

It is a book of life. There were no dull passages in Mr. Moody's career, and there are no dull pages in this book. It is a book of strenuous effort, effort steadily directed to one supreme object, the saving of men's souls. On the way there occur many incidents that are human enough. There is humour and even grotesqueness now and then. But Mr. Moody himself was earnest, definite, masterful. His aim was clear, his will unswerving. And though he carried a man's heart, nothing was permitted to stand between him and his single purpose.

So he succeeded where hundreds have failed. He succeeded all through his life, while thousands have had but a few years' prosperity. He succeeded ever more brilliantly, and steadily rose in moral worth, while others innumerable have lost weight and afforded perplexity. For it is without exception the most trying of all human occupations (unless the bar-keeper's is more), the occupation of evangelist. It is trying from its height, the other from its lowness.

The great evangelist, then, is among the greatest of men. And the impression this biography makes is of a very great man indeed. The common saying that Mr. Gladstone might have been Archbishop of Canterbury, may be paralleled by saying that Mr. Moody might have been President of the United States.

### BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS AND THE NEW YEAR.

We have always held that the best of all Christmas presents is a carefully chosen Annual. There is nothing so full and satisfying, there is nothing so wholesome, there is nothing so cheap. The Religious Tract Society has published two Annuals which will not easily be surpassed, and each is perfectly fitted for its own special readers. They are not new in name, but every year sees some new feature introduced, so that they are always new in interest. They are *The Leisure Hour* and *The Sunday at Home* (7s. 6d. each).

But less weight and less fulness may be preferable for good reasons. Then the choice may be

made between *Knots* (Quiet Chats with Boys and Girls) by Archibald N. Mackray, M.A. (2s.), or *Hidden Beauties of Nature* by Richard Kerr, F.G.S. (2s. 6d.), or *The Great Rest-giver* by William Haig Miller (2s. 6d.), or *How to attain Fellowship with God* by the Rev. J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (1s. 6d.), or *The Way into the Kingdom* (Thoughts on the Beatitudes) by the Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., Bournemouth (1s. 6d.), or *The Care of the Home* by Lucy H. Yates (1s.). All these are published by the R.T.S., and all have that particular homeliness and health which the Secretaries of that Society rarely fail to impress upon their books.



A new game for the winter evenings—a *Sunday Occupation* for boys and girls, the inventors call it, and the daughters of Professor Moule will not teach you to misuse Sunday—is still another of the R.T.S. publications. Its title is *Journeys to Jerusalem*; its purpose is to teach Bible geography and history, and its price is one shilling net.

The Annuals upon which the Sunday School Union stakes its reputation are *Young England* (5s.) and *The Child's Own Magazine* (1s.). Their place is their own, the one being the magazine for eager patriotic boys, the other the magazine for inquisitive wide-eyed little children.

The Sunday School Union has also issued for Christmas a new edition of Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (2s.), together with an addition to the 'Green Nursery' Series, under the title of *Tom Leslie's Secret*, written by Blanche Atkinson—a charming child's story, which will delight everybody.

*Advance, Endeavour!* is the rousing title given to the 'Souvenir-Report' of the World's Convention of Christian Endeavour, held in London in 1900. It is a fine square volume, and should prove excellent reading for serious and ambitious young men and women. Its editors are Mr. W. Knight Chaplin and Miss M. Jennie Street. Its publisher is Mr. Melrose. Its price 2s. 6d. net.

Messrs. Bagster are the publishers of a series of *Bible Stories* in words of one syllable (or as nearly so as possible). The first volume comes down as far as Moses. If mothers cannot tell the stories themselves, or cannot tell them simply enough, the great purpose of filling the minds of the little ones with the Bible History before anything else gets in, will be served perfectly by reading these books.

Two books from the publishing house of Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier come most appropriately here. The one is described as *Right Living as a Fine Art* (1s.) It is written by Dr. N. D. Hillis. The other is a *Life of General Wauchope*, written by William Baird, F.S.A.Scot. (2s. 6d.) General Wauchope's Life will be eagerly read by boys, and it will stir in them desires to do nobly as he did.

The annual parcel of books for boys and girls (but always chiefly for boys, which no one can

tell us the reason of), which Messrs. Blackie send, is always a welcome sight. There is a character about Blackie & Son's books, both outward and inward, which at once distinguishes them from the books of all the other publishers. The olive edges are theirs, and the most costly always have that ornament. The picturesque covers, each a story on the face of it, is theirs also. And then the utmost freedom of subject and style (always provided it is stirring enough)—that is theirs and theirs alone. Their greatest writer is Mr. G. A. Henty, who this year has written two books. One of them, *With Buller in Natal* (6s.), is likely to be the most popular of the whole parcel. The other has a greater hero, but not so immediately popular, *Out with Garibaldi* (5s.). For our own part we prefer Garibaldi to Buller (we speak of the books, not the men); it is more carefully written, it is more noble in sentiment, it plays less upon the 'Rule Britannia' sentiment. But our preference is nothing; Buller will be the favourite.

Dr. Gordon Stables has gone to *Far Bolivia* (3s. 6d.) for his scenery and his hairbreadth escapes this year. It must be a wild place. We are glad the genial novelist got safe away.

No one can get more adventures within the boards of a book than Dr. Gordon Stables. But the story called *Held at Ransom*, by Miss Bessie Marchant (2s. 6d.), is very well in that way. It is perhaps more serious, more moving also, and more carefully written. Its scene is Cape Colony, but its time is before the war, the mischief being wrought by rough diamonds not by lead bullets.

*Jones the Mysterious* (2s.), by Charles Edwardes, is a school story, the humorous predominating, for many schoolboys love to have it so.

The only girl's book is by Alice Stronach (though the author of *Held at Ransom* might claim that hers is another). Its title is *A Newnham Friendship* (3s. 6d.). The inner life of the famous College for women is described, and all the description is hung upon a thread of human interest. It is not without its romantic side, and the romance is not without its mere man.

In beauty and in worth the books which Messrs. Nelson & Sons have this year issued surpass all previous records. Let us take them up at random.

*Heads or Tails* (5s.), by Harold Avery, is further described as 'the Story of a Friendship.' The

friendship begins at school and continues right through life. Both lads are attractive, though the hero is a little wild; both men are true and courageous. There is a fine contrast too between them, necessary perhaps to a close lasting friendship.

*My Lady Marcia* (5s.), by Eliza Pollard, is a story of the French Revolution, a thrilling story of a terrible time. It is seen from the side of the aristocracy, not the side that Carlyle taught us to see it from. An English lady of rank and wealth casts in her lot with her persecuted terror-struck relatives, and becomes the worthy heroine. The great and the little are here. It is not so terrible as the reality, and yet it is terrible enough.

The war has had its victims and we have their histories. For many a day sad moving stories will be told of a war that has given much occasion for heroism and for tears. Already there have been not a few tales written. And Miss Evelyn Everett-Green's *A Gordon Highlander* (2s. 6d.) will take a good place among them. The little Gordon is every inch a soldier.

In *The Romance of the South Pole* (2s.) Mr. Barrett Smith gives a graphic account of the expeditions that have gone out to search the Ant-

arctic seas. And in *Up the Creeks* (1s. 6d.) Mr. Edward Shirley writes a stirring story of adventure in West Africa.

*A Sister of the Red Cross* (3s. 6d.)—another story of the Boer War. It is by Mrs. L. T. Meade. A daring story surely, for the hero is one of the officers shut up in Ladysmith and the heroine one of the nurses.

But *Rhoda*, 'a story for girls,' by E. L. Harrisfield (2s. 6d.), takes us away from the war, into the home life and the struggle for daily bread. A better story for the ordinary girl than any tale of love and war, a story of a brave girl, who found room enough at her own fireside to show her bravery.

But Messrs. Nelson have not forgotten the bairns. Here is a great oblong coloured picture book about the sea, called *The Red, White, and Blue* (1s.). And here is another folio with coloured pictures called *The Iron Horse* (1s.). And all the *Fairy Tales* (1s.) we know are given in brief, and again with wonderful coloured pictures. Add *Baby's Picture Book* (6d.) and *Baby's Picture Gallery* (6d.), and it will be admitted that the little ones in all their degrees of bigness have not been forgotten.

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## The Judæan Ministry of Jesus.

BY THE REV. THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., CANON OF WELLS.

### II.

#### The Testimony in the Temple.

THE first stage of our Lord's ministry occupies but a small space in the history; in respect of details of word and deed that work in Judæa is shrouded from our view. It does not fall within the scope of the synoptic narratives, and St. John, who gives full reports of later acts and discourses in Jerusalem, has little to say on this earlier work. We may suppose that at that time the disciples felt no special responsibility as witnesses of their Master's acts, and that only the Twelve when separated and 'ordained to be with Him' learned to regard themselves as depositaries of these sacred memories for communication and testimony. However that may be, we are sure that silence as well as statement belongs to a divine plan in the creation of the evangelical records.

Of our Lord's teaching in Jerusalem and His relations with 'the Jews' we are sufficiently informed in later chapters of the Fourth Gospel; and this previous history, though given briefly and in general terms, notes the chief features, and makes the final issue plain. Two incidents only are related, worthy indeed to be thrown into clear relief, one that of the Testimony in the Temple, the other that of the Teaching in the house; the former at the beginning of action in Jerusalem, the latter near its close, after many signs have been wrought. On each of these occasions there is a clearly expressed prescience of how the history will end, of the death and resurrection in which the manifestation will culminate, to become constituent facts in the future gospel.

The incident in the Temple, to be now considered, is a testimony of Jesus concerning the Temple, and then concerning Himself in relation to the Temple. This testimony is given by a public act of moral command, followed by a parabolic word of prophecy. It is the opening of His mission to His people. For this the Temple is the proper place, and the Passover is the proper time; the one being the local centre of their religious life, the other the great anniversary of their religious history.

In the time of preparation for the Passover Jesus has arrived at Jerusalem; and (as has been suggested) the act which followed His arrival would probably occur on the day when there was formal purgation of every house, by careful inspection of all the chambers for removal of every particle of leaven. One house there was which needed purgation from the leaven of worldly business, which, if ever so honest, should have had no place there, but which in fact was deeply infected with the vices of covetousness and fraud. Dr. Edersheim, in his *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (vol. i. pp. 367-371), has given a full account of the system of sacrificial sales and money-changing in the Temple market. Every Jew and proselyte had to pay the Temple tribute, and this was most largely done on these occasions. It was to be paid in the proper coin, the exact half-shekel of the sanctuary (about 1s. 2d. of our money), and there was an extra charge of a *maah*, about one-tenth of the same, which went by the name of *golbon*, and the like charge was made on all additional change for other purposes. When it is remembered that, besides Palestinian silver and copper coins, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman money circulated in the country, and was brought by Jews of the Dispersion, it will be seen what work the money-changers had to do. Then there were the transactions with the dealers, who had brought in the sacrificial animals for sale, after inspection and certificate of ceremonial fitness, and with sellers of doves and of the proper materials for purification. Great must have been the activity of the scene, and great its opportunities for the weighing and disputing, the bargaining and overreaching natural in Oriental—we are apt to say, in Jewish—transactions.

All this business, which should have been done elsewhere, was brought into the sacred precincts by licence of the officials, to the profit of the

resident leaders of the priesthood and of the high priestly family. 'There can be little doubt,' says Edersheim, 'that this market was what in Rabbinic writings is called "the Bazaars of the Sons of Annas," the family in possession of power, notorious for ambition and avarice.'

Into this market in the Court of the Gentiles the Lord entered with His little band of disciples for His first public act in Jerusalem. Often must He have looked on the same scene before, in Passovers which He had attended, and always with disapproval and displeasure. But He had no call then as a private person to denounce the conduct of the authorities or countermand their actions. In laying down the rule that we should 'do as Jesus did,' there is often a want of consideration of the distinction which ought to be made between what He did as a man, and what in His mission to the world and manifestation as the Christ. He has left us an example that we should follow His steps, but that must be according to the measure of our allotted rights and duties. Things may need correction, but it may not be our part to correct them. The part which the Lord now took belonged to the mission which He had to open, and for which His hour was come. Hence He could no longer look silently on the scene which dishonoured the Temple. So 'having made a scourge of cords,<sup>1</sup> He cast all out of the Temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and He poured out the changers' money,<sup>2</sup> and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold the doves He said, Take these things hence; make not My Father's house a house of merchandise.'

The scourge would not be needed for actual use. We can see in any farmyard how a boy with the wave of a stick drives herd or flock before him. But we might wonder that the men of business should so easily give way, and that the officials should not interfere. Feeling what He did as the action of a prophet, they shrank before it, and there were times when the aspect of Jesus arrested men's action, as striking into the heart. Doubtless there was also present a power of conscience, which knew the evils of the traffic and

<sup>1</sup> The *σχουρία*, 'cords' (etymologically of twisted *rushes*) had come to mean any cords (see Ac 27<sup>32</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Two words are used in the narrative, one describing changers of money, the other takers of the *golbon*. He saw the *κερματιστάς* sitting—He poured out the coins *τῶν κολλυβιστῶν*.



owned the justice of the reproof, 'Make not My Father's house an house of merchandise.'

But what was the effect on the spectators? Of the thought of the disciples there is one word of notice. 'They remembered that it was written, The zeal of Thy house shall eat me up.' The familiar Scriptures were ever in their minds; and words of the Psalmist, thus illustrated in their sight, would rise naturally to their lips. The 69th Psalm is the voice of one suffering for faithfulness and zeal. Twice its words are used by the Lord Himself, once as being 'hated without a cause,' and again in the thirst on the cross; and St. Paul applies to Christ the remainder of the same verse which is here remembered: 'The reproaches of them that reproached Thee fell on me.' The disciples in recalling its first words had as yet no foresight of its darker fulfilment, or of the sad experiences which would appropriate to their Master the language of a servant and sufferer for God in generations of old. It was the zeal for the house of God, shown in such unexpected force, which deeply impressed their minds. The action was to them a lesson of zeal, and such it is for ever. Zeal is intensity of feeling and intensity of action for the cause adopted, and sensitive jealousy on its behalf. In itself the word has no moral colour, deriving its good or evil from the motive inspiring it, the object aimed at, and the nature of the feeling intensified. Hence ζήλος (zélos) is used in the N.T. indifferently for an exemplary fervour or for jealousy which is fruitful of evil. We are concerned here only with its nobler meaning, but even that disposition loses its worth, or at least misses its intention if uncontrolled by judgment and knowledge. We sympathize with St. Peter's zeal when he smote with the sword, but we see that he was doing all he could to injure his Master's cause. St. Paul respected in his countrymen their 'zeal of God,' but he saw with pain that it was 'not according to knowledge.' Such considerations, however, do not neutralize the teaching of the Lord's example in the present instance or the reasons for energy in duty, which that example illustrates. This I will express in the words of one to whom I listened in youth—

'Zeal is one of the elementary religious qualifications: that is, one of those which are essential in the notion of a religious man. A man cannot be said to be in earnest in religion, till he magnifies his God and Saviour, till he so far consecrates and exalts the thought of Him in his heart, as an object of praise, adoration, and rejoicing, as to be

pained and grieved at dishonour shown to Him, and eager to avenge Him. In a word a religious temper is one of loyalty to God.'—He goes on to show how loyalty will work, and how it did work in Scripture saints, and then continues: 'Such is zeal, a Christian grace to the last, while it is also an elementary virtue; equally belonging to the young convert and the matured believer: displayed by Moses at the first, when he slew the Egyptian, and by St. Paul in his last hours, while he reached forth his hand for his heavenly crown. On the other hand, zeal is an imperfect virtue; that is, in our fallen state it will ever be attended by unchristian feeling if it is cherished by itself; but this is the case with many other tempers of mind which yet are absolutely required of us.'—He dwells on the necessity for its combination with the special grace of the gospel, the general temper of gentleness, meekness, sympathy, tender consideration, open-heartedness towards all men, brother or stranger, who come in our way. Thus the saints of God have gone on unto perfection. St. John, who would call down fire from heaven, became the apostle of love; St. Paul, who persecuted Christ's servants, 'was made all things to all men'; yet neither of them lost their zeal, though they trained it to be spiritual (J. H. Newman, *Sermon on St. Simon and St. Jude*).

But to return to the narrative. The zeal here is 'the zeal of Thine house.' That is to say zeal for the honour of Him who has chosen to set His name there and to make it the home of His people and the heart of their religion. This zeal will burn more fiercely on account of the prolonged obstinacy of sin, when on the last visit to the Temple this action will be repeated, and the grave reproof for 'a house of merchandise' will become a stern denunciation of a den of robbers. It is sad to think how often the milder and even the severer form of this rebuke has been deserved in the secular history of the Christian Church.

But there is a word on this occasion which rules the whole situation. A pious Jew, a prophet, might have pleaded for the honour of *our* Father's house, though that filial language was in general beyond them; but to say *My* Father's house, in right of a separate relation, belonged only to One who knew that relation was His own. Was it not here, at the first attendance in the Temple, that the consciousness of it first broke from His lips? 'Child,' said the mother, 'why hast Thou thus dealt with us? Behold, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing?' And the answer came, 'How is it that ye sought Me? Wist ye not that I must be in the things of My Father' (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου)—that is, in His house and in the things that are done therein? What a word was this! It told that He knew the

truth. The mother laid it up in her heart. The secret of the divine paternity was thenceforth silently understood between them. That Sonship known in its still higher and eternal sense, is now become the power of the manifestation, the right in which all is spoken and all is done.

There were some who could admit the claim which they could not yet explain, through a present conviction of faith, waiting for light that would come. Such were the disciples; not such 'the Jews,' represented here by Temple officials and the men of their company. They have recourse to the legal demand, 'What sign showeth Thou unto us, seeing that Thou doest these things?' That was but natural. 'The Jews require a sign;' and surely a Prophet from Galilee is bound to show His credentials. He will give signs enough, but not of their choosing, and they will be given in vain. For them there is one sign, now only a prophecy, to become a sign in the day of its fulfilment. 'Jesus answered, Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' A strange criterion! which might have seemed absurd, but for the sense of majesty and mystery which kept the words in their minds, as an augury of ill. At the final trial some of these persons will attempt to give them, in evidence, according to their own version of them. The attempt will fail before the precise requirements of the law; but it will be made the occasion of the solemn adjuration, and so of the sentence of death, and thus the prophecy had a part in assisting its own fulfilment. This we learn from the first two Gospels, which contain no record of the words being spoken or of the circumstances which called them forth.

One word there is in this saying, in which its significance as prophecy is concentrated; but to the English reader its distinctness is lost. The Temple spoken of hitherto is the *hieron* (ἱερόν), the whole sacred enclosure. The Temple spoken of now is the *naos* (ναός), the central fane or sanctuary. On the highest of the tier of terraces, its exquisite workmanship shining in marble and gold, stood the real 'Temple,' containing the Holy place and the Holy of Holies, dominating and sanctifying all beneath and around it. This is the object to which the Lord suddenly turns all eyes and thoughts by the words, 'Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' The hearers are bewildered. The act supposed on their part is inconceivable, and they pass it over. The

promise on His part is impossible, and they would show its absurdity. 'Forty and six years was this Temple in building; and wilt Thou raise it up in three days?' 'But (adds the Evangelist) He spake of the Temple of His Body.'

Before considering the apostle's interpretation, we may thank the Jews for an accidental service they have rendered us in settling our chronology. The year in which Herod commenced the rebuilding of the Temple is fixed by Josephus as the eighteenth of his reign in Roman reckoning, 734-35 U.C. The date therefore of the present incident, that is to say, of the commencement of the Lord's manifestation is 781 U.C. And He being then about thirty years of age, the Nativity is placed at 750-51 U.C., about three and a half years earlier than the accepted Christian era. These words of the Jews are an additional item in the calculations which yield that result. But what they say is for us parenthetical. We are concerned not with their words but with those of Jesus.

His apostle is His interpreter, and he makes the interpretation sure. We may wish he had been also the expositor, to make the exposition clear; for great are the facts of history, the lines of thought, and the revelations of truth condensed in this brief phrase, 'He spake of the Temple of His Body.' What then constitutes a temple? or rather, what constituted that particular Temple which we have before us? Not the marble and the gold of the later time, any more than the cords and curtains of its original; but the Presence of God, resident among His people. That was the truth proclaimed when the Tabernacle was made according to the pattern showed in the mount, and renewed when the more stately structure took its place, as a standing answer to the question, 'Will God in very deed dwell with men upon the earth?' (2 Chr 6<sup>18</sup>). Yet, further, this Temple was the habitation of the Divine Presence, in a particular relation and for a particular purpose, namely, in the living relation of God with Israel, and for the covenant transactions by which this was secured. Here alone was the ordained meeting-place between God and the people, where priesthood was valid and sacrifice effectual. Typical and provisional it all was, and carried on in the region of the flesh, till He should come, who would be in His own person all that the Temple signified, and realize its meaning in spirit and in truth. And now He is come, no heavenly

messenger, but true Immanuel, the Son incarnate, the Word made flesh and tabernacling among us. If the Divine Presence thus dwells in a material organism and corporeal frame, it is no mere metaphor or flight of rhetoric, but the shortest form in which the truth can be stated, to speak of 'the Temple of His Body.' Yet, as has been said, that word includes more than the presence. It implies the relations and the purposes for which that presence is here; and these will not be realized till the Temple has been stricken down, and raised up on the third day. Till then the old order continues. But how will it perish? By the act of the people themselves, by the rejection and crucifixion of the Christ. In prophecy the cutting off of Messiah brings on the power which destroys the city and the sanctuary (Dan 9<sup>26</sup>). But in fact the sanctuary fell when Jesus died. Then the Veil of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, showing on the one side that the uses of the typical system were now over, and on the other that in the better covenant which is in Christ, 'a new and living way is opened through the Veil, that is to say, His flesh' (Heb 10<sup>20</sup>). Therefore, He says, 'Destroy this Temple' (λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον), for that is what you will unwittingly do in the course you are taking; by the final act abolish its sanctity and its right to exist. On the third day I will raise it up, a ruin changed to glory, a Temple not in type but in truth, not national but universal, the meeting place between God and man, the source and centre of eternal life. Such is the person of the risen Lord. His Church by His indwelling spirit becomes itself a Temple. 'Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' (1 Co 3<sup>17</sup>). In this sense some commentators have explained the prophetic word. But the three days fix the meaning. Not on the third day, but on the fiftieth the Church was filled with the Spirit. And the Church is a Temple

in the way of consequence, not of origination. That exists not in the mystical body but in the glorified person of the Redeemer.

The prophetic saying was not forgotten: it was recalled by enemies in the blindness of triumphant hatred. 'Ha! Thou that destroyest the Temple and buildest it in three days, save Thyself and come down from the cross' (Mk 15<sup>29</sup>). It was recalled by the disciples, when the dark hour was past, and when the light was breaking in upon their souls. We are told what they thought and said one to another: 'When therefore He was risen from the dead, His disciples remembered that He spake this; and they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had said.' They felt their faith deepened and enlightened by the concurrence of the written and the spoken word. But what scripture? none has been cited. 'The scripture,' thus expressed, intends, not this or that text, but the whole record of the purpose and foreknowledge of God bearing on to the central event of the Resurrection with all its consequences. Hence St. Paul in his brief creed (1 Co 15<sup>4</sup>), and, again, the Catholic Church in the Nicene symbol, makes it an article of faith, that 'He rose again the third day *according to the Scriptures*.' So it was that Scripture and fact, prophecy and fulfilment, spoken words and the course of events, wrought together to evolve the gospel in men's minds at the first; and so it is still. In the history of the Church great truths, wrapped in guarded forms of speech, have long lain dormant till some conjuncture of circumstances brought them to the front and discovered their powers afresh. And so it is with ourselves. Vital and fruitful sayings have often remained with us, as sacred deposits, but scarcely guessed enigmas; till some experience outward or inward has come to interpret all their truth, bringing it into contact with our lives, and flooding them with the light of heaven.



# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

### HEBREWS II. 10.

**'For it became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through sufferings' (R.V.).**

### EXPOSITION.

THE verse takes up the closing words of v.<sup>9</sup>. The parallelism is evident—

That by the grace of God	For it became Him . . .
He might in behalf of every one	bringing many sons to glory,
taste death.	to make perfect through sufferings, etc.

He for whom are all things is God. It is also God who brings many sons to glory (vv.<sup>7-8</sup>). The Captain of their salvation is the Son. 'Through sufferings' takes up 'taste death,' and 'crowned with glory on account of His suffering death,' v.<sup>9</sup>, and refers chiefly to the suffering of death, vv. 9, 14, 18 5<sup>8</sup>, cf. *suffer*, 9<sup>26</sup> 13<sup>12</sup>. And *through* sufferings implies, not merely that He went along a way at the end of which was perfection, but that the sufferings were the means which produced, as well as the reason which led to, the perfection.—DAVIDSON.

**'It became Him.'**—What it befitted God to do was not to bring many sons to glory—such a statement did not need to be made; nor yet to make the Son the Captain of salvation—the fitness of this hardly required a special emphasis; but to make the Son, the Author of salvation, perfect through the suffering of death—and yet not this simply: what befitted God was to make perfect the Author of salvation through sufferings, bringing (or when He brought) at the same time many sons to glory. The fitness was in God, Him on account of whom and through whom all things are. The act befitting Him was to make the Author of salvation perfect through sufferings. This was befitting when He brought many sons to glory.—DAVIDSON.

THE 'fitness' in this case lies in the condition of man. His life is attended by inevitable sorrows; or to regard the fact in another light, suffering is a necessary part of his discipline as well as a necessary consequence of his state. It was 'fitting' then, in our language, that God should perfect Christ the 'One' Son by that suffering through which the 'many' sons are trained, because He, in His infinite love took humanity to Himself.—WESTCOTT.

**'For whom are all things, and through whom are all things.'**—This description of God, as being the final Cause and the efficient Cause of all things, takes the place of the simple title because the fitness of Christ's perfection through suffering appears from the consideration of the divine end and method of life.—WESTCOTT.

**'In bringing many sons unto glory.'**—The reference is to God, not to Christ, notwithstanding the change of case from the dative (αὐτῷ) to the accusative (ἀγαθόντα). The

aim of the whole sentence makes this certain. The intention is to ascribe to God, in connexion with the sufferings of Christ, an end indisputably worthy of Him who is the final end of all things. . . . No one could doubt the God-worthiness of the end—the salvation of men. . . . The Godworthiness of the end is still more apparent in view of man's filial relation to God. What more worthy of God than to lead His own sons, however degenerate, to the glory for which man was destined and fitted when he was made in God's image?—BRUCE.

**'In bringing'** is the right rendering, though 'having brought' is a possible meaning of the tense form. The words refer, not to the old economy chiefly, but to all who are being saved. The saints of old—David, Israel, etc.—typified Christ in their sufferings: to Him, therefore, they were conformed. But we as well as they. And as it is to the coming glory the writer refers, the words are eminently true of us.—ANGUS.

THE leading to glory, not less than the perfecting of the Leader, is no mere momentary act, but a *process*. The sons of God are led to glory step by step. The new heavens and the new earth are not brought in *per saltum*, but by a gradual process of development, during which the teaching, example, and suffering of Jesus work noiselessly as a leaven. Redemption has a history alike in Leader and in led. Redemption after this fashion became Him for whom and by whom are all things better than an instantaneous deliverance. The latter might reveal divine omnipotence in a signal way, but the former affords scope for the display of all Divine attributes: power, wisdom, patience, faithfulness, unwearied loving care.—BRUCE.

**'Sons.'**—This word furnishes an additional proof that the 'having brought' refers to God, not to Christ, for we are called Christ's 'brethren' but never His sons.—FARRAR.

**'The Author of their salvation.'**—The term *captain* (A.V.) means leader, then originator to others; in many cases the idea that the leader shares in that to which he leads others falls away, and the word merely means *author*. Here the idea that the Son goes before the saved in the same path ought perhaps to be retained (6<sup>20</sup> 12<sup>2</sup>). It need not be said that *captain* is not here a military term. The same word is translated 'prince,' Ac 3<sup>15</sup> 5<sup>31</sup>.—DAVIDSON.

THE only objection to the rendering 'Captain' is its predominantly military associations—an objection to which the equivalent title 'Leader' is not liable. The idea of leadership serves admirably the apologetic purpose, and is therefore by all means to be retained. There is no good reason for excluding it. It is in harmony with the general thought of the Epistle. It sympathizes with the idea of salvation embodied in the phrase: lordship in the world to come. The lordship is not yet actual, the world to come is a promised land into which the redeemed have to march. And as the Israelites had their leader, under whose guidance they marched from Egypt to Canaan, so the subjects of the Greater salvation have their Leader, who conducts them to

their inheritance. This parallelism, there can be little doubt, was present to the writer's thoughts.—BRUCE.

'To make . . . perfect.'—'To make perfect' does not mean to endow with all excellent qualities, but to bring to the end, that is the appropriate or appointed end, the end corresponding to the idea. What this end is in any case will be suggested from that which is made perfect. Here it is the Author of salvation, or, as He is called, v.<sup>11</sup>, the Sanctifier. To make Him perfect will be to bring Him into that condition in which He is ideally complete as the Author of salvation, and Sanctifier.—DAVIDSON.

'Through sufferings.'—*Through* them, because in the endurance of them He exhibited that perfect obedience by which God was for ever glorified.—KAY.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### The Sufferings of Christ.

*By the Rev. A. W. Momerie, M.A., D.Sc.*

1. He was poor. The houses of artisans in Nazareth to-day consist of one room serving for shop, kitchen, and bedroom, lighted by the door, and almost destitute of furniture. He lived for thirty years 'in one of the smallest houses of the most disregarded village, of the most despised province of a conquered land.' To be poor was then to be contemptible, and involved not only privation but a barrier to His usefulness.

2. He suffered physical pain. He endured labour and exposure and physical delicacy. 'Thou art not yet fifty years old,' said the Jews, misled by His worn appearance when He was little more than thirty. He fainted under the burden of the cross, and He died sooner than was usually the case.

3. He was homeless. A man may endure much in the outside world if he has the consolation of a happy home. The Son of Man had not where to lay His head.

4. He suffered intellectual, moral, and social isolation. The upper classes opposed Him; the common people followed Him for material ends; even His disciples misunderstood Him and the spiritual nature of His kingdom.

5. He suffered temptation. Temptation was as real to Him as to us. *The* temptation is generally understood in a more or less allegorical sense, but it represents the *fact* that he was brought face to face with the powers of darkness, and had to struggle to overcome. He had to choose between duty and pleasure, ease or the work of God,

temporal prosperity or the salvation of the world; and the temptation was constantly repeated by His disciples and friends. What suffering was involved in His conquest!

6. He was tempted in suffering. Suffering brings its own temptations to fretfulness, to repining, to faithlessness, to curse God and die.

7. He suffered the agony of crucifixion. On Calvary all His previous sufferings were gathered up with tenfold intensity. He was poorer than ever, more homeless than ever, more tempted, more isolated, and, to crown all, He experienced the bitterness of feeling that He was forsaken by God. He drank the cup to the dregs. He omitted nothing that could help us to see the beauty and divinity of self-sacrificing love. He was made perfect through sufferings.

### II.

#### The Effect of Christ's Suffering upon His Character.

*By the Rev. A. W. Momerie, M.A., D.Sc.*

1. What was Christ like in person? There are two statements in the Bible generally understood as referring to Him. 'He was altogether lovely.' 'His countenance was more marred than all the sons of men.' Both were true. The painters who have represented Christ with a smooth placid face are probably mistaken. His countenance must have been *marred* by His temptations and afflictions. But there are two kinds of beauty, that of the soft rosy dimpled face, and that of a face like Livingstone's, where each seam tells of moral conflicts and victories. Without spiritual insight Christ might seem to have 'no form nor comeliness'; in reality, 'the beauty of the Lord God was upon Him.'

2. He was lonely. He often sought physical isolation. It is in solitude that we find our own capabilities and the possibilities of our nature. *Social* isolation even more than physical solitude develops our consciousness of God. Christ's isolation made Him strong,—strong to denounce the Pharisees and Scribes to their very face, though they had power to put Him to death; the want of human sympathy made it easier to fix His affections entirely on His mission. He had nothing to live for in this world; He dwelt in another. He spoke of Himself as 'the Son of Man *which is in heaven.*'

3. He was tempted. Without temptation it is impossible to acquire a perfect character, or indeed any character at all.

4. Pity, tenderness, mercy, compassion, self-sacrifice, essential elements in a perfect character, can only be developed by suffering. He who had suffered much had great tenderness and compassion. His pity was manifested in all circumstances,—for little children, for sinners, for Jerusalem, for His weary disciples who failed to watch, for His mother at Calvary, for His murderers.

5. His death was the last step in His perfection. There all His sufferings were consummated. Among other things it meant leaving the world when He had apparently accomplished little. The temptation to compromise must have been the severest of all. Had He failed all would have been lost. He would have proved Himself a brave soldier, but conquerable, and unfitted to be the Captain of our salvation. But He persevered to the end. To Him we owe all that is best in life. All the greatest minds, though of most divergent religious beliefs, have united in His praise. Some have counted it joy to give up all, and to suffer and die for Him. Multitudes of others have served Him in their less degree. Even unknown to themselves, some who do not call themselves His disciples have caught some of His spirit, and have merged their life and well-being in that of the race. Must He not have been perfect to accomplish effects like these?

### III.

#### The Leader of our Salvation.

*By the Rev. Andrew Murray.*

Here is the first reason for the humiliation of Christ; as Leader of our salvation He had to open up the path in which we were to go. For this He had to be made perfect by suffering and death. His obedience unto death opened up the living way in which alone the creature can reach the Creator—entire surrender. Christ's death is not only atonement but fellowship. Only in being crucified and dead with Christ do we know Him and His salvation.

A leader's work supposes three things.

1. The leader must walk in the very path his followers have to go. We sought in vain a path

to bring us from under the dominion of sin. There was no way but by submission to God's judgment, and entire surrender to God's will in bearing that judgment. There was no way out of fallen nature but by dying to it. This way Christ led us by walking in it Himself. He was perfect from His birth, yet His character had to be tested, developed, and strengthened by trial. The perfectness which comes through suffering is meekness, gentleness, patience, and perfect resignation to God's will. Through suffering He was made perfect and worthy to be our High Priest.

2. A leader must be followed. Christ's suffering and death are not only substitution and atonement, but call for fellowship and conformity. We must be identified with Him. The substitution rests on that; out of that the conformity grows. He must give us the meekness and humility which God perfected in Him; we must suffer, be crucified and die with Him. Death to self and the world,—this is the path our Leader has opened up to us.

3. A leader cares for his followers. What care Stanley took in Darkest Africa to gather in the stragglers, to provide the feeble ones with a camp and to wait for their coming up! Our Leader is faithful, compassionate, sympathetic. Take Him and trust Him, and remember He is not only the Son of Man, a Leader outside of us, influencing and guiding us, but the Son of God, dwelling within us. As God perfected Him, so will He, as God, now work in us and perfect us.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

WITH God the training of His children is ever more than their work,—their being more than their doing. This earth is the sculpture room—the foundry—not the temple; the sacred vessels are moulded here, not used, and the richest colours are burnt in; the best tempered instruments must pass alternately through fire and water. The services of the eternal temple will reveal the results of these trying processes.

THE furnace of affliction puffs away some men in black smoke, and hardens others into useless slags, and melts a few into clear glass. May it refine us into gold, seven times purified, ready to be fashioned into vessels for the Master's use.—G. WILSON.

THERE is purpose in pain, Otherwise it were devilish! I trust in my soul, That the great Master-Hand which sweeps over the whole Of this deep harp of Life,—if at moments it stretch To shrill tension some one wailing nerve,—means to fetch



Its response, the truest, most stringent and smart,  
 Its pathos the purest, from out the wrong heart,  
 Whose faculties,—flaccid it may be, if less  
 Sharply strung, sharply smitten,—had failed to express  
 Just the one note the great final Harmony needs.

And what best proves there's life in a heart?—that it  
 bleeds!

Grant a cause to remove, grant an end to attain,  
 Grant both to be just,—and what mercy in pain!  
 Cease the sin with the sorrow! See morning begin!  
 Pain must burn itself out if not fuell'd by sin.—LYTTON.

If there had been any better thing, and more profitable  
 to man's salvation than suffering, surely Christ would have  
 showed it by word and example. For both the disciples  
 who followed Him and all who desire to follow Him He  
 plainly exhorteth to bear their cross, and saith, 'If any man  
 will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his  
 cross, and follow Me.'—A. KEMPIS.

Is He not perfect, this Man of Sorrows? Did He not  
 unite in Himself all good qualities which in others are only  
 found apart, and even then in an inferior degree? Do  
 we not find in Him, for example, more than the tenderness  
 of woman, combined with more than the strength of man?  
 Has not the story of His self-sacrificing love purified many  
 of the vilest hearts, and brought some of the most abandoned  
 of the devil's votaries to the very feet of God? Did  
 not everything good in the world before Christ point to  
 something far better in Him? Does not everything that is  
 best in the world to-day owe its origin to Him? How much  
 of what is sweetest in art, how much of what is noblest in  
 life, would never have existed but for Christ? Must we  
 not thank Him for all that is most beautiful in our social  
 intercourse, in our friendships, in our homes? Can you not  
 trace His influence wherever there is progress in right and  
 freedom and toleration and joy? The thoughts of the  
 Nazarene lie at the basis of modern civilization, and are  
 inextricably bound up with the future progress of the world.  
 —A. W. MOMERIE.

THERE is no grief of man can hold so much  
 As this of Thine;  
 Our human sorrows cannot nearly touch  
 Thy pain divine.

They suffer most that most have power to love,  
 And Thine, we know,  
 Is measureless by aught in heaven above  
 Or earth below.

There is no bleeding like the spirit's pain,  
 The pierced soul;  
 There are no tear-drops like the drops that rain  
 From hearts not whole.

There is no broken heart like heart that breaks  
 For loved one's sin;  
 The fall of our ideal ever wakes  
 The death within.

And this was Thine, is Thine, O Father dear,  
 In triple power,  
 Thy boundless love with vision piercing-clear,  
 Beheld that hour.

Forbid that I should add to Thy dread cup  
 One drop of woe,  
 But grant me for myself to gather up  
 Its overflow.

Thy tears in dark Gethsemane o'erran  
 Their limits' brim,  
 Help me to lift those fallen drops for man,  
 And live for him.

G. MATHESON.

#### Sermons for Reference.

- Barrett (G. S.), *Temptation of Christ*, 1.  
 Brown (A.), *God's Great Salvation*, 61.  
 Bruce (A. B.), *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 88.  
 Hamilton (J.), *Faith in God*, 195.  
 Horne (W.), *Religious Life and Thought*, 49.  
 Kingsley (C.), *National Sermons*, 254.  
 Meyer (F. B.), *Way into the Holiest*, 41.  
 Momerie (A. W.), *Origin of Evil*, 12, 25, 37, 50.  
 Price (A. C.), *Fifty Sermons*, ii. 193.  
 Reichel (C. P.), *Cathedral and University Sermons*, 121.  
 Saphir (A.), *Expository Lectures on Hebrews*, i. 118.  
 Vaughan (C. J.), *Lessons of the Cross and Passion*, 62.  
 Westcott (B. F.), *Christus Consummator*, 17.

## Ritschl in English.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. JAMES DENNEY, D.D., GLASGOW.

DR. MACKINTOSH and his coadjutors, by their  
 translation of the third volume of Ritschl's *Justi-  
 fication and Reconciliation*, have earned the gratitude  
 of all theological students in this country. It is  
 nearly twenty-five years since the first volume  
 was rendered into English by Mr. Sutherland  
 Black. That was a premature venture, and

appealed to an interest which had yet to be  
 created; the present translation meets one of the  
 most urgent wants of the hour. Everyone has  
 been writing about Ritschl, and everyone has  
 been controverting his fellow; what the student  
 could do whose ignorance of German made it  
 impossible for him to refer to the text of Ritschl

himself, one can hardly imagine. But now the great systematic work of Ritschl is open to all, and the bewildered, if their interest survives, can make up their minds for themselves.

The translation must have been a work of incredible labour. Ritschl says somewhere that he is the most difficult German writer since Kant. Many of his readers will say, Why except Kant? Both are difficult, no doubt; the difference is that where Kant is intricate, Ritschl is opaque. There may not be much to choose between a labyrinth and a fog, but, on the whole, the possibility of making progress seems greater in daylight. It may be said at once that the translation is an extraordinary success. It is the work of several hands, but has undergone a careful revision by the editor, and the English reader can use it without misgiving. There are inequalities of merit in it, from the point of view of skill in translating; the eighth chapter, for instance, is not as fine a translation as the sixth; but there are none of those ruinous misapprehensions of an author on critical points by which such work is often made worse than useless. The style, considering the difficulties to be overcome, is singularly pure. It is only once in a long time we come upon such an expression as 'the Bearer of the Divine self-end,' which to the reader who does not know German must be more or less puzzling. Would it not have been defensible, at the risk of dropping something, to say, 'the representative' or 'the impersonation' of God's own end?

It is not in any carping spirit, but with the fullest recognition that the translators have achieved their task with a success which entitles them to the warmest gratitude and admiration, that I venture to note one or two slips such as no vigilance can guard against in a work of nearly 700 pages. On p. 139, line 5 from foot, 'the whole of the religious community' does not convey the meaning to an English reader: it should be 'the religious community as a whole' (das Ganze der religiösen Gemeinde). Similarly on p. 227, line 12 from top, 'in His thinking of Himself' is not the same as 'in dem Denken seiner selbst.' In English, to think 'of' never means anything but to think 'about,' which is not the thing intended either by Aristotle or Ritschl. On p. 255, line 7 from foot, 'primitive' justice is a printer's blunder for 'punitive' justice (Straf-gerechtigkeit). On p. 279, line 8, 'spirit' should

be Person. On p. 289 there is a rather misleading inaccuracy. At line 4, *Predigtamt* is twice rendered 'preaching'; and 'preaching' is represented as a 'legal institution of the Church, incongruous with the spiritual and inward union of the believers with Christ, expressed in the notion of His kingdom.' But it is not 'preaching' of which this is true, nor does Ritschl mean it so. Preaching as the testimony of the believing community to Christ is a function of its faith and life, and not a legal institution; it is the attachment of it to an 'amt'—'the office of preaching,' as it is properly rendered farther down on the same page—which is open to Ritschl's criticism. On p. 304, line 3, Rom. viii. 24 should be Rom. viii. 28 (this false reference is in the original). On p. 415, line 10, I should question whether an English reader would take out of 'the subject-matter' of Christ's life the same meaning which belongs to *der Stoff*. Would not 'the contents,' or simply 'the material,' have given a less ambiguous suggestion of a difficult word? On p. 419, line 18, the reference given as (vol. ii. p. 15), as if it referred to the second volume of Ritschl's work, should be (Lib. ii. c. xv.); the reference is to Calvin's *Institutes*, and as I shall show farther on is one that ought to be verified by the student of Ritschl. On p. 425 the date 1650 should be 1560. On p. 462 there is a Hebrew word misprinted in Ritschl, and the misprint is continued in the translation. On p. 491, line 11, the words 'came to be regarded as possessing equal worth in God's sight' are by no means equal to 'in gleicher Bedeutung auch Gott untergeschoben.' Perhaps they say all Ritschl had a right to say, but his own expression is psychologically much more interesting. On p. 517, line 20, there is a rendering which perplexes me. It runs thus: 'James, therefore, is not quite right when he says that the man who fulfils the law is *blessed in his deed*. But what he does express quite precisely is the truth that blessedness accompanies a good deed which springs from the supreme motive, and not from a calculation of the result.' Ritschl has no doubt shown himself capable in other connexions of inserting a 'not' into what was once an affirmative proposition; but I find no trace of such a various reading in this passage. In both the 1st and the 3rd edd., what he says is, 'James, therefore, is quite right when he says, etc. (Deshalb hat Jacobus

ganz Recht mit dem Satze'); and in the following sentence he adds, 'But in doing so he at the same time gives quite precise expression to the truth,' etc. And this, surely, is what the connexion requires. On p. 569 there is a misapprehension in the sentence beginning at line 13 from the bottom. 'His making men good by the counter-working of His obedience against the entire sin of mankind' misses the point of 'dass Christus . . . durch die Gegenleistung seines Gehorsams gegen die Gesamtsünde der Menschen diese gutgemacht hat.' It is not men who are made good, it is the sin of the world which is made good, that is, compensated for: the *diese* refers to the *Gesamtsünde*, not to *Menschen*; and *gut-machen* is not=*bonum facere*, but to *satisfacere*. I do not think that in the important parts of the book (and I have read most of it with the original at hand) there are any other slips of consequence.

Reading Ritschl is like learning to see in the dark. It is provoking, because you strike against things where you did not expect them; you fancy you see things looming through the haze, but they recede as you approach; and you want to find things, but cannot lay hands on them. But it is full of psychological interest, for Ritschl was a strong personality, and there is a refreshing sense of the natural man in all his criticisms; it is full of historical interest, for he was genuinely learned in his science; and as his wide influence proves, it is full of religious interest as well. For only a real religious interest can form anything resembling a theological school. Readers will often differ from one another about Ritschl's meaning, will sometimes be disposed to give him the benefit of the doubt, and sometimes to insist on his taking the responsibility of his logic; but no one can become familiar with his attitude to the Christian revelation—and it is this rather than his particular ideas which is of importance—without acknowledging toward him a great and lasting obligation.

The three great chapters in this book are the fourth, on the doctrine of God; the sixth, on the Person and Life-work of Christ; and the eighth, on the necessity of basing the forgiveness of sins on the work and passion of Christ.

It is in the first of these that the application is made of Ritschl's peculiar theory of Knowledge, the precise import of which has given rise to so much discussion. As everyone knows, Ritschl,

like Schleiermacher, summarily banishes from Dogmatic the traditional arguments for the being of God. It would be impossible here to criticize his criticism of them, but it is permissible to say that the effect left on many minds by repeated and as far as possible unprejudiced study of this part of his work is, that Ritschl denies that any positive relation whatever can be established between the human intelligence as it has been evoked and formed by the Christian revelation, and the same human intelligence apart from that aid. Of course, I know there are students of Ritschl who would say that such an impression is unjust, and I am far from denying that they could adduce passages to support their opinion. The theologian, too, it may be argued, who makes a point of establishing a positive connexion between the *moral* development of man independent of the gospel, and the coming of the Redeemer,—who insists that *justitia civilis* is not merely the achievement of liberty in the realm of sin, but an essential preparation for the kingdom of God—who makes the State, in a word, the indispensable basis of the Kingdom,—need not, one might think, have shrunk from an analogous procedure on the intellectual side. But with Ritschl in our hands, we are tempted to feel that it is hopeless to look for agreement. It has often been pointed out, but it comes back inevitably to one in this connexion, that Ritschl's own mind never was and never became clear on the questions here involved. Could anything be more significant, more ominous, than the insertion of the famous 'not' in the third edition, where there was no 'not' in the first? The acceptance of the idea of God is at first 'no practical faith, but an act of theoretic knowledge'; at last it is, 'as Kant remarks, practical faith, and *not* an act of theoretic knowledge.' Without the expense of altering a word in his premises, without abating in the slightest the characteristic arrogance of his logic, Ritschl simply reverses his conclusion. This is not obscurity, it is incoherence, and on this point it haunts us throughout the work. Thus on p. 616 of the translation, he assumes that it must be possible 'to harmonize the scientific study of nature and the Christian view of the world in the same mind'—as if he had forgotten to carry forward the 'not' to this point. In these circumstances it seems wiser not to be too careful about what he actually thought, but to ask rather what the true logic of his premises leads to. If he himself



wavered and was undecided as to the inferences to be drawn from the distinction between theoretical knowledge and that knowledge which can only be expressed in a *Werthurtheil*, and as to the possibility or impossibility of making a scientific connexion between them, surely students of his work may be excused if they misrepresent him to each other.

The great Christian interest of Ritschl is represented by the chapter on the Person and Life-work of Christ. It deals with the manner in which the Godhead of Christ is to be conceived, and with the interpretation of His work as that in which His Godhead is revealed. As for the first part, one is tempted to say (as so often in theology) that Ritschl is right in all he asserts, and wrong in all he denies. The explanations of Christ's Godhead which are given in the creeds and confessions to which Ritschl is so intemperately superior, are, in truth, not so much inconsistent with his doctrine as ulterior to it. They are the answer to questions which he refuses to ask, and forbids others to ask. But the mind will ask its own questions nevertheless. It has done so from the beginning, and answered them as it could. Ritschl defines Christ's Godhead solely by relation to believers or to the Church; but it has been the faith of the Church from the first that Christ could only be what He is to the Church in virtue of being uniquely related to God. His Godhead, therefore, must be defined in relation to God also; and that the mind's movement in this direction is natural and inevitable is shown not only by the creeds, but by the points of attachment provided for them not only in all the New Testament writers, but in the witness of Jesus to Himself. Christian intelligence, with St. Paul and St. John behind it, will not be browbeat out of its right to raise such questions because a positivist modern theologian thinks them of no use. In his interpretation of the work of Christ Ritschl, I venture to think, is guilty of a decided unfairness to Calvin. In the passage referred to above (*Inst.* ii. 15) Calvin explains the *munus triplex*, the content of which, according to Ritschl, must be what we mean by the Godhead of Christ. In the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, Ritschl tells us there is a change for the worse in this respect, that 'the practical bearing of the Kingship and Priesthood of Christ, in the transference of these attributes to believers, has disappeared.' That is, Christ's

Godhead, as revealed in these functions, is not communicated to us. But this is not the case. In the 1559 edition, Calvin emphasizes the communication of everyone of Christ's offices to the Church. Thus of the prophetic office he says that Christ '*non sibi modo unctionem accepisse ut fungeretur docendi partibus; sed toti suo corpori, ut in continua evangelii prædicatione virtus spiritus respondeat.*' So of the kingly: '*talis est regnandi ratio ut communicet nobiscum quicquid accepit a patre.*' And finally of the priestly: '*Jam sacerdotis personam sustinet Christus, non modo ut æterna reconciliationis lege patrem nobis faventem ac propitium reddat, sed etiam ut nos asciscat in societatem tanti honoris.*' I am disposed to think, too, that in Reformation theology the word *munus* or *officium* answered much more closely to what Ritschl calls 'moral vocation' than to the German word 'amt.' A great deal of the meaning of words depends on association, and one can understand that in a bureaucratic State, and in a bureaucratic State Church, *Amt* should come to have associations which one could hardly connect with Christ. But *munus* and *officium* had not these associations. What they signify is that the work Christ did was not an irresponsible adventure; it was the work the Father gave Him to do; the discharge of it was a great act of obedience, which at every step had moral value, demanding as it did conscientiousness, dutifulness, fidelity, love to God and men. This is not '*Amt*,' with its alien associations; but it is very like the idea of an ethical vocation, which Ritschl says was unknown to the old theologians. The new name was unknown perhaps, but hardly the thing.

The last great dogmatic chapter in Ritschl, on the necessity of connecting forgiveness with the work and passion of Christ, is the most involved and inapprehensible of any in the book. One misses here most of all a clear relation to the New Testament. A simple reader thinks he knows why the forgiveness of sins is necessarily connected with Christ's death. It is because Christ's death is a death for sin. The New Testament expresses this in a variety of ways. It says simply Christ died for sins. It says He suffered for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous. It says He bore our sins in His own body to the tree. It says He put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. It says He loosed us from our sins by His blood. In every way it solicits, prompts, and helps us to

define Christ's death in relation to sin. But we look in vain for anything of this in the chapter in question, and he would be a bold man who ventured to maintain that the chapter provides an equivalent or a substitute. The New Testament language may be mysterious, but even those who are conscious of the mystery are conscious also that the New Testament writers are on the spot; they are at the very place at which God must meet sinful men; they are handling the one question which is vital to conscience; and whoever catches a glimpse of their meaning has a sudden inspiration to evangelize. Was anyone ever moved to evangelize by this prolix, obscure, and evasive discussion of the one theological problem on which the light of the New Testament should have been focussed?

The supreme merit of Ritschl's work is that it never loses sight of the fact that the centre of gravity in the New Testament is the idea of reconciliation, and that it never ceases to bring theological propositions to the test of Christian experience. The latter of these characteristics has been pretty well assimilated by all modern theologians; with regard to the former, many have it still to learn. Nothing could be less like the New Testament than the quasi-philosophical theory of the Incarnation on which Christianity is built in books like *Lux Mundi*. Against such conceptions of the Christian religion, with all their pretensions to philosophical breadth and moral comprehensiveness, the insight and tenacity of Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation* are a necessary and an irrefragable protest.

## Contributions and Comments.

### A Correction.

THE writer of the article in the November number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES headed 'Some Internal Evidence for the Use of the Logia,' etc. wishes to rectify *errata* in some words of the last sentence but one on p. 72, col. 2. That sentence ought of course to have stood, and was intended to stand, thus: 'The words and phrases which are characteristic of Mt and of Lk as individual writers are used with considerably more frequency in the latter class of passages than in the former.'

### Psalm Problems.

#### I.

IN a review of Wellhausen's text of the Psalms (in Haupt's *S.B.O.T.*) which I wrote for the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (1896, No. 22), I briefly contended for, or in some cases simply suggested, views regarding certain difficult passages which may have surprised scholars under whose notice they came. I desire now to repeat and to justify these views in detail, as well as to add some notes on other passages.

#### I. PSALM XII.

Verse 7.—Here the problem is to find a sensible equivalent for the two words *בַּעֲלִיל לְאָרֶץ*; for to strike out both (Duhm) is merely to cut the knot, and if the first word is removed as a gloss (Cheyne), the result is two unequal lines. The words *בְּדִיל*, 'tin' (Peiser) for the first, and *חָרָץ*, 'gold' (Dyserinck) for the second, satisfy so well all just demands that they are not to be given up again on account of trivial objections. Whether to read *בְּדִיל צָרוּף* or *צָרוּף בְּדִיל* or *צָרוּף מְבִדִּיל* is merely a question of idiom, but, at all events, Is <sup>125</sup> gives us an undeniable right to couple *צָרוּף* and *בְּדִיל*, although they there fall into two parallel members. For *לְאָרֶץ* we should not write *בְּחָרָץ*, which would necessitate also *בְּכַסֵּף*, but simply *חָרָץ*, as is done by Cheyne. The bare assertion that Jahweh's word is silver and gold is better than the comparison. We read then: 'Silver purified from tin [*or* purified silver, without tin], gold refined seven times.' It will be long before a better restoration of the text is found.

Verses 8, 9.—Without any necessity, exception has been taken time after time to the words *בָּרָם זָלָה*, and the most impossible proposals have been made to change them or to alter the punctua-

tion. The fact is that the words carry us back in the most satisfactory fashion to the opening of the Psalm. The real difficulty lies in v.<sup>8b</sup>, and perhaps we may be able to put forward a solution of it which will have the effect of clearing up also v.<sup>9</sup>. The rendering, 'Thou wilt keep us [read *תַּעֲרֹנֵנוּ*] from this generation unto (or, with the LXX, "and unto") eternity,' yields a meaningless sentence, and the further question arises why we do not read simply *יָעַר עוֹלָם*. If, on the other hand, the rendering is to be, 'Thou wilt keep us against this generation for ever,' in the first place we ask in vain what kind of generation is in view, and further we miss for *לְעוֹלָם* precisely what the first rendering thought to discover in *מִן*. *הָרֹדֶר זֶה*. Both interpretations, however, are exposed to the objection that in not a single passage can *זֶה* be proved to be used as a demonstrative, but everywhere (even in Hab 1<sup>11</sup>, Ps 62<sup>12</sup>) only as a relative. Rather should we attach the *מִן* of *לְעוֹלָם* to the *כִּנְיָן* of v.<sup>9</sup>, thus obtaining *מִכְּנִיָּן*; and then, striking out the *וְ*, combine what is left with *זֶה* into *זֶה וְזֶלֶל* or *הַזֶּלֶל*: 'Thou wilt keep us against the common [or mean] generation.' In this way there is no room left for surprise at the *זֶלֶל* of v.<sup>9</sup>.

## 2. PSALM XIX.

Verse 4.—This verse is at present expunged by the best commentators as an interpolation, and certainly none of the interpretations of it put forward by its defenders are calculated to dispel doubts of its genuineness. It may be, however, that the right interpretation of the verse has not yet been discovered. About the meaning of the words, indeed, there should be no controversy. The verse consists of two parallel, exactly synonymous members: 'Without speech and without words | inaudible is their voice.' Every attempt at a different interpretation is merely a confession of the difficulty that is felt. But the solution of this difficulty must be found not in the verse itself but in a sound understanding of the context. 'The heavens declare the glory of God,' thus begins the Psalm. No one doubts that the declaration of the heavens is addressed to the rest of God's creatures, especially to man. It is equally clear that this declaration consists in nothing else than the picture exhibited by the heavens, in other words, that men in looking at the heavens read off from

these, as it were, the story of God's glory and of the work of His hands. This is so evidently the meaning of the poet that on that very account one cannot think of spoiling the beautiful imagery by making him give express utterance to the above sentiment in v.<sup>4</sup>. But, now, the picture which the heavens present is not always the same; on the contrary there are two fundamentally distinct pictures, that of the heavens by day and that by night. Both pictures have for their subject the glory of God, but the narrative is given in two different ways. Now, a story which is not a pure invention but which has, as in the present instance, real occurrences for its subject, can have come to the knowledge of its narrator only by the medium of true tradition (we know, for instance, the great pains taken by the Arabs, in the case of historical narratives, to authenticate these by exhibiting as complete a chain as possible of tradition). In the instance before us this chain of tradition connects the heavens of each day with those of the immediately preceding day and of all previous days up to the first day when the world was created; and, in like manner, it connects the heavens of each night with the immediately preceding night up to the first. In this way, to keep the figure of a narrative, the day must receive its story from the day, and the night from the night, for otherwise they could not continually transmit this story to men completely unaltered and unchangeably true. This is what is said by the poet in v.<sup>3</sup>: 'One day whispers the word to the next, and one night gives information to the next.'<sup>1</sup> It is first of all to be observed that this introduces a second speaking on the part of the heavens quite distinct from the declaration addressed to men which is referred to in v.<sup>2</sup>. This second declaration is meant not for man, but is made by the

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen renders correctly: 'The day utters it to the day, and the night shows knowledge to the night,' adding, however, the note: 'Not "one day hands it on to the next"; it would have to hand on the story to the night following it, and this, in turn, must deliver it to the next day. Rather "the blue vault tells it by day, the starry heavens teach it by night."' The note appears to be in flat contradiction with the translation, which ought then to have been: 'Every day . . . and every night . . .' But this would have been expressed not by *יּוֹם לְיּוֹם*, *לַיְלָה לַיְלָה*, but by *יּוֹם יּוֹם* or *יּוֹם יְמִיּוֹם*, etc.; cf. Ps 42<sup>8</sup>, *אֶל-תְּהוֹמוֹ קוֹרָא*, 'one billow calls to the next.' Wellhausen's argument shows that he has indeed noticed the essential point, the twofold, differing character of the story in question, but he does not draw the right inferences from this.



heavens to the heavens, by one *day's* heavens to the next, by one *night's* heavens to the next. If the heavens always exhibited the same picture unaltered, there would be no need for this second act of narration, but one and the same narrator would unceasingly tell the story of his own experiences. It is only the double aspect of the heavens which necessitates these inter-celestial communications. The statement made in v.<sup>3</sup> is commonly understood as having in view something quite simple and self-evident, the commentaries waste hardly a word upon it; but the poet means to call attention to something strange and worthy of admiration. A chain of tradition must be unbroken; one man imparts his knowledge of a fact to another; if he dies before finding an opportunity of initiating another into his knowledge, the latter is buried with him and for ever lost. But here each day dies when night comes, and each night dies at the dawn of day, the chain of tradition is abruptly snapped each time, and something of a diametrically opposite kind intervenes between one day and another, between one night and the next. How marvellous that the two ever recur unchanged, that they take up their story anew as if another had never stepped into their place! There can be only *one* explanation of this, namely, that the story told by the day must sound on and continue perceptible over the night down to the next day, and the story of the night over the day till the next night comes to take up the tradition and pass it on once more to man. And yet it is heard by no one—*i.e.* no man; for, while the heavens of the day are delivering their message, no one hears the story of the night, and conversely. This is the mysterious wonder emphasized in v.<sup>4</sup>: 'without speech, without words, inaudible is their voice'; *i.e.* although their speech has ceased for all others, and their voice is silent for them. For what is in view here is the voice of the day speaking to the day, and of the night to the night; not, as v.<sup>4</sup> is generally understood, the voice of the heavens speaking to man. With very delicate perception, and quite correctly, Duhm notes that הִבִּיעַ 'denotes an unusual way of speaking; it may be in ecstasy, or under inspiration, or at least a poetical form of speech.' The same remark must be applied to the word הִוָּה, which is really Aramaic. No such character, however, belongs to the speech of the heavens to man—there could hardly be

a more open and natural form than this which consists simply in the picture the heavens exhibit—but it certainly belongs to the mysterious inaudible speech of the day to the day, and of the night to the night.

Verse 5.—That v.<sup>4</sup>, upon the above interpretation, which is the simple result of a right understanding of the context, contains no superfluous statement, ought to be clear. And not only so, but all other difficulties and objections are at the same time rendered pointless. The one circumstance that might occasion difficulty is that the third pers. plur., which comprehends 'day' and 'night' in the קִוְּלִים of v.<sup>4</sup>, once more refers in v.<sup>5</sup> to the heavens (הַשָּׁמַיִם of v.<sup>2</sup>). But there is no occasion for misunderstanding, unless, with many ancient and modern expositors, קִוְּלִים is changed into קִוְּלִים. This alteration is in no way justified by the LXX φθόγγος (Symm. ἦχος), a word by which קִוְּלִים is nowhere reproduced. The versions have rather sought to discover in קוֹם something corresponding as nearly as possible to מִלִּיָּהֶם, because they did not comprehend the purely figurative use of קוֹ. The word denotes the *measuring-line* by which one determines length (Ezk 47<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 4<sup>2</sup>); one stretches it out (נָקְהָה), 2 K 21<sup>13</sup>, Is 34<sup>11</sup> 44<sup>13</sup>, Job 38<sup>5</sup>, La 2<sup>8</sup>; or it extends itself (נָצַח) and spans something, Jer 31<sup>39</sup> and the passage before us; by means of it land was divided (חָלַק), Is 34<sup>17</sup>. So the arch of heaven is, as it were, the measuring-line, the measure of the whole earth, that is to say, it spans it from the one end to the other. For, according to the ancient conception of the world, each celestial meridian with its resting-points embraces the diameter of the terrestrial disc on which the arch of heaven rests. The arch of heaven is, as it were, a pair of huge compasses opened out over the earth. This is the meaning of 'over the whole earth reaches their measuring-line.' To this the second half-verse forms a progressive parallelism; and it is simply robbing the Psalm of one of its greatest poetical beauties to transform this into a meagre synonymous parallelism by the alteration of קִוְּלִים into קִוְּלִים. It is because the heavens over-span the whole earth that *their words* also reach to the end of the globe. That is to say, men everywhere see the picture which the heavens exhibit, and hear and understand the story which they

have to tell. In this way the connexion with v.<sup>2</sup> is accomplished, and the first section of the Psalm closed. But, at the same time, if we adhere to the correct reading *הַשָּׁמַיִם*, it is impossible to misunderstand the meaning. For a measuring-line is stretched out only by the arch of heaven, not by the day and the night. There can thus be not a moment's doubt that the third person in v.<sup>6</sup> goes back to the ruling concept throughout, namely, *הַשָּׁמַיִם*, 'the heavens.' This is, then, a new confirmation of the interpretation we have proposed for v.<sup>4</sup>, and there is not the slightest reason left for setting aside the latter verse as a gloss.

K. BUDDE.

Marburg i. H.

### Literature on the Holy Spirit.

IN the September number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES a number of books on the doctrine and work of the Holy Spirit are mentioned (p. 551). Might I add to the list: S. Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*, Archdeacon Hutchings' *The Person and Work of the Holy Ghost*, and Bishop Webb's *Presence and Office of the Holy Spirit*? I feel sure that 'H. T. P.' would obtain much that is profitable out of all three.

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### A Note on Naaman.

2 KINGS V. 17-19.

To determine the fitting attitude of the new man to the old environment: this was the problem which Naaman had to solve. His solution we have in the form of a very definite plan of action.

The first thing he meant to do when he returned to Damascus was to make an open profession of his new faith. He purposed to build an altar to Jehovah. If he was in error with regard to the religious value which he seems to have attached to earth taken from the Holy Land for this purpose, he was only captured by the same fancy as many Christian parents who like to use water from the river Jordan for the baptism of their children. But the important fact to be noted is that Naaman evidently intended to avow

among his own people a decided change in his faith.

At the same time, however, he did not see his way to break with the old forms of worship, or to renounce all his heathen practices. The office which he held, it seems, required him to attend on his royal master, when the latter wished to worship in the idol's temple; and he too had to take some formal part in the service. Would it be consistent for him, considering the new attitude of his mind towards unseen realities, to worship henceforth in the house of Rimmon, even if it were only as a mere matter of form? He decided, though not without misgivings, that it was expedient for him to continue to do in this matter as he had been accustomed. He was aware that he could as little worship two Gods as serve two masters. The compromise he proposed seemed to himself, whatever might be thought of it by others, to be sinful. He could only crave indulgence for the future, and hope that the Lord would pardon him in the thing he expected shortly to do. Nothing else, nothing better occurred to him, or occurred only to be dismissed. To sacrifice his office for the sake of the freedom of his conscience or the culture of his spiritual life, would probably have seemed an extreme step. He did not yet see how to translate fully into the practice of his daily life the new ideal that had so far taken possession of his mind. So he would adhere to the compromise.

This incident is not without parallels in modern times. Only we must go to the Orient to find one at all close. Among our young men in India, educated in our Christian schools and colleges, there are many who have come, like Naaman, to believe in the living God, but who do not, for reasons like his, see their way to come out and be separate, or to break with all idolatrous practices. They have a keen sympathy with the ethics of the gospel. They regulate their life and conduct, in quite a remarkable degree, according to the new standard. Yet alongside of this not a few do—in the home and often more publicly—as their fathers did, and as their women and priests insist on their doing. They worship idols—at least with the bodily presence, though they believe that an idol is nothing in the world. Inconsistent and even dangerous such a position may be. But many of these youths see the inconsistency, and deplore it; and that is half the battle. Their present position, regarded as a goal or a permanency, would be most unsatisfactory. Compared with the old past, however, it must be admitted to be a distinct advance, a stage in the line of progress.



How much is it to be desired that we should possess the views of Elisha on this part of Naaman's case. As it is, the writer of the story simply tells us that the prophet's answer to his proposals was 'good-bye,' *salaam*, 'go in peace.' Whether he even advised him to act differently is not recorded. He did not certainly use any coercive arguments. The prophet probably only anticipated the teaching of the apostle (Ph 1<sup>6</sup> 2<sup>12</sup>). A good work had been begun in Naaman. Let him work out his own salvation. He that began the good work might be trusted to make it complete.

What ultimately became of Naaman we cannot tell. It was not very long ere he was replaced by the redoubtable Hazael. But whether his office was rendered vacant by his death or by his resignation for conscience' sake, we have not the means of positively knowing. What we do learn from the story is this: (1) that even in those old times God's gracious operations were not limited to any one people (cf. Lk 4<sup>27</sup>); and (2) that God's prophet held himself ready to fulfil to any son of the stranger his desire for help.

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## Did the Israelites down to the Time of Joshua speak 'a pure Arabic Dialect'?

1. THE above is the question raised by Professor Hommel's contentions in his *Anc. Heb. Trad.* p. 276, etc. The question is *not* whether 'the Israelites prior to Joshua's conquest of Canaan already spoke Canaanitish' (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, 1900, p. 96b), and I must insist that the point of the controversy be not arbitrarily altered. If Professor Hommel leaves it unaltered, there is then no force in his citation of Guthe's *Gesch. Isr.* (p. 9), where a 'change of dialect' is attributed to the Hebrews. The question is—I repeat it—whether the Israelites after the time of Joshua exchanged 'a pure Arabic dialect' for Canaanitish.

2. Is it really 'the uniform biblical view of the matter' that 'the Israelites down to the time of Joshua spoke a pure Arabic dialect'? Professor Hommel asserts this in last month's issue, and refers for the proof of his assertion to chap. vi. of his book. But on reading over this chapter, which embraces pp. 203–214, one finds not a word of such proof. All that the author notices in this chapter as bearing on the above question is the following. Ur-Kasdîm bordered on the territory of Ẕîr (p. 213), whence, according to Am 9<sup>7</sup>, the Aramæans migrated, and Professor Hommel adds the assertion that the nomads of Ẕîr 'were at this

time, so far as language went, still pure Arabs.' He builds this opinion upon the following circumstance. The Assyrian inscriptions of the eighth and seventh centuries 'mention a whole host of nomadic Aramæan tribes who inhabited the narrow strip of desert between the Tigris and the Elamite highlands' (p. 208), whose 'names are manifestly of the same type as the (Arabic) personal names of the Khammurabi period, only modified to a certain extent by later changes in pronunciation' (p. 209). He identifies *Itu'a* (p. 208) with *Yatu'a* (p. 209) and with *Yathu'u* (p. 84), and declares, further, that '*Kabri* is allied with *Yakbar-ilu*,' etc. Can it be said that these somewhat bold identifications prove that the Aramæans of the period, from which these inscriptions emanate, were 'pure Arabs' (p. 213)? Surely not, and still less do these names justify the above assertion of Professor Hommel: 'It is the uniform biblical view of the matter' that 'the Israelites down to the time of Joshua spoke a pure Arabic dialect.'

3. Is Professor Hommel's contention proved by the form of the name *Jahweh*? I envy him the confidence with which he answers this question in the affirmative (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, p. 96b). For we meet with the verb *hāwah* both in Hebrew (Gn 27<sup>29</sup>, etc.) and in Aramaic. Further, the vowel *a*, which follows the *j* of *Jahweh*, is that which is uttered also in the forms of the imperfect of הרה (Gn 4<sup>1</sup>, etc.) and in the noun יהלם. Consequently, this *a* sound might have been preserved also in the proper name *Jahweh*. Other elements of the Heb. language by which Professor Hommel sought to support his thesis, have been already examined by me in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (1898, pp. 474–479), and I will return to the subject in a study on the history of the Semitic languages, which I think of publishing shortly.

ED. KÖNIG.

Bonn.

## The Life of Joseph.

A LITTLE book under this title, by the Rev. Thomas Kirk, has recently been published by Mr. Andrew Elliot (pp. 320, 3s. 6d.). It follows very closely the place of Mr. Kirk's two former monographs, *Samson* and *Saul*. Indeed, it improves in its method. It shows a more full and scholarly acquaintance with modern literature of the biblical and scientific kind. There is more occasion for this in a Life of Joseph than in either of the other two sketches. A great deal of research on ancient Egypt is now within our reach, and the author has made good use of this. The question of the antiquity of the human race naturally arises in treating this topic, and it has been wisely and reasonably touched here, in the chapter on Egypt.



It is sought to be shown in the chapter on that subject that the Bible leaves the antiquity of man undetermined. It is difficult to conceive a more instructive and satisfactory treatment of these topics than this volume gives us.

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## Acts xix. 14, 16.

'AND there were *seven* sons of one Sceva, a Jew, a chief priest, which did this. . . . And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and mastered *both* of them, and prevailed against them' (R.V.).

The reading *ἀμφότερων*, on which this translation rests and which is offered by the best authorities, has long been a puzzle. Several manuscripts changed it into *αὐτῶν*, followed by the A.V. Cod. *E* omits it altogether; Naber (*Mnemosyne*, 1881, 289) proposed to read *ἄφνω*, 'suddenly,' and this is received into the text by Baljon, 1898. The simplest explanation of our commentators was that the writer presupposed as known what he had not said *expressis verbis*, that only *two* of the men were engaged on that occasion, and that these two were overwhelmed. The right solution has been found by T. B. Bury, who showed in an article 'On the Word *ἀμφότεροι* in later Greek' (in the *Classical Review*, xi. 8) that in Byzantine writers *ἀμφότεροι* stands simply for *πάντες*. A complete parallel is offered by the German word *beide*, and I have no doubt the same will be found for English *both*. In Luther I read to-day, the Psalms treat of *five* parts or matters: prophecy, doctrine, comfort, prayer, and thanksgivings; but in one and the same Psalm two of these parts or three or all five are found, inasmuch that one Psalm may belong to all *five* parts, because it contains *both* ('*beide*') prophecy, doctrine, comfort, prayer, and thanksgiving beside each other (see Luther's third Preface to the *Psalter* in Bindseil-Niemeyer's critical edition of Luther's Bible, part vii. p. 328).

Taking up this trace, I find in Grimm's *Dictionary* (i. 1364) mentioned as remarkable, 'that after "*beide*" not only *two*, but also *three* things may be mentioned.' He gives several examples: 'both men, children, and women'; 'both deaf, lame, and blind'; 'both field, mountain, and valley.' Grimm adds that this fully agrees with his view that '*beide*,' related to the preposition '*bei*,' as Greek *ἄμφω* to *ἀμφι*, means originally *a sequel*, which must not necessarily stop at the number two, but may reach farther. There is no article on *both* in the *Dictionary of the Bible*; but if not in the Bible, the same usage will be found cer-

tainly in English authors.<sup>1</sup> Instead of 'both of them' the R.V. would have better translated 'and mastered them altogether.'

Quoted the same remark, which Grimm makes on the use of German '*both*,' is already made by the Greek grammarian Ammonius: *σημειωτέον ὅτι ἡ λέξις ἡ λέγουσα ἀμφότερα οὐ μόνον περὶ δύο λέγει, ὅπερ κυρίως δηλοῖ τὰ ἀμφότερα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τριῶν*. In Hase-Dindorf's edition of the Greek Thesaurus where this remark is mentioned, is added: *sed in talibus duo de tribus pro uno habenda sunt*, and reference is made to Ac 23<sup>8</sup>, 'For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess *both*' (τὰ ἀμφότερα). For this example the remark of the Thesaurus holds good, as well as for the other example quoted there: *ὅτι σὺ ἀμφότερα καὶ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἐγένου*; also for the examples given by Grimm, but not for the *five* parts of the Psalms as counted by Luther and the *seven* sons of Scevas spoken of by Luke. In Luke we have, it seems, the first example of the later usage that takes *ἀμφότεροι* for *πάντες*, *altogether*.

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[<sup>1</sup> The usage is quite common in English. Thus Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, bk. i. (Seiby's ed. p. 11), 'For both in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Grecia, and Rome, the same times that are most renowned for arms, are likewise most admired for learning.' It is a familiar idiom in A.V., as Gn 6<sup>7</sup>, 'both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air'; Ac 1<sup>13</sup>, 'where abode both Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip, and Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.' And it has not only been usually retained in R.V. (it is omitted at Ex 35<sup>22</sup> 37<sup>26</sup>), but new examples have been introduced. Thus Jg 20<sup>48</sup>, 'And the men of Israel turned again upon the children of Benjamin, and smote them with the edge of the sword, both the entire city, and the cattle, and all that they found'; 1 Co 1<sup>30</sup> marg., 'both righteousness and sanctification and redemption.' The feeling that '*both*' was not absolutely restricted to *two* may have led Tindale to use '*both two*' in his translation of Lv 9<sup>8</sup>, 'take ye an he goote for a synneofferynge, and a calfe and a lambe bothe two of a yere olde.' Marsh (*Student's Manual of the English Language*, p. 86, note) chides Coleridge for using '*both*' to embrace three or more objects. 'I am aware,' he says, 'that he had the example of Ascham and some other early writers, but it is contrary to the etymological meaning of the word, and to the constant usage of the best English writers.' Both statements are probably wrong. Connected with Gr. *ἀμφο*, Lat. *am-bo*, '*both*' is etymologically and by usage opposed to *one* not to *more than two*. A familiar example from Coleridge is in *Ancient Mariner*, VII. xxii.—

'He prayeth well, who loveth well  
Both man and bird and beast.'—EDITOR E. T.]

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

'AN Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile'—how great has been the stumbling-block of the gracious words! Does not our theology teach us that all have sinned and come short? that there is none righteous, no, not one? And this Nathanael is pronounced without guile before he has seen his Saviour.

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Professor G. F. Genung of Richmond has contributed a short article on Nathanael to the *Biblical World* for November. He does not take the word 'guile' to mean sin in general. He believes that in calling him 'an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile,' our Lord described Nathanael as free from a special and subtle form of hypocrisy. It was not vulgar dishonesty in dealing, falsehood in common intercourse between man and man. It was more spiritual than that. It was more special to the time. Its absence was distinctly a virtue, something of positive and commendable worth. What was this guile?

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The ordinary Israelite supposed that they who were of the seed of Abraham were sons of Abraham and heirs of the promises. St. Paul taught otherwise. But St. Paul, Dr. Genung believes, was not the first to teach that there was an Israel after the flesh and an Israel after the spirit. When the Son of Man came to the earth He found not a few who claimed to be Israelites

indeed. Abraham their father seemed to look down the generations upon them and demand something more than an immaculate genealogical tree, something indeed like an immaculate personal life.

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Midway between them and Abraham stood the arresting figure of Isaiah's 'Servant of the Lord.' At first he is identified with the captive nation. The whole nation is invited by the prophet to accept his position and realize his character. But the nation as a whole fails. Then the Servant becomes the ideal centre of the nation. He is now the spiritual heart of Israel, which, by its comprehension of God's redemptive purposes, can be the vital *point d'appui* for the uplift of the nation itself, as well as for the redemption of the world. Here was a conception into which the spiritually minded in Israel could enter, and not merely in admiration and sympathy, but even in personal aspiration. And when the Servant of the Lord is at last in the great climax of the prophecy recognized as an individual, suffering for the sins of the nation and satisfied in its redemption—even then the true Israelite might not shrink from the identification. Why should not he too become anathema for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh?

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It was a noble ideal. It was in close enough

touch with the better hopes of Israel to become almost a popular ideal. But they who are ideal Israelites are not always ready to pay the price demanded by the realization of their ideal. There were 'Israelites indeed' who called themselves so only because they had outwardly attached themselves to a great spiritual aspiration. They looked for its realization in better conditions, not in a better life. They would not bear the nation's sins, but they would benefit along with the nation in the blessings which the Messiah would bring when he came to suffer and to reign. Grasping at spiritual things for the benefits they brought, their aspirations were an unconscious hypocrisy. They must be distinguished from those like Nathanael, who sought the character more than the comfort. To the Messianic eye seeing him under the fig-tree, Nathanael was 'an Israelite indeed,' but also 'an Israelite indeed, *in whom is no guile.*'

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What is to be done about the teaching of the Old Testament? The subject was discussed at the Church Congress. It is also touched upon in the admirable address which Canon Driver delivered at the Jubilee of the New College, Hampstead, and which is published in the *Christian World Pulpit* for 14th November.

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Canon Driver would begin at the beginning of the Bible. First, he says, 'I should explain how, in the opening chapters of Genesis, two writers had told us how the Hebrews pictured to themselves the beginnings of the world and the early history of man; how, borrowing their materials in some cases from popular tradition or belief, in others, directly or indirectly, from the distant East, they had breathed into them a new spirit, and constructed with their aid narratives replete with noble and deep truths respecting God and man; how one writer had grafted upon the false science of antiquity a dignified and true picture of the relation of the world to God; how another writer, in a striking symbolic narrative, had described how man's moral capacity was

awakened, put to the test, and failed; how in the sequel, by other symbolic narratives, the progress of civilization, the growing power of sin, God's judgment upon it, His purposes towards man, are successively set forth.'

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Then Dr. Driver would pass to the patriarchal age. Here real historical recollections seem to begin. He would show how the skeleton furnished by tradition (and it is only the skeleton that we could reasonably expect tradition to furnish) had been clothed by the narrators with a living vesture of circumstance, expression, and character. 'It was, no doubt, in the process coloured to some extent by the beliefs and associations of the age in which the narrators lived themselves. And in this way the pattern-figures of the patriarchs were created, and those idyllic narratives produced which have at once fascinated and instructed so many generations of men.'

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In that manner Dr. Driver would pass through the Pentateuch. He would tell the children, 'without concealment or disguise,' why it is that we cannot always call the narrative historical. He would show that this was the form in which the Hebrews told their own children the story of the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan. And he would always emphasize the religious teaching embodied in the story—the beautifully drawn character of Moses, and the many striking declarations it contains of the character and purposes of God. For the religious teaching is there, and 'no criticism can eliminate it from the narrative.'

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Then Canon Driver would turn the children's attention to the three great codes of law contained in the Pentateuch. He would describe their general character and purpose. And he would particularly dwell upon the lofty spiritual teaching of Deuteronomy. From the Pentateuch he would pass to the prophets. He would point out the meaning which prophecy had in its own time and circumstances, and he would again be careful not to rest content with that, but to emphasize



the moral and spiritual lessons which it contains. In this way he believes that the Old Testament would gain in reality, in interest, in appreciation, and that the divine element in it would be placed on a firmer and securer foundation.

Who is it, or what is it, in Jn 1<sup>14</sup> that is 'full of grace and truth'? The verse is καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρὸς πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας: 'And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.' The adjective 'full' is in the nominative. What does it agree with? It might agree with the 'Word' in the beginning of the verse, and Westcott believes it does so agree. But the 'Word' is very far away. Other antecedents occur that seem more likely because more near. These are 'his' and 'glory' and 'only-begotten.' But 'his' and 'only-begotten' are in the genitive, and 'glory' is in the accusative. How can the adjective 'full,' which is in the nominative, agree with any of these?

Mr. C. H. Turner has solved the difficulty. In the first and fourth numbers of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, of which he is editor, he has solved it. He states that in the early ages of Christianity the adjective 'full' (πλήρης) could be used indeclinably. He brings forward evidence for his statement. The evidence is overwhelming. Hort and Blass and Nestle had seen it and stated it already. Mr. Turner has proved it. So we can now say either that *He* was 'full of grace and truth,' or that His *glory* was 'full of grace and truth,' or most likely of all, that the *only-begotten* was 'full of grace and truth.' But we cannot say that there are no more discoveries to be made in the study of New Testament Greek.

In the July (1900) number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* there

is an article by Professor Muss-Arnolt of the University of Chicago on the 'Urim and Thummim.' The article is also published separately at the University of Chicago Press.

There are two difficulties connected with the Urim and Thummim—the one, what the words mean; the other, what the things were. Professor Muss-Arnolt deals with both.

The Septuagint translators rendered Urim and Thummim (אֲרִיִּם וְתֻמְמִים) by δῆλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια, that is, 'revelation and truth' (Ex 28<sup>26</sup>, Lv 8<sup>8</sup>). They got this translation, no doubt, out of the derivation, which they supposed to be in the one case (יָרָה) *yārāh*, to teach, and in the other (אָמַן) *āman*, to be true. The Vulgate followed the Septuagint, rendering the words, *doctrina et veritas*. And the Roman Catholic commentators have followed Bellarmin in defending this translation and adopting this derivation. 'But,' says Professor Muss-Arnolt shortly, 'there is no foundation for such a view in the Old Testament itself.'

Professor Muss-Arnolt believes that the words are of Babylonian origin. Urim he takes from the Assyrian u'uru, infinitive Piel of a'aru, from which comes also ūrtu, a command or decision. Thummim he derives from the Assyrian tamū, of which the Piel is tummu. So the two words would be the Hebrew form of the Assyrian urtu and tamitu, meaning 'decisions and oracles.' Professor Muss-Arnolt submitted his paper to Professors H. P. Smith and G. F. Moore before publishing it. Professor Smith is doubtful of a direct influence of Babylonian upon Hebrew earlier than the Priests' Code. Professor Moore would apparently accept the derivation, but thinks that it does not exclude a popular Hebrew etymology as well, which he would take to be (אָרַר) *'ārar*, to curse, and (תָּמַם) *tāmam*, to complete.

What the Urim and Thummim were is a more difficult matter. Many opinions are quoted here,

some of delightful simplicity, others as guardedly obscure as the things themselves. As a specimen of the first kind take Professor Witton Davies in his book on *Magic, Divination, and Demonology*: 'The Urim and Thummim were simply two stones put into the pocket attached to the high priest's ephod; on them were written some such words as "yes" and "no." Whichever stone was taken out, the alternative word upon it was looked upon as the divine decision.' Professor Muss-Arnolt finds that altogether there are three competing explanations. The Urim and Thummim were either stones in the high priest's breastplate, or sacred dice, or little images of 'truth' and 'justice,' such as are found hung round the neck of an Egyptian priest's mummy. He does not agree with any of them.

He himself believes that they are a Hebrew adaptation of the great 'Tablets of Destiny,' of which so much is made in the early mythological literature of Babylon. In the Babylonian story of the Creation, it is stated that Tīāmat raised her son Kingu to have dominion over all the gods, and in token of his supremacy (or to secure it), 'She gave him the *Tablets of Destiny* and laid them upon his breast,' that is, hung them round his neck, saying, 'Thy command be never annulled, the word of thy mouth be authority.' There was much consternation among the gods. But Marduk, the son of Ea, came forward to fight Tīāmat and Kingu. He won the great battle. 'Moreover,' says a later tablet, 'Kingu, who had been great above them all, he defeated and did unto him as he had done to the other gods. Then tore he from him the *Tablets of Destiny*, that did not belong to him. With his own seal he sealed them and laid them on his own breast.'

So it was the possession of the Tablets of Destiny that gave supremacy in the Babylonian pantheon and absolute dominion over men. And when the Babylonian priests delivered oracles (tērēti, sing. tertu), they derived their power

so to do ultimately from Ea and his son Marduk, to whom the Tablets of Destiny belonged. The seer consulted the god, who answered Yes or No.

Now there are some interesting points of contact between the Tablets of Destiny and the Urim and Thummim. Professor Muss-Arnolt discovers four. The Urim and Thummim, according to Ex 28<sup>30</sup>, Lv 8<sup>8</sup>, and other passages, rested within the breastplate, that is, on the high priest's breast, and only when so resting were they efficacious. Only when the Tablets of Destiny rested on their possessor's breast were they efficacious also. Again, in Babylonia only those gods possessed the Tablets of Destiny who were in some way mediators and messengers between gods and men. In Israel the Urim and Thummim belonged to the high priest as mediator between Jehovah and the nation, and even kings bowed in obedience to their decision as to the oracle of God. Then we know that the twelve stones on the breastplate of the Hebrew high priest were 'engraved in the manner of a seal' (Ex 28<sup>21</sup>). When Marduk tore the Tablets of Destiny from the breast of his dead foe, Kingu, he 'sealed them with his own seal.' And finally, Marduk, bearing on his breast the Tablets of Destiny, presided at the annual assembly of the gods, where the lot was cast and the fate determined for king and nation. 'It is the general opinion,' says Professor Muss-Arnolt, 'that the Urim and Thummim were consulted only in cases where the safety of king or nation was concerned.'

The most effective argument now used against the literary criticism of the Old Testament is to point to the history of Homeric and other criticism. It is effective because its force is easily felt and it is unanswerable. Dr. Peters of New York contributed a paper to a recent issue of the *New World* on 'Archæology and the Higher Criticism,' in which he pointed out that not only in the criticism of Homer, but also of the Veda, of Buddhism, of the Avestan literature,

and even of the New Testament, there had taken place 'a most remarkable change of view with regard to the value of subjective or literary evidence alone.'

A quarter of a century ago the Wolfian theory as to the origin of the Homeric poems was still extremely influential. The theory, which spoke of the *Iliad* as made up of a great number of smaller poems gathered into one at a later time, was supported by archæological evidence, or what was then taken for archæological evidence. It was claimed, for example, that if writing was not absolutely unknown, it was not possible then to write poems of such length, and no man could have composed and carried them in his mind without writing them down. It was also held that the historical atmosphere of the poems was incorrect. The very existence of Troy was denied. And in some quarters there was an inclination to resolve the Homeric poems, as a whole, into Sun myths.

Then Schliemann began to excavate. Beneath the mounds of Hissarlik old Troy was found. It had even been destroyed and afterwards rebuilt. Further discoveries at Hissarlik, Mycenæ, and elsewhere showed that the descriptions of these cities in the Homeric poems were historically correct, and rested upon personal or good contemporary evidence. It was also proved that writing was known and commonly practised at a much earlier period than formerly was supposed. The difficulties in the way of the antiquity and integrity of the Homeric poems had been created by the critics themselves. They were once more accepted as the work of one man and the product of an early age.

Roman history has passed through a similar critical experience. At first the traditional history of Rome, with Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, was accepted literally. These stories were next explained rationalistically, the wolf being a symbol of the fierce training of the

lads, and such-like. Then came the period of extreme scepticism. All the early narratives were discarded. Roman history began at the close of the kingdom, or even a little later. Before that there was nothing reliable or recognizable.

Then Lanciani began to excavate. Aided by his results Mommsen worked over the literary material anew. Roman history has been reconstructed and carried back almost to the days of Romulus and Remus.

The study of the Veda, of the Avestan literature, of Buddhism, has passed through a similar history. Once the tendency was to bring dates down to a late time, to deny reputed authorship, or everywhere to find composite authorship, and to reconstruct texts with minute subdivision. To-day the inclination among Indian and Persian scholars is to push back the dates of the sacred books, to accept the traditional views in a modified form, and to maintain unity of authorship.

And over the New Testament we know how the pendulum swung forward once, and how far it has swung back in our day. But in the field of the Old Testament the tendency is all the other way. 'The Pentateuch,' says Dr. Peters, 'is divided by each new critic more minutely than by the preceding, and the inclination is to refer its composition, or at least its final composition, to an always later date.' He takes Cornill as an example. Cornill finds the following constituents of the Hexateuch: J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, J<sup>3</sup>, E<sup>1</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>, D, Dh, Dp, P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, P<sup>x</sup> (where <sup>x</sup> signifies an indefinable number of writers of the P school, a substitute for P<sup>3</sup>, P<sup>4</sup>, P<sup>5</sup>, etc.), H, Rj, Rd, Rp, and a number of fragments not included in any of these. Nor is it the Hexateuch only that is so treated. 'The book of Isaiah is divided, partly on the ground of style, partly on the ground of thought, into a large number of sections, some of which are ascribed to Isaiah, some to later unknown prophets, and some to redactors who have worked over earlier material of Isaiah himself. While practically all critics



are agreed in separating the book of Isaiah into two main portions—of which the latter, chapters xl.–lxvi., is regarded as exilic and post-exilic, the Deutero-Isaiah—there is absolutely no agreement among critics as to the further subdivision of either of these main divisions of the book. Nevertheless, each succeeding work shows an inclination toward greater minuteness of subdivision, the extreme point up to the present having been reached by Dr. Cheyne.'

Is the study of the Old Testament likely to return to the old paths? Dr. Peters does not think so. Back from the extreme subdivision of the Old Testament books and the very late dating of so much Old Testament literature, he believes we shall go. But we have not returned to the old paths in respect of any of the subjects mentioned, and he believes that least of all shall we do so in respect of the Old Testament.

The nearest to a complete return has been made in the case of Homer. But the Homeric poems are not the same as they were before the Wolfian hypothesis was sprung upon them. Schliemann claimed that he had proved Homer accurate to the minutest historical reference. Further research showed that it is only in respect of the general atmosphere of the poems that they can be described as historical; they are not, and probably were never meant to be, sober history throughout. Mommsen and Lanciani have not taught us to read Roman history as our fathers did. Rome has a far-back story, it is true, but Livy is not reliable in detail. In respect of the Avesta, men are holding their hand till the evidence is fuller. And even in the field of the New Testament it is not as many of us would like it. 'There is an inclination,' says Dr. Peters, 'among extreme conservatives to be jubilant over Harnack's results, but in reality Harnack renders the old conservative view impossible, quite as much as the extreme radical position of Baur and the later critics, who were more or less influenced by the Tübingen school of criticism.'

There are two great reasons why the swing of the pendulum is likely to be least in the criticism of the Old Testament. One is that only extreme critics have carried the criticism to extremity. Strong men, in the fulness of knowledge and in the fearlessness of the truth, stand firm midway. Dr. Peters names Dillmann, who finds in the minute subdividing only 'hypotheses of embarrassment,' and Professor Driver, who 'speaking of the Yahwistic and Elohist narratives in the Pentateuch (J and E), holds that even in the matter of the lines of demarcation between these and the parts assigned to the redactor, we can seldom claim more than a relative improbability.' He might also have named Professor A. B. Davidson, who, though he received, along with the rare gift itself, the rarer power to restrain it, has once and again let go his biting wit against the tendency to crowd the time of the Maccabees with the flower of Israel's literature.

But there is another reason, and a greater, why the Old Testament criticism is likely in the main to stand. In other cases the return of the pendulum has been chiefly due to the findings of archæology. Here, says Dr. Peters, where archæology has been most talked about, it has had but little influence.

Dr. Peters does not mean that Biblical Archæology has done nothing for us. He only means that it has done little to reverse the results of literary criticism. The actual gains of recent archæology are great and many. At the outset he mentions one of vast significance. Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt, Babylonia have all contributed to it. It is the proof that in these lands there existed civilized nations—in some cases highly civilized nations, from at least 4000 years before Christ. Nor did they stand apart. Great empires were established. Free communication was held between one empire and another. 'The whole of Western Asia, with Egypt and the Islands of the Sea, was in the sphere of civilization long before the time of Abraham.'

But take them separately. What have we got from Egypt? Some customs alluded to in Genesis have been made clearer from comparison with Egyptian life. We have not yet found in Egypt a single Hebrew name, however, or had a single occurrence in the Bible incontestably established. In one inscription the name of Israel has been found. But it has only thrown our knowledge into confusion. For, if Meneptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, how is it that in the tablet discovered by Petrie he can speak of the people of Israel as 'spoiled' in *Palestine*?

Certainly the Tel el-Amarna tablets have furnished a great amount of extremely valuable knowledge regarding the condition and daily life of the nations that had to do with Egypt in the fourteenth century before Christ. They tell us that Jerusalem was already a centre of worship and known by that name; that almost all the other prominent cities which are mentioned in the Bible were already in existence; that the people of Palestine spoke a language either identical with or closely akin to Hebrew; and that Babylonian was then the medium of official correspondence. But none of these things touch the Higher Criticism. And no reference has hitherto been found on any Egyptian monument to the events in the later history of Israel in which Egypt plays a part.

In Phœnician the most important discovery is perhaps the Marseilles sacrificial tablet. Other inscriptions have been found in various places. They show us the close relation between Hebrew and Phœnician, both in language and in script, and they illustrate some of the antiquities of the Bible, as the titles given to priests and judges, or the names belonging to the divinities. In Moab the great discovery is the Mesha stone, which gives us a new view of the relations between Moab and Israel about the time of Ahab, 'confirming, and to some extent correcting, the statements of the Bible'; and that is all. From Northern Syria light has been thrown on the geography of David's

conquests, and the narrative in the Bible confirmed. Some knowledge has also been gathered of that important people, the Hittites, and many of their inscriptions have been found, if only we could learn to read them. Discovery has revolutionized our views of the early history of Arabia, but done nothing for the Bible or against it.

It is from Assyria and Babylonia that the great finds have come. 'We have the Babylonian form of the Flood story almost complete, which we are able to compare with the Hebrew version; we have the story of the Creation, and perhaps that of Adam and Eve; we have the Tower of Babel, and much more than all that.' These discoveries have placed much material in our hands for the comparative study of Semitic religion. They have established an intimate connexion between Babylonia and Palestine from about 4000 B.C. to 1300 B.C. This connexion, then lost, is again picked up in the time of Ahab, and it continues thereafter till Assyria and Babylonia were no more. Now, these discoveries, says Dr. Peters, have not been without effect on the criticism of the Old Testament. But they face both ways. Sometimes they support tradition, sometimes they flatly contradict it. They have established the substantial accuracy of the books of Samuel and of Kings; but they have shown both Daniel and Esther to be unhistorical.

Last of all, there is Palestine itself. The land of promise, it is the land of promise still. But the fulfilment has been meagre. 'Beyond the Siloam inscription, the inscription from the temple barrier of the New Testament period, a fragment of an inscribed tablet from Lachish, and an insignificant seal or two, nothing has yet been found in Palestine.'

Is all this, then, an encouragement to the literary critics to neglect archæology? Far from it. The critics have themselves already recognized the necessity of knowing what archæology has done at every step. For although the findings of the spade

have not seriously displaced the findings of the pen—at least, of the responsible and moderate pen—yet there is no discovery that can be ignored; and sometimes the most minute discoveries open the way to important and direct critical results.

Take a single striking example. In the first chapter of Leviticus the sacrificial animals are named. They are the ox, the sheep, the goat, and two kinds of doves. Why these and no others? Because these were the animals used by the Hebrews for food. The laws regarding their preparation for sacrifice in the second chapter are the rules for preparing them for men's ordinary tables. And, altogether, it is evident to Dr. Peters that they simply used for sacrifice all the domestic animals they had. The Egyptians had ducks and geese. But Palestine was quite unsuitable for ducks and geese. The ox, the sheep, the goat, and the dove were all they knew of and could rear.

But where was the barn-door fowl? It had not yet been introduced into Western Asia. It is unknown to Egypt, as to Palestine, until the time of the Persians. A native of Central Asia, the hen was brought to Babylon and thence to Palestine and Egypt by the Persians when they came to

conquer. It is evident, therefore, that the Levitical Code was finally fixed before the Exile. Not devised merely, not merely promulgated, but accepted and sacred beyond alteration. For, otherwise, chicken's would certainly have been added to the sacrificial list. There is a certain *extra* legal sacrifice, still made by the Jews on the day of Atonement, in which a cock is the victim. That sacrifice is traceable back perhaps to the very Exile. But the fact that it is not strictly legal, not in the Code, shows that already when the Jews and the Persians met in Babylon, the Levitical Code was beyond alteration.

Now in that first chapter of Leviticus, critics had already found a literary difference between the part referring to the doves and the rest of the chapter. Archæology bears them out. While oxen, sheep, and goats might be used for sacrifice and for food at any time after the Israelites entered the land east of the Jordan, doves belong to settled towns and villages. Before they were used, the Israelites had finished the conquest of Canaan and settled in their homes. That first chapter of Leviticus bears evidence of growth, as the critics say; but of growth that came to an end before the Exile—as critics that are extreme deny.

## The Value of the Ascension.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. E. R. BERNARD, M.A., CANON OF SALISBURY.

THERE is in our day an influential school of theology which bids us find our evidence for the events of the Lord's life in the 'value' which they severally have for our individual souls. According to this school, the contents of the Christian faith are matter for what they call 'value' judgments, and only in a secondary way for historical investigation. The records of what Christ did and said can only be believed as true,

so they say, in proportion as they are felt to guide and illuminate the individual believer. From such a view I entirely dissent. I will not now stop to point out the danger which such a system incurs of disregarding altogether the historical character of the gospel, or, still further, the falseness of the philosophy on which such a theology is built. But the teaching of the school of Ritschl, erroneous as we believe it to be in important particulars, suggests a salutary lesson with regard to the subject which we have before us. There is no

<sup>1</sup> Prepared at the request of the Committee of the Church Congress in Newcastle.



meaning or value in a mere belief in the fact of the Ascension, unless we personally welcome its significance and its spiritual interest. You may defend with ability the narrative of the Ascension in Acts, you may explain satisfactorily its omission in St. Matthew, you may argue for the authenticity of the last paragraph of St. Mark, or the suspected words in Lk 24<sup>51</sup>; but all this avails but little if you cannot also feel the value of the Ascension in its place in the Lord's life, in the history of the Church, and in the relation of your own soul to Christ. After all, the theory of value judgments is little more than a scientific statement of the old popular distinction between faith of the head and faith of the heart.

What, then, is the 'value' of the Ascension which—along with historical evidence for it, but not independently of that—commands our belief in it? I will first mention two points briefly, and then deal more fully with a third.

i. The fitness of the Ascension in its relation to the purpose of the Incarnation.—The Ascension is too often regarded as belonging to the history of the Resurrection. Its true place is as the complement of the Nativity. So the Lord Himself places it: 'I came out from the Father, and am come into the world: again I leave the world, and go unto the Father' (Jn 16<sup>28</sup>). The purpose of the Incarnation was to unite earth and heaven, the seen and the unseen, the temporal and the eternal. The first step was the Nativity, which brought heaven down to earth; the second was the Ascension, which took earth up to heaven. Then the link was complete. He that descended is the same also that ascended. Like the other events of the Lord's life, we feel it to be indispensable for the completeness of the counsel of God.

ii. The Ascension is the exaltation of our Master and Saviour, and lifts us up with joy. That He meant it to do so we learn from Himself: 'If ye loved Me, ye would have rejoiced, because I go unto the Father' (Jn 14<sup>28</sup>). And when the time came they did rejoice: 'They returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and were continually in the temple, blessing God' (Lk 24<sup>52, 53</sup>). So we also rejoice, for we also love Him. The humiliation and the exaltation of the Saviour are long since past. But we follow them again in our devotions. They quicken our affections and enlarge our heart towards Him. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. Do you recite

those words in the Creed as a mere profession of belief? No; you feel their triumphant power. You rejoice in Him, and your rejoicing brings you nearer to Him. 'The head that once was crowned with thorns is crowned with glory now.'

One can readily understand how writers of hymns have been led in this frame of devout exultation to dwell on the entry of the Lord into heavenly places, and to describe its pomp and splendour. But, surely, they miss the spirit of the event and go beyond what is written. Ps 24 is not a sufficient justification for their flights of fancy. The character of the Ascension scene, like that of the Nativity, is retirement, quietness, and apparent simplicity. As He came, so He went away. The task of the Christian poet is rather to help us to perceive what great things underlie those brief words and that tranquil farewell.

iii. I have tried to show how the exaltation of Christ has power to stir our love to Him, to enlarge our heart, to make His chosen people joyful. But we are seeking for a more direct 'value,' for something in it which bears constantly and immediately on all our spiritual life. What is the direct effect of the act of Ascension upon us? It is the beginning of that relation between Christ and the believer in which we now stand. Even after His Resurrection He could only be at one Emmaus at a time; since His Ascension He is at a thousand, and at each of them men's hearts burn discerning His presence. St. John had heard, and seen with his eyes, and his hands had handled. The Ascension closes that manifestation of the Word of Life, and the apostle rises to another stage of fellowship to which he can invite those to follow him who have not known Christ in the flesh (1 Jn 1<sup>8</sup>). The apostles passed from fellowship in the flesh to fellowship in the spirit—an easy transition, and one which seems to have cost them no effort. We have to rise at once to the higher level without the help of the intermediate step. For us it is not easy. It does cost efforts—not one, but many. This, then, is the meaning of the Ascension for us. It is not so much a withdrawal or an end; but rather a beginning, the beginning of a life which is to be lived with and in One whom we have never seen.

May we not say that, thus regarded, the Ascension is the most difficult to respond to of all

Christian commemorations? Our Master withdraws Himself from the reach of those means of communication with which God has furnished us. Yet He bids us not only to find Him without them, but to live closer to Him than the men who followed Him in the days of His flesh. Only those who are really doing this can give the Ascension its true place and worth. They know that the demand which it makes is great, but that the recompense which it gives is greater. May we not see an ascending series in the events of the Lord's life as they lend themselves to spiritual appropriation? All can rejoice in the Nativity. Most Christians can realize what the Cross has done for them. There are fewer who know the power of His Resurrection. There are fewer still whom the Ascension raises to the joy and privilege of a constant spiritual union.

How can we rise? It is a frequent complaint: 'I want to be lifted up, and I hoped to find help to lift me up here or there, from this person or from that, but I have found none.' It is the Ascension which will lift you up, if you enter into its teaching.

1. As the first step for doing so, we must follow the apostles. Through them and their records we must first know the historic Christ as the condition of rising to union with Him now. What He was then, is what He will be to us. Every trait of character which is recorded of Him should be in our memories all through our present spiritual communion with Him. It is a delusion to think that in a mystical way we can learn anything fresh about Christ and His will. But reality, power, personal appropriateness can be added by our experience to what we have read. His tender compassion to the woman in the crowd, His plain rebuke to St. Peter's counsel of affection, His patient bearing with slowness of apprehension, His revelations of Himself after He had risen, in accordance with the needs and moods of His disciples—all these we recognize over again in His dealings with ourselves. Our secret lives illustrate the Gospel story, though they can add no new feature. Let me repeat, the first requisite is to know the historic Christ. At once look back and look up.

2. Then, knowing Him thus, we are to associate ourselves with Him in a plain, practical way; that is to say, in our work. Our task is the Kingdom of Heaven, and there is no lawful occupation, no

relation of life in which the building-up of that kingdom on earth may not be pursued. It is not limited to charitable undertakings, church work, missionary enterprises; but every act or word by which men seek to live together in peace, love, and unselfishness is an effort for the Kingdom of Heaven. In all these, in all that we do, we are to associate ourselves with Him, and Him with us.

Plain and practical as this way to union is, yet again let us say how difficult! Perhaps few would ever have attempted it if Scripture itself had not given us an almost perfect example. Our doctrinal and ethical debt to St. Paul is indeed great, but we owe him something else—the record of his experience, of a life in Christ; or, to use his own frequent mode of expression, in Christ Jesus—that is to say, in the glorified, ascended Saviour. How otiose and superfluous as a matter of style is the constant addition of 'in Christ' to all that St. Paul has to say of his thoughts, desires, and efforts! So says the cold, external critic. But to the Christian, in this constant phrase the very heart and secret of the life of the apostle is disclosed—a disclosure which stirs and fires him to make the same experience his own. Even St. Paul had once known Christ after the flesh (2 Co 5<sup>16</sup>); that is, he had but recognized His historical character and His past work. But later he had come to learn the true lesson of the Ascension, to know Christ Jesus in the Spirit, an ever-present Saviour, in whom the life of His servants is to be lived.

To realize this aspect of the Ascension as the beginning of life in Christ, we have but to set side by side the last discourse in St. John's Gospel, and Plato's record in the *Phædo* of the last hours of Socrates. Socrates is leaving his disciples 'orphans,' so one of them says, using the very word which our Lord employs (*Phædo*, lxx.). And Socrates has no consolation for them. Socrates does not say, 'I will come unto you' (Jn 14<sup>18</sup>). Again that other great teacher—for so, surely, we may speak of him—believes that it is well for himself that he is leaving the world, and calls on his disciples to rejoice on his account. But he cannot add, as Christ does, 'it is expedient for you that I go away.' The one departure is pure loss for those who are left; the other is gain.

It is by this union with individual believers, and with the Church in its broad sense, that the Lord continues His work in the world, not merely by a



legacy of recorded words and example, but as a living power through living men, carrying on without break His ministry of Redemption. In the biography of one who in his time did much for the Kingdom of God, there is at the close of it a touching expression of sadness at having to leave the world with so much misery in it (*Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. iii. p. 513). We see why no

such thought could attach to the Ascension. St. Matthew, who does not record the actual event, is nevertheless the best interpreter of its meaning. His equivalent for the Ascension is: 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the age.' That is what the Ascension really means. It is rather the festival of Christ's presence in the world than of His departure from it.

## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

I. BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., OXFORD.

THE first-fruits of the important excavations carried on by M. de Morgan on the site of Susa have just appeared. Dr. Scheil has published the Semitic texts found among the ruins of the ancient Elamite capital (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse: Textes élamites-sémitiques*; première série, Paris: Leroux, 1900). It forms the second volume of the work in which M. de Morgan will give an account of his excavations, so far as they have yet gone, the first volume, which is about to appear, containing a detailed history of them, while the third volume will be devoted to the 'Anzanite' or native Elamite inscriptions which have been disinterred. That Semitic texts should be discovered at all at Susa is a surprise; what is a still greater surprise is that they go back to the very beginning of Elamite civilization. Our whole conception of early Elamite history has been revolutionized; and it turns out that the tenth chapter of Genesis is right, after all, in making Elam a son of Shem. Once more archæological discovery has confirmed the statement of an Old Testament writer, and this time in a most unexpected manner.

Susa, it would seem, was originally included in Babylonia. It was the capital of a district called Barahsi in the early inscriptions, which was distinct from the land of Elam properly so-called. In course of time, however, Barahsi was absorbed by Elam, and Susa or Shushan thus became an Elamite town.

The earliest rulers of Susa, whose records have come down to us, were high priests who acknowledged the sovereignty of the Babylonian kings. Naram-Sin (3800 B.C.) reigned over Elam just as

he reigned over Babylonia, and Susa was on the same footing in regard to the dominant state as was Tello or any other of the subject Babylonian cities. At first the high priests of Susa bore Semitic names, but a time came when the names became 'Anzanite,' though the inscriptions continue to be in the Semitic language of Babylonia.

The land of Anzan was from the first non-Semitic, and its inhabitants spoke an agglutinative language. At some period before 2300 B.C. its kings made themselves masters of Susa and Elam, which from henceforward came to be synonymous with Anzan. They even carried the war into Babylonia, and for a time that country had to submit to Elamite—or, more strictly speaking, Anzanite—supremacy. This is the period to which Chedor-laomer belongs. Babylonia, indeed, under Khammurabi or Ammurapi, succeeded in shaking off the Elamite yoke, but Elam remained independent, and the Semitic element which had once existed in it was absorbed or driven out. Naturally, however, the memories of the Semitic past long survived in the country; Semitic deities continued to be worshipped there, and it was remembered that the chief sanctuaries of Susa were of Semitic foundation.

Dr. Scheil's volume has been brought out with all that sumptuousness of type and paper which we are accustomed to expect in the publications of the French Government. The facsimiles of the inscriptions given in it leave nothing to be desired. They are headed by the long inscription of Manistusu (or, as Dr. Scheil prefers to read the name, Manistu-irba), the early king of Kis, whose existence was first made known to us by the



American excavations at Niffer. It is engraved on an obelisk, and is in a very complete condition. The list of early Babylonian names contained in it, which have been alphabetically catalogued by the editor, is an important contribution to our knowledge of Chaldæan nomenclature.

A good many of the inscriptions belong to the kings of the Kassite dynasty whom they prove to have ruled, at all events for a time, over Susa as well as over Babylonia. Among them is an interesting record of a gift of land made to a worker in leather, who is described as a 'fugitive' from Khali-rab-batû. His name was Agab-takha, in which Dr. Scheil very ingeniously sees the word *takhû* described in a lexical tablet as signifying 'son' in some foreign language (apparently). In any case the record gives us for the first time the true pronunciation of the name of the country hitherto read Khani-rabbat, or Khani-gabbat, of which the capital at one time was the modern Malatiyeh. It is difficult not to connect the first part of the name with that of the Halys; 'the land of the greater Halys,' in fact, would have been a very appropriate designation for the eastern half of Cappadocia.

The district of Barahsi in which Susa was situated appears in later texts under the form of Parasi. This I should identify with the Parsuas of Sennacherib, which the Assyrian king places next to Anzan, and in which the name of Persia has long

since been recognized. It would seem, therefore, that the Aryan tribe of Persians must have derived their name from the district in which they settled, and did not bring it with them.

At the end of the volume Dr. Scheil has published some very curious texts found on clay tablets and discovered in the lower strata of the mounds of Susa, which present us with a wholly new system of cuneiform writing. The characters are partly hieroglyphic, and the numerical ciphers employed in them also differ from those in use in the ordinary cuneiform script. As Dr. Scheil remarks, they appear to represent a system of cuneiform which differs entirely from 'that which has given us the so-called Babylonian signs,' and is probably 'the result of an independent development.' Along with these tablets he also publishes a highly interesting cylinder inscribed with pictorial characters, as well as a small stone tablet from Lower Chaldæa, on which we find at last the hieroglyphic originals of the cuneiform signs. I believe that Dr. Scheil has identified rightly the larger part of these; two of them, however, which he doubtfully suggests may be *id* and *dhur*, seem to me to be rather *zak* and *gu*. Like him I would read the proper name, which is partially enclosed in a sort of cartouche, Ennun-takh. For the history of writing, the value of these discoveries need not be pointed out.

Cairo, Egypt, December 1900.

## 2. BY THE REV. P. A. GORDON CLARK, PERTH.

THE *Archæological Report* of the Egypt Exploration Fund for the year 1899-1900, just issued, shows how closely connected with each other were the countries of the ancient world, and how rapidly new light is being thrown upon obscure problems.

In the article 'Egypt,' in *H.D.B.*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Crum, after stating the evidence of the affinity between the Egyptian and Semitic languages, adds (p. 656): 'One of the most distinctive features of the Semitic languages—the preponderance of trilateral roots—is, at any rate, not paralleled, even in the oldest Egyptian documents.' This non-parallelism, for which Mr. Crum offers some explanations, has now been practically removed. Dr. Sethe, who has just become Professor of Egyptology at Göttingen, has published an elaborate treatise on the Egyptian verb, in

which he shows that in the earlier texts the vast majority of the roots of verbs are trilateral, that all were originally so, and became, as they appear in later texts, biliteral through the loss of a consonant. The parallelism between the languages is another proof in support of the contention of Benfey, himself a Göttingen professor, that the Egyptian language belonged originally to the Semitic family, and confirms the theory (Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 30, and Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 45) that the Egyptians came originally from Asia, and imposed their language, etc., upon the natives, who adopted and modified it. This again draws closer the links which unite Chaldæa and the land of the Nile.

The Egyptians had various modes of writing, the best known being the hieroglyphic. Of this there was a cursive form known to us in two

<sup>1</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i.

scripts, the hieratic of the Middle Empire, and a very much older hieratic of the Early Empire, preserved in the Papyrus Prisse found in a tomb of the eleventh dynasty. Some forty-five of the hieroglyphic signs had acquired a kind of alphabetic character. The famous French Egyptologist, De Rougé, promulgated the theory that a Semitic people took twenty-one of these, in the form which they have in the ancient hieratic script, and adding another non-Egyptian sign, formed the first alphabet, generally called the Phœnician alphabet, from which that of Greece and Rome and our own were derived. It remained an open question what people did this, whether a race in South Arabia (Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 77) or a Phœnician trading colony on the Delta, whose original home was Caphtor, usually identified with Crete. (See article 'Alphabet' in *H.D.B.*) Such was De Rougé's theory. In 1894 Mr. Evans, an Oxford archæologist, by comparing the symbols engraved on ancient stones worn by the women of Crete as charms, with others on the walls of Knossos, in Crete, discovered that two systems of writing, a hieroglyphic and a linear, existed in Crete and the early Ægean world. In a letter to the *Times* of 30th October last, Messrs. Evans and Hogarth gave an account of their discovery at Knossos of a palace, vases, the famous Labyrinth,

and masses of tablets. Mr. Evans in the *Archæological Report*, and Mr. Hogarth in the *Contemporary Review* for December, give a fuller description of these tablets. They are in two scripts. The hieroglyphics, however, have little, and the cursive has even less, resemblance to the Egyptian scripts of the same name. Evidently we have two developments from an earlier original. Now, if the original of the letters of the (so-called) Phœnician alphabet be compared with the scripts just discovered, it is found that 'two-thirds of the former correspond with actual types of one or other of the Cretan systems. It is not too much to say that De Rougé's theory must be definitely abandoned,' and that it was from the Cretan script the Phœnician alphabet was derived.

Egypt had, as is well known, not merely a connexion with Babylon and Crete, but with Rome. More than twenty years ago a colossal group was discovered at Alexandria. Maspero has now shown that it represented Anthony and Cleopatra, and that the statue of the queen is a real portrait. It is evident that the scientists have begun, not a moment too soon, to take care of the treasures on the banks of the Nile. On 31st October 1899 eleven columns of the hypostyle hall at Karnak fell, but measures have been taken to preserve the pillars that remain, and restore those that have fallen.

## A New Theory as to the Date of the Epistle to the Galatians.

By PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, LL.D., D.C.L., ABERDEEN.

EARLY in the year 1900 Mr. Bartlet of Mansfield College, Oxford, in his excellent book on *The Apostolic Age*, assumed the theory (which he had stated and defended at length in the *Expositor*, 1899) that the Epistle to the Galatians was written by St. Paul after returning from his first missionary journey and immediately before the Apostolic Council described in Ac 15. Unfortunately he united this theory with certain unnecessary concomitants, which seem to have prevented it from finding serious consideration or fair discussion. (1) He supposed that St. Paul made a journey to

Jerusalem between the two which are described in Ac 9 and 11, 12; and that this journey, about which Luke is silent (and presumably ignorant), was the one which Paul describes in Gal 2<sup>1-10</sup>. Such a complex hypothesis was not likely to find much favour. (2) Further, he leaned to the supposition that Galatians was written on the journey through Phœnicia to Jerusalem, as described in Ac 15<sup>3</sup>; and (3) he explained Paul's reference in Gal 4<sup>13</sup> to his 'former visit,' either as not necessarily implying that there had been a second visit (which, though stated by many commentators,

cannot be approved), or as sufficiently justified by the return after an interval to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, Ac 14<sup>21</sup> (which seems a justifiable interpretation).

These additions sprang probably from the tendency to retain as much as possible from current views. That is certainly and professedly (see p. 85) the case with (2), which is the least satisfactory detail in the whole theory; a bad explanation needed to suit the current theory is needlessly adopted by Mr. Bartlet and worked into his own theory.

Professor Valentin Weber of the (Catholic) University of Würzburg has, during the present year, published several papers and an elaborate book,<sup>1</sup> in which he supports a similar theory to Mr. Bartlet's about the date of the Epistle; but he has not encumbered it with the needless complications which the English scholar has attached to it; and he has worked it out in such elaboration as to make his work a complete re-study of the early years in Christian history, and of a large part of Pauline biography. The work demands, and is sure to receive, careful and prolonged consideration. His most salient results—but not his most important, for some, which are not so easily quotable in a short notice, are really of the greatest importance—are these—

1. The Epistle to the Galatians was written from Antioch, while Paul was resident there after returning from his first journey, and before the necessity for his third visit to Jerusalem arose: *i.e.* Galatians coincides with the period of Ac 14<sup>28</sup>, and belongs to 49 A.D. (or perhaps even the last months of 48 A.D.).

2. The second visit of Paul to the Galatians (Gal 4<sup>13</sup>) is described in Ac 14<sup>21</sup>.

3. The second visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion is described in Gal 2<sup>1-10</sup> and in Ac 11<sup>30</sup> 12<sup>25</sup>.

4. A new construction and interpretation of the portentous sentence, Gal 2<sup>2-10</sup>, is proposed: the novelty lies mainly in v.<sup>6</sup>: 'Whatever character, originating from the accepted leaders,

<sup>1</sup> (1) *Die Abfassung des Galaterbriefs vor dem Apostelkonzil*. Ravensburg: Kitz, 1900. Pp. xvi, 402. (2) *Die Adressaten des Galaterbriefes: Beweis der rein-südgalatischen Theorie*. Ravensburg: Kitz, 1900. Pp. iv, 80. (3) *Der heilige Paulus vom Apostelübereinkommen (Gal. ii.) bis zum Apostelkonzil (Acts xv.)*, to appear in the next number of the *Biblische Studien* of Bardenhewer. (4) *Erklärung von Gal. ii. 6*. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900. Pp. 20.

they (*i.e.* the false brethren) bore matters not to me.'

5. Professor Weber has a new argument to prove that Gal 2<sup>1-10</sup> cannot be a description of the visit to Jerusalem described in Ac 15, which appears as conclusive as an argument can be. Paul describes in Gal 1<sup>21-24</sup> his action during the interval between his first and second visits to Jerusalem: he was in the province of Syria-Cilicia during the whole of that time, and his conduct there was the subject of reports in Jerusalem. That Syro-Cilician period of eleven (or fourteen)<sup>2</sup> years was concluded by his second visit to Jerusalem. Now, on the common hypothesis that the visit described as the second in Gal 2<sup>1</sup> was really the third,—being the one described in Ac 15,—the whole of the first missionary journey would have to be placed in that period of eleven (or fourteen) years, which would be a flagrant contradiction of Gal 1<sup>21-24</sup>.

It cannot be said that I am, as yet, convinced by Mr. Bartlet (even setting aside what seem to me blemishes in his argument) and Professor Weber. I am not yet able to see that all the development in the Galatian Christianity implied (as it seems to me) in the Epistle could have occurred within the few months allowed by their ingenious theory. The 'quick removing' of Gal 1<sup>6</sup> seems to me not to imply what is claimed for it. The Galatians are not addressed, like the Corinthians, as struggling with the difficulties natural to raw pagans in the first steps of Christianity; they are rather treated as well advanced on their path and in face of a fork in the road. But their rapid development in Christianity might be explained, perhaps, as due to their having been already strongly influenced by Judaism (as taught them by the many thousands of Jews settled in the great cities of Southern Phrygia). I am far from pressing the objection as a really serious one.

But it is not my intention to argue against a new theory. Such a procedure seems to me right only when one is persuaded that a theory is pernicious. At the first glance one is too apt to see with a prejudiced and unsympathetic eye. A year ago, in the *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 286, I spoke of Mr. Bartlet's view as 'a fair theory, which at present I dare neither accept nor reject.' Far more emphatically may one say that of the

<sup>2</sup> Professor Weber (like me) has no doubt that the period is not fourteen, but eleven years.



improved theory ; it is a fair and reasonable theory, and a fair critic must recommend it to others for the same careful study and consideration which I intend to give it. A long time of thought is needed before any one can safely say that he has judged it and condemned it absolutely without prejudice ; and if one is firmly resolved to clear one's mind of prejudice, the process may well end in accepting it. The best way to shake off one's prejudice is to suppose that the theory is true, to judge it from the author's point of view, to see what one can learn from it, and what results will follow from it. Perhaps the most useful conclusion to this article will be for me to put myself in that position. Suppose Professor Weber is right : what bearing will that have on my own views ? So far as I am conscious, little change would be needed in my Commentary except in § xlv. f., where the comparison of the accounts in the Epistle and in Acts of the second visit to the Galatian Churches would fall to the ground, as would also the remark (p. 404) that Ac 18<sup>23</sup>, 'stablishing all the disciples,' is the natural sequel to the situation in which the Epistle was written : 'the stablishing is mentioned because it was an important fact.' Paul wrote the Epistle, 'and then at the earliest opportunity visited them, and established all the disciples.' The fight was ended, and Paul was victorious.' All that, amounting to three or four pages, would have to be partly modified, partly abandoned. But, for the most part, my book was rewritten after reading Mr. Bartlet's article, and anything assuming a late date for the Epistle was cut out. Those two sections, however, were left practically unchanged from their first printed form ; and parts of them are inconsistent with the new dating. Section viii. p. 257 ff. also assumes the later date for the Epistle ; and at present it seems that the real *crux* lies there, as will be shown at the end of this review. There may also be a few other cases ; but, as a whole, the Commentary would suit Professor Weber's dating better than Professor Zahn's ; the latter dates the Epistle only a year, or eighteen months, earlier than I do, but he supposes it was written in Corinth, which changes the atmosphere of composition.

Otherwise, the agreement between us is in many respects quite striking. That the Epistle was written from Antioch seems to me of the utmost consequence for the right understanding of it : Professor Weber is agreed. The chronology which I have supported in a series of

studies from many points of view is the same as his. The exactness of agreement between the Epistle and the Acts, and the thorough trustworthiness of the Acts in all that concerns the controversy between the Judaistic and the Gentile parties, are points on which we come to the same conclusion. There are many details of interpretation and of historical situation in which he disagrees with me ; but none of them are, I think, essential to my theory, nor is his disagreement essential to his.

A good example of the mingled agreement between us as regards general historical theory, and difference as to the interpretation of details and circumstances, is furnished by the dispute between St. Peter and St. Paul (Gal 2<sup>11ff.</sup>). We are agreed that it occurred after Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, 46 A.D. (Gal 2<sup>1.10</sup>), when Peter, James, and John approved his attitude to the Gentiles, and before the third visit, 49-50 A.D. (Ac 15). But we differ as to the interpretation of the circumstances. Professor Weber vehemently disapproves my view that the 'certain (who) came from James' (Gal 2<sup>12</sup>) are the 'certain (who) came down from Judæa and taught, "if ye be not circumcised, ye cannot be saved" (Ac 15<sup>1</sup>).' He explains the situation differently, but is ready to accept the dating.

A specially striking agreement, however, lies in this, that while we were both quite clear as to the dispute having occurred after 46 A.D. and before 49-50, we both hesitated long whether to place it in the beginning or the end of that period, whether at the time of Ac 13<sup>1</sup> or of Ac 15<sup>1</sup>, *i.e.* immediately before or immediately after the first missionary journey to the Galatian cities.

Professor Weber tells of his hesitation on pp. 27 and 248 ff. He leaves both datings open. A correspondence between Rev. F. Warburton Lewis and myself went on for some time on that question while I was writing *St. Paul the Traveller*. At first we both inclined to the earlier date ; but finally the marked agreement in situation and expression between Ac 15<sup>1.2</sup> and Gal 2<sup>11ff.</sup> determined my choice of the latter date. Mr. Lewis, I think, regretted my choice, and has always favoured the earlier date, towards which on the whole Professor Weber seems, perhaps, more inclined, though he leaves both alternatives open, and does not decide. I have never felt clear on the point, and have often doubted in the last few

years whether the early date should not after all be preferred.

Professor Weber has not in every case noticed the agreements between him and myself. It seems clear that he worked out his own theory in almost perfect independence, and I should suppose that he had elaborated it before he had looked into my *St. Paul the Traveller*. If that be so, it may fairly be regarded as a confirmation of the truth of our joint views that he has in so many important points arrived independently at the same result. This opinion as to his essential independence of my second work is founded partly on the fact that he introduces a modification on his theory as a sort of afterthought (p. 250, note), after reading the German translation of *St. Paul the Traveller*, but still more on his pointed criticism of several opinions expressed in my *Church in the Roman Empire*, part i., which were changed in the latter work.

It is only natural, then, that he is struck with the incompleteness of the form in which I stated the South-Galatian theory. The book on the *Church in the Roman Empire* was planned and partly written (as is stated in it) on the North-Galatian theory; and it was only in the course of composition that the falseness of that theory became clear to me. But it took a long time before all the consequences of the true theory opened up before me; and there clung to my first exposition of it many traces of the original error. With marvellous ratiocination several of my critics have pounced on these traces, and held up to ridicule and scorn the inconsistencies between them and my maturer thoughts, as if these were a disproof of the South-Galatian theory.

The least successful part of Professor Weber's reasoning seems to be in i. § 17, p. 77 ff., where he discusses the incident recorded in Ac 16<sup>3</sup>, the circumcision of Timothy. The most serious

difficulty, perhaps, in his dating of the Epistle to the Galatians lies here. Paul says to the Galatians, 'If ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing' (Gal 5<sup>2</sup>). It is not easy to think that, after he had uttered such a strong sentiment, whether to them or to anyone, he could have himself circumcised Timothy. Professor Weber tries to interpret this as an argument on his own side. He thinks that Paul would not have uttered such a sentiment after he had circumcised Timothy; but, as yet, I cannot see from, or sympathize with, his point of view. The truth is that the act was one which is not easy to understand or to justify. It seems to have misled the Galatians, as I have argued in my Commentary, § viii. They honestly thought that Paul thereby sanctioned the principle that the full acceptance of the Mosaic Law was the highest and most difficult and advanced stage in Christian life. It appears to me that Gal 5<sup>2</sup> states practically the same principle as 1 Co 7<sup>18</sup>: 'Hath any been called in uncircumcision, let him not be circumcised.' These express the final rule which Paul laid down on the subject. My view has been that the action towards Timothy was performed before Paul was perfectly clear as to the serious danger of allowing his new converts to adopt the rite; but that afterwards he emphasized the rule to both Galatians and Corinthians. Professor Weber holds that he first laid down the rule to the Galatians, then treated Timothy as a special and exceptional case, and then again laid down the rule to the Corinthians. I do not consider that this is necessarily fatal to his theory, but it is at least a difficulty in it.

The book is full of new and often striking views and interpretations. In this notice most attention has been given to the points of agreement between us; but many will probably find that the points of difference are among the best things in Professor Weber's work.

## Requests and Replies.

Under John xiii. i, Dr. Dods (*Expos. Gk. Test.*) objects to Godet's statement that *eis τέλος* never means 'unto the end,' and quotes Matt. x. 22 in proof. But is not the force of *eis τέλος* in the Matthew passage qualitative rather than temporal? If so, Godet is right.—J. W. B.

THE meaning of *eis τέλος* in Mt 10<sup>22</sup> seems to me to be determined by the *τέλος* spoken of in Mt 24<sup>6, 14</sup>. To me, therefore, the meaning of *eis τέλος* seems to be temporal. Even were it qualitative, it could only be so, in this passage, derivatively and indirectly. Neither can it be concluded that Godet is right in his universal negation, even although Mt 10<sup>22</sup> were conceded to him. For although *eis τέλος* commonly means 'supremely,' 'altogether,' yet passages occur in the classics where it has a temporal meaning, as

in Soph. *Œd.* col. 1530; Plato, *Rep.* p. 613, C, etc.

MARCUS DODS.

Edinburgh.

What literature would you recommend for an unbiassed account of the organization of the Early Church?  
—W. J.

MR. VERNON BARTLET'S volume in the series 'Eras of the Christian Church' is probably as unbiassed as any book that could be recommended. It is in truth a book of the first importance. The author goes back to the earliest sources, and with great ability and impartiality draws his own picture of the Apostolic Church. The title is *The Apostolic Age* (6s.). A competent book is also Mr. J. W. Falconer's *From Apostle to Priest* (4s. 6d.), which we have just been reading with pleasure.

EDITOR.

## The Songs of the Ascents.

BY THE REV. DAVID SMITH, M.A., TULLIALLAN.

### II.

#### A Prayer for Deliverance.

##### Psalm cxxx.

##### FIRST SPEAKER.

1. Out of the depths have I cried to Thee, Jehovah;
2. Adonai, hearken unto my voice;  
let Thine ears be attentive  
unto the voice of my supplications.

##### SECOND SPEAKER.

3. If Thou shouldest watch for iniquities, Jah,  
Adonai, who could stand?
4. But with Thee is the forgiveness  
that Thou mayest be feared.

##### FIRST SPEAKER.

5. Waited have I for Jehovah, waited hath my soul;  
and for His Word have I hoped.
6. My soul [hath hoped] for Adonai  
more than watchmen [hope] for the morning,  
watchmen for the morning.

##### CHORUS OF ISRAELITES.

7. Hope, Israel, in Jehovah,  
for with Jehovah is the lovingkindness,  
and plentifully with Him is redemption.
8. And He shall redeem Israel  
out of all his iniquities.

HERE we have a glimpse of the Exiles in the midst of their calamity. They are slaves in that distant

land, and we see them 'sitting down by the rivers of Babylon, and weeping as they remember Zion.' The Psalm is not a song, for they have no heart to sing and have hanged up their harps upon the willows. It is a prayer, a cry for deliverance from the sorrow which has overwhelmed them like a mighty flood.

A striking feature of the Psalm is its use of the two divine names *Jehovah* (or *Jah*) and *Adonai*. Both our English versions have rendered them indiscriminately *Lord*: very unfortunately; for, uncouth as they sound in English ears, they had a distinct meaning to the Hebrews, and are employed here significantly. The original meaning of *Jehovah* is somewhat uncertain. Probably it was 'He who is,' or, as Matthew Arnold is fond of translating it, 'The Eternal.' But, whatever its meaning, it was with the Hebrews a name of awful sanctity. *Jehovah* was the true God as distinguished from the idols of the heathen; above all, He was the Covenant-God who had chosen Israel for His own people and bound Himself to them by sacred promises. *Adonai* meant my



*Lord* or *my Master*. It was the title by which slaves addressed their masters, and when applied to God expressed His people's absolute dependence upon Him and His absolute sovereignty over them.

Wherever the name *Jehovah* occurs, our English versions, following the Septuagint, substitute for it the word *LORD*; and this introduces us to an interesting episode in the religious history of Israel. After the Exile the spirit of Rabbinical Legalism took possession of the nation and withered its religious life. The holy reverence with which the name *Jehovah* had been regarded became an abject superstition. So awful was the sacred name, said the Rabbis, that human lips durst not utter it; and, when they came upon it in reading the Scriptures, they always substituted for it the less sacred title *Adonai*. It was in accordance with their legalistic and servile conception of God that the word they substituted for the dear old Covenant-name, was that by which slaves addressed their masters. In this way the name *Lord* found its way into the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament, and it is a thousand pities that our versions have, out of deference to long usage, followed their example. It is poor reverence that finds its highest expression in words. These Jews who so trembled at the name *Jehovah*, were the very people whom Jesus condemned as honouring God with their lips while their hearts were far from Him. The man whose thoughts are taken up with the externals of devotion, can hardly have much of love and reverence in his heart.

The Psalm should probably be regarded as antiphonal; that is, it is composed of several stanzas which were sung responsively by different voices.

I. In the first stanza (vv.<sup>1-2</sup>) the speaker is a devout Israelite who is feeling keenly the misery of his circumstances. In words which recall the language of another exile in Ps xlii., 'all Thy waves and billows are gone over me,' he says:

Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, Jehovah.

The metaphor appears to be taken from a shipwreck; and on the lips of an Hebrew the picture would be one of unutterable horror. We Britons love the sea. Much in our national history that is glorious and romantic is associated with it: it is the silver rampart that defends our homes better

than bulwarks and fortresses; it is the glittering highway over which our merchants travel with their loads of treasure. But to the Jews the sea was an object of terror, a cruel and devouring monster, greedy of its prey and smiling only to deceive, the symbol of treachery, unrest, and desolation. They were no sailors: strangely enough; since their neighbours the Phœnicians were the mariners of the ancient world famous for their distant and adventurous voyages. It was in a Phœnician ship that Jonah embarked for Tarshish, and they were Phœnician ships of Tyre and Sidon that brought materials for Solomon's Temple. The almost morbid dread which the Jews had of the sea is expressed in some of the most beautiful passages in the Old Testament. Thus the later Isaiah says: 'The wicked are like the troubled sea; for it cannot rest, and its waters cast up mire and dirt.' And Jeremiah thus plaintively describes the hungry moaning of the sea: 'There is sorrow on the sea; it cannot be quiet.' All this lends a peculiar pathos to the Hebrew poet's comparison of himself to a mariner whose bark has foundered beneath him and left him grimly battling with the overwhelming billows. 'Out of the depths,' he says, 'have I cried to Thee, Jehovah.' But no answer comes, and he breaks out once more passionately and despairingly:

Oh my Lord, hearken unto my voice;  
let Thine ears be attentive  
unto the voice of my supplications.

Now the question may be raised, What were those depths out of which the Psalmist cried to God? Were they the calamities which beset him and his countrymen? Or were they his overwhelming sins? The truth is that to an Hebrew mind these were indistinguishable. It was an inveterate belief among the Israelites that, just as prosperity was the reward of goodness, adversity was the punishment of sin; and, wherever adversity alighted, sin must have been there before. This theory added to the sufferings of the Exiles an element of distress which we can hardly appreciate. It appears very plainly in our Psalm. Here is a devout Israelite plunged, like the rest of his countrymen, into the depths of disaster. As an Hebrew this could only have one meaning for him, namely, that God was visiting their sins upon him and them. In his heart there are only

loyalty and love toward God; yet he knows that God's judgment must be true and just, and humbles himself before Him and implores forgiveness for the unknown wrong he must unwittingly have done. The calamities continue, and he is driven to despair. It seems as though God will not forgive, will not hearken to his prayer:

Oh my Lord, hearken unto my voice;  
let Thine ears be attentive  
unto the voice of my supplications.

II. The second stanza (vv.<sup>3-4</sup>) is the response of a neighbour. It may be guessed that he was an old man, one who had lived into a calmer and stronger faith than the other had yet attained to. Though his words are addressed to God, they are a reply to his companion. First of all he glances at the vexing problem which, as we have seen, was at the bottom of his companion's trouble—why righteous men should suffer so terribly. His answer is the rough-and-ready one, that in God's sight no one is righteous, and beneath His pure and searching scrutiny the fairest lives show very foul.

If Thou shouldest watch for iniquities, Jah,  
oh my Lord, who could stand?

This is just the theological commonplace, so shallow and irreverent, that all men alike are sinful and deserve equal condemnation at God's hands. It is quite true indeed that we are all sinners; but we are not all sinners to the same extent, and God will not blindly treat us all alike. Just because His eyes are so pure, He does not regard us as all on one indistinguishable level of guilt, but perceives, as no other can, the differences between us and makes every just allowance. The man speaks more truly when he leaves off theorizing and testifies to his own experience of God. 'Thou dost not watch for iniquities, but with Thee is the forgiveness.' God, he means, is not a stern tyrant, never satisfied with our efforts to serve Him, ever watching for mistakes and searching them out. He is right willing to forgive us even at our worst.

The closing line of this stanza is a surprise. We should have expected, 'with Thee is forgiveness that Thou mayest be *loved*'; but we read instead, 'that Thou mayest be *feared*.' On the lips of an Hebrew 'the fear of God' meant very nearly *devout reverence*. It is the Old Testament phrase for *the true worship*, and our Psalmist

means that, were there no forgiveness in the heart of God, there would be no worship in the heart of man. Religion would be impossible were God a relentless and merciless avenger. Striving souls, painfully conscious of their failures in love and service, would then be crushed into despair, and their hearts would rise up against God in rebellion and hatred. It would fare still worse with those whose moral ideals were not very lofty. Understanding that there was no such thing as divine forgiveness, they would endeavour in a legalistic spirit to satisfy God's demands and so be above the need of forgiveness. And the result would be, as with the Jews in later days, Pharisaic hypocrisy. It is the forgiveness of God, His redeeming mercy disclosed supremely in the Cross of Christ, that most of all inspires us with reverence and godly fear.

III. In the third stanza (vv.<sup>5-6</sup>) the first speaker replies. His comforter has said, 'Do not despair: God is merciful.' Almost peevishly he answers:

Waited have I for Jehovah, waited hath my soul;  
and for His Word have I hoped.  
My soul [hath hoped] for my Lord  
more than watchmen [hope] for the morning,  
watchmen for the morning.

In effect he says: 'You tell me God forgives! Have I not besought His forgiveness till I am weary? But all to no purpose. For His word have I hoped—for some assurance of His forgiveness; but not a whisper has broken the pitiless silence.' Notice his passionate reiterations: 'Waited have I, waited hath my soul; for His word have I hoped, my soul hath hoped; more than watchmen for the morning, watchmen for the morning.' This last figure would go home to the Exiles. How often, as they camped outside Babylon and sat sleepless and tearful through the watches of the night, had they seen the sentries pacing the ramparts of the city and hailing the flush of dawn in the Eastern horizon which told them their weary vigil was near its close! No figure could more pathetically express the Psalmist's eager expectation of the dawning of God's mercy on his long night of sorrow.

IV. In the concluding stanza (vv.<sup>7-8</sup>) the bystanders chime in. 'My soul hath hoped in Adonai,' the despondent man had said; and the chorus echoes, 'Hope, Israel, in Jehovah.' The

second speaker had declared his faith that 'with Jehovah is the forgiveness'; but, ere it closes, the Psalm reaches a still grander assurance. 'Hope in Jehovah, for with Jehovah is the lovingkindness, and plentifully with Him is redemption.' It is a great belief that God forgives, but an unspeakably greater that, in spite of all that seems to prove the contrary, He has in His heart towards us an infinite lovingkindness and a purpose of final and complete redemption.

The Psalm ends with a prophecy of great salvation and boundless peace in store for Israel. '*He*—Jehovah, so full of lovingkindness, so rich in redeeming grace—*He* shall redeem Israel out of all his iniquities.' To the Hebrews 'redemption from iniquities' would mean not merely a spiritual deliverance, but the removal of all the disasters and sufferings which sin entailed. And this triumphant assurance of a future unstained by sin and unvexed by sorrow is born of that two-fold faith, so simple yet so grand, that there is in the heart of God a boundless lovingkindness and that He is working out, by means of all our varied experiences, our ultimate and eternal redemption.

This closing stanza, though really a reply to that discouraged Israelite, is addressed directly not to him but to Israel. It seems as though there were in this a covert rebuke. The man has been wailing over his own sorrows as though he

were the only sufferer in the whole wide world. In addressing Israel and praying God to save it, his companions delicately yet somewhat scornfully hint that it would be better and nobler in him to forget himself and share the sorrows of those about him. It was sheer selfishness as well as cowardice to bemoan so loudly his own woes with broken hearts and weeping faces on every side.

Discouragement and selfishness are in truth very nearly related, and there is no antidote to sorrow half so efficacious as sympathy with others. Our Lord has told us that he who is greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven—he who wins most of its joy, is he who makes himself the servant of all—he who is so engrossed in loving sympathy with the manifold sorrows of others, that he has no eye and no memory for his own. Our Lord's own life, though the most painful and most distressing this world has ever known, was at the same time the most peaceful and blessed—a life so strong and calm that simply to be near it was rest and consolation to troubled souls.

O Lord! that I could waste my life for others,  
With no ends of my own,  
That I could pour myself into my brothers,  
And live for them alone!  
Such was the life Thou livedst; self abjuring,  
Thine own pains never easing,  
Our burdens bearing, our just doom enduring,  
A life without self-pleasing!

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Holzinger's 'Exodus.'<sup>1</sup>

LOOKED at from the outside this appears to be a somewhat scanty volume, and makes us wonder whether Exodus does not demand a more generous treatment. But if we peruse chapter after chapter of the original with this work in our hand, we soon discover that a large amount of matter has been packed into a small space.

Much care has been expended on the criticism and analysis of the text. To every section a paragraph of Notes on the Text is prefixed. This

<sup>1</sup> *Exodus*. Erklärt von Dr. H. Holzinger. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. Mohr, 1900. London: Williams & Norgate.

contains all the important various readings from the Versions, and a few well-chosen conjectural emendations. After these comes a detailed and searching discussion of the sources from which the book now extant is derived. We need not indicate the general line here pursued. All students are by this time familiar with it. But Holzinger follows it in his own way, examining every point for himself. The process is fascinating, and the results are interesting. How often has the reader of the English Bible been puzzled by Ex 3<sup>12</sup>! What encouragement could Moses draw for the task immediately in front of him from a sign which would not be visible till some



time after the crisis was past? The critical note removes the difficulty: 'V.<sup>12b</sup> is badly connected with <sup>12a</sup>: the thing wanted at that moment is a sign which will convey the pledge that God has sent him. The sign mentioned in <sup>12b</sup> may be a pledge of the success of that invasion of the land which is contemplated in v.<sup>8</sup>. But the context of <sup>12b</sup> deals with the coming deliverance out of Egypt. 4<sup>17</sup> also proves that v.<sup>12b</sup> occupies the place of something which has been dropped. E, therefore, spoke here of signs which assured Moses of the genuineness of his mission, and that, probably, in a quite similar manner to 4<sup>1ff</sup>.' An English student who has not yet procured the costly work,<sup>1</sup> reviewed in the August number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, would find it worth while to compare Driver's<sup>2</sup> analysis with Holzinger's. Driver, for instance, attributes 4<sup>1-16</sup> to J. Holzinger's note on v.<sup>9</sup> is as follows:— 'V.<sup>9</sup> hardly belongs to J, for according to J the Israelites dwelt in Goshen, not on the Nile. J, too, Gn 7<sup>22</sup> (Ex 14<sup>21</sup>), uses חֲרֹבָה, not יִבְשָׁה. Nor can we think of E, seeing that Moses here also performs signs with his rod, and the creation of something new does not fall in with that. יִבְשָׁה points to P, Gn 1<sup>9f</sup>, Ex 14<sup>16, 22, 29</sup>, but we know of no passage from which the verse may have been lost; at anyrate, 6<sup>1-9</sup> is not aware of any miracles wrought before the people to confirm their faith. In default of anything better, we are therefore obliged to ascribe it to a glossator who was not satisfied with the evidence of two signs, but required the testimony of three witnesses.' The 'Song of Moses' (Ex 15), again, is regarded very differently by the two critics. Driver agrees with those who ascribe its present form to E, and believe that he worked up older material. Holzinger makes short work of the arguments drawn from antique words, and thinks that the poem is due to a late unknown author, who made use of J and E. Our limits forbid further reference to the analysis. We can only add that at the end of the Introduction there is an admirably clear table in which all the contents of Exodus are arranged according to the sources, P<sup>s</sup> (*die priesterliche Grundschrift*), J, E, JE, JE<sup>s</sup>, and a few others, editorial and secondary.

The Commentary proper is brief. There is an excellent note on the puzzling word הָאֲבִימִים (1<sup>16</sup>),

in our A.V. rendered *stools*, in R.V., *birthstool*; the LXX, it will be remembered, ventures only on a paraphrase, πρὸς τῇ τίκτειν. After mentioning the other explanations which have been offered, Holzinger reports a suggestion of Dr. Ofele's, who points out that the midwife alone could decide whether a babe should be spared or, on account of some deformity, be destroyed. And an Egyptian text, still extant, shows that the midwife laid a new-born child on a 'bed of bricks, one of which was marked with the name of the goddess, *msht* (Mesechent). In a tale which dates from the Middle Empire this deity predicts the fortunes of the infant. Hence it is not altogether unlikely that Mesechent's verdict as to whether the child should live or die was taken in accordance with certain rules, whilst the infant lay on the brick bed, which in this passage may be meant by הָאֲבִימִים.

Perhaps one may be permitted to regret that the commentator's judgment on some points is not a little more explicit and decided. He admits that *Moses* is an Egyptian name, but does not consider that it has yet been explained. But is there any valid reason why one should not follow the Egyptologists, who identify it with *mes*, *messu* (= a child)? The foundling may have borne some such name as Ra-meses or Aah-mes, connecting him with the deity,—or may have been simply called *child*.<sup>3</sup> Again, on 8<sup>5</sup>, we miss a note on the peculiarly used word הִתְפַּאֵר. If Holzinger agrees with the rendering in Kautzsch's Bible, *Beliebe zu bestimmen*, it would be instructive to know why this is preferred to Dillmann's *Verherrliche dich an mir*, or *Nimm du dir die Ehre bei mir*; our R.V., *Have thou this glory over me*. And, once more, there is not much fresh information in the note on the מִשְׁפֵּט הַשֵּׁן (Ex 28<sup>15</sup>): 'The meaning of 'מ'ח' in 13-30 is not clear. It is a four-cornered bag containing sacred lots. The designation 'מ'ח' indicates that the pouch is to be used for obtaining divine decisions whether in judicial questions (cf. Jos 7<sup>14ff</sup>.) or on other occasions (e.g. in martial affairs).' Haupt's remarks, in his pamphlet on *Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual*,<sup>4</sup> certainly carry us farther: 'The "sacred pouch of the mystery of heaven and earth" (Assyr. *takaltu ša pirišti šame u erciti*) plays an important part in the cuneiform ritual

<sup>1</sup> *The Oxford Hexateuch*.

<sup>2</sup> *LOT*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dillmann on Ex 2<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 59, 73.

texts; it is repeatedly mentioned in connexion with "the tablet of the great gods." 'תַּבְּלֶת הַגְּדֹלִים' may have been a sort of sacred dice-box from which the sacred dice were thrown. LXX renders Ex 28<sup>30</sup> τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως. . . . According to Hesychius λόγιον, or rather λογέιον, was a kind of small bowl . . . ; cf. German *Würfelbecher*, "dice-cup." With this 'ג' הַּ Haupt connects the sacred lots, *Urim* for guilty, *Thummim* for innocent.

A new commentary on Exodus will always be eagerly examined to see what answers it gives to certain important questions. What does it say about the tetragrammaton? The one before us is not committed unreservedly to any of the current theories as to the race from whom the divine name may have been borrowed. Holzinger evidently inclines to derive יְהוָה from the Kal rather than the Hiph form of the verb, and would apparently support the rendering *Der Fäll'er, The prostrator*. The most definite expression of his views is as follows:<sup>1</sup>—'The frequent mention of Yahweh's appearance in the thunderstorm is, in fact, favourable to the belief that he was originally a storm-god. The transformation of such a deity into a national war-god (cf. the manner in which the two ideas flow into each other, 2 S 5<sup>23</sup>) is in itself simple. But if in the holy ark itself Yahweh is represented as a war-god, it would yet appear as though this simple transformation had not taken place, for there is no connexion between the ark and a war-god. The possibility must be left open that the idea of a storm-god was combined with that of a hostile demon who, as the national god, expanded into a war-god (cf. the old designation יְצֵהָר, and then Ex 4<sup>24</sup> 12<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 19<sup>35</sup>). For יְהוָה as originally a hostile demon we may, with reservations, think of a connexion with הָהָה, הָהָה, destruction.'

As to the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt and their deliverance through Moses, Holzinger recognizes Moses as a historical and profoundly influential personage. He regards the notices which have come down to us as an accumulation of legendary matter round a nucleus of fact. Nomadic Semitic tribes, which subsequently formed the principal part of the people we call Israel, may have lived on the eastern border of

Egypt, and have taken their departure thence in some period of commotion and oppression. There is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that the royal official in charge of the district pursued them and was destroyed in the manner narrated by J. But the date of these events is quite uncertain. In the present state of our knowledge it is vain to attempt to name the Pharaoh of the Oppression and of the Exodus. On this last point, notwithstanding Professor Prášek's interesting papers contributed to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, some of us will heartily agree with Holzinger.

If the latter were called on to decide respecting the site of the Mountain of the Law on the supposition that it lies in the peninsula of Sinai, he would be in favour of one of the points in the central range, not of Mount Serbal. But he has not discussed the very important point to which v. Gall<sup>2</sup> devotes so much attention, the relation between Horeb and Sinai. The former is the name in E and D, the latter in J and P. In the able monograph just referred to, strong evidence is adduced to prove that Horeb was thought of as lying in the peninsula, but Sinai as being in the land of Midian,—the *Modiava* or *Μαδιάμα* of Ptolemy,—on the east side of the Elanitic Gulf.

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### Miscellaneous.

Nos. 43-45 of those very useful 'Hefte' to the *Christliche Welt* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr), which are issued from time to time, have reached us. The first of these (price 80 Pf.) is by Dr. Martin Rade of Marburg, and is entitled *Reine Lehre eine Forderung des Glaubens und nicht des Rechts*. It contains much that is seasonable in Germany, where ecclesiastical 'cases' are cropping up with increasing frequency, and where, as the author truly remarks, questions of doctrine appear to be decided very much on the principle of 'cujus regio ejus religio.'—No. 44 is on *Bismarck's Stellung zu Religion und Kirche* (price M.1.60). Not only in Germany but in England many will turn with interest to this tractate in which Professor Baumgarten of Kiel describes the attitude of the great Chancellor to religion and to the Church. The value of the little work is all the

<sup>1</sup> P. 13. For the sake of brevity, the references to other works in this note are omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *Altisrael. Kultstätten*, pp. 1-22.



greater, because Bismarck's own utterances are for the most part the basis of the author's remarks. The tractate deals with the religious development of Bismarck, the hold that religion had upon him personally, his attitude to the Evangelical Church, and his conflict with the papal claims.—The other 'Heft' (price M.1) is dedicated to the memory of the late *Professor Carl Weissäcker*, and is written by his friend and colleague, Professor Hegler of Tübingen. We have here not a biography in the strict sense of the term, but what is of more value, an attempt to bring before us the personality of the man and to estimate his significance for the science of theology. The little work deserves a welcome from a wide circle of readers.

'Heft' 2 of the present year's issue of *Der alte Orient* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs) has for its subject *Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Aegypter* (price 60 Pf.). It is from the pen of Dr. A. Wiedemann of Bonn, whose competency to handle such a subject will be universally recognized. At present the eschatological ideas of Israel and of the surrounding nations are being studied with special interest, and the reader may turn with confidence to this little work for information on what were the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians on such great subjects as sin, death, a future judgment, and many points connected with the nature and destinies of the soul.

Professor J. W. Rothstein of Halle has published a very important and interesting lecture he delivered at Bonn on *Der Gottesglaube im alten Israel und die religionsgeschichtliche Kritik* (Halle: C. E. Müller, price M.1.20). There is much here that will appeal to those who feel that the evidence necessitates a construction of Israel's religious history on the lines of modern historical criticism, but who are reluctant to give up all that tradition taught them regarding the faith of early Israel and Israel's ancestors. Rothstein's aim may be said briefly to be to show that while the religion of the great mass of the people in ancient Israel did not differ materially from that of their heathen neighbours, we have no right to question that from early times onwards there was a small inner circle of Jahweh worshippers, whose religious beliefs raised them far above the mass of their fellow-countrymen. He would not hesitate to assert that all the evidence points to the

beginning of the real development of O.T. religious history having taken place in the time of Moses and through his activity. We must refer the reader to the lecture itself for an account of what Rothstein believes to have been the essential contents of the revelation of God which was communicated through Moses, and also for some interesting suggestions regarding the character of the religion of the patriarchs.

All students of early Christian literature will turn with interest to Dr. Völter's work, *Die Visionen des Hermas, die Sibylle und Clemens von Rom* (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, price M.2). The *Shepherd* is truly said by Völter to be at once one of the most important and one of the most difficult to understand of the products of early Christian literary activity. The present tractate deals almost exclusively with the 'Visions,' and it goes without saying that Völter handles his subject in a most ingenious and original way. Like some other students of the *Shepherd*, he accepts the hypothesis of Spitta that the work in its present form was composed about 130 A.D., being worked up into a Christian form from a Jewish prophetic book that may have been written in the time of the emperor Claudius.

Professor Hommel has published a most interesting lecture on the Isle of the Blest (*Die Insel der Seligen in Mythos und Sage der Vorzeit*, München: H. Lukaschik, 1901, price M.1.50), which he delivered to the Geographical Society at Frankfort a. M. He describes in a very interesting and in quite poetical language how the present work owed its inception to the impression made upon him, during a visit to Corfu, by the appearance of the isle of Pondikonisi, and the way in which it recalled to him the Isle of the Dead of the great painter Böcklin. The purpose of the lecture is briefly to examine the notions about the existence and the situation of such an island, as these prevailed amongst such peoples as the ancient Greeks, Arabs, Hebrews, and Babylonians, and to exhibit the genesis of such conceptions. This is a subject which belongs to the sphere which Professor Hommel has made his own, and his lecture deserves to be widely read.

An Index volume of 78 pages (price 1 fr. 50) has been issued for vols. i.–viii. (1892–1899) of



the *Revue Biblique*. Possessors of these volumes or of some of them will find this Index extremely useful. It is exhaustive, and its arrangement is all that could be desired. We have: I. An alphabetical list of authors and their contributions to the *Revue*; II. A list of the books that have been reviewed; III. A catalogue of the principal subjects treated in the articles; IV. A table of the inscriptions; V. A list of the illustrations. In this connexion we desire to renew the testimony we have more than once borne in these pages to the excellence of the *Revue Biblique*, which in January 1901 enters upon the tenth year of its existence. It is strong in every department. We ourselves have found it specially useful in its archæology and its notices of current theological literature. In the latter sphere the tone is as admirable as the scholarship is unquestionable. We feel perfectly sure that every competent judge will agree with us that this periodical is surpassed by none, and equalled by few, if any, of its class in any language. We heartily wish it continued appreciation and success. (The *Revue Biblique* is published quarterly by V. Lecoffre, Paris, and may be obtained through Williams & Norgate, London and Edinburgh. The price, including postage, is 3 fr. 50 per quarter.)

Parts 3 and 4 of the *Theol. Jahresbericht* (C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, Berlin) have reached us. After our numerous former commendations of this indispensable publication, it is unnecessary on the present occasion to do more than mention that the former of these issues (price M.9) deals with the Systematic Theology literature for the year 1899, and is the work of Mayer, Scheibe, Sulze, and Elsenhans; the other issue (price M.8), for which Marbach, Lulmann, Foerster, Hering, Everling, Hasenclever, and Spitta are responsible, dealing in like manner with the literature on Practical Theology and Church Art. We note several typographical improvements that have been introduced in recent numbers of the *Jahresbericht*. These will facilitate references, and the same end will be served by the Bibliography at the commencement of each section being arranged alphabetically.

An interesting pamphlet has been published by Professor Weber of Würzburg, in which he contends for a new interpretation of Gal 2<sup>6a</sup>. The

construction of the words before ὅποιοι has occasioned a difficulty. Are we to assume, with so many commentators, an *anacoluthon* between ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκοῦντων and ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες κ.τ.λ.? Again, is there not something unnecessarily harsh and offensive in ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν if these words are applied by St. Paul to the Twelve? Our author seeks to rescue both the grammatical construction of the verse and the courtesy of the apostle by his interpretation, which he himself compares to the egg of Columbus. There is no *anacoluthon*, he holds, but only an inversion. The construction is the same as if the order had been ὅποιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δοκοῦντων κ.τ.λ., and the subject of ὅποιοι is not the Twelve but the false brethren. Weber thus obtains the sense, 'Whatever may have been their (the false brethren's) former relation to the δοκοῦντες (the Twelve), matters not to me, for the original apostles added nothing to my gospel to the Gentiles which I laid before them. [Even if the false brethren declare that the δοκοῦντες charged *them* to recommend Gentile Christians to accept of circumcision or the like, that does not affect *me* in the least, for I was authorized to proclaim a gospel free from the trammels of the Law.]' Not the least valuable part of the tractate is that in which our author gives a full account of all previous explanations and criticises them. The only one of his predecessors who appears, and that only very partially, to have anticipated his solution of the problem, is shown to have been Windischmann (in his commentary on *Galatians*, Mainz, 1843). The pamphlet merits careful study.

Through the courtesy of Professor Bacher of Budapest we have before us No. 23 of the *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule* for the school year 1899-1900. The Report is preceded by an account of a Hebrew-Persian Dictionary of the fourteenth century. Professor Bacher, to whom we owe this part of the volume, describes in the Preface this work of Solomon b. Samuel, which is unique of its kind, including as it does words from different spheres of literature,—the Bible, the Targums, the Talmudic-Midrashic literature, and various other writings,—which generally have each a Lexicon of their own. Its author's home was at Gurgâng, still a flourishing market town of Russian Turkestan. The work he composed shows that in a province of the Mongolian empire

inhabited by Turks there were Persian-speaking Jews in the fourteenth century, who gave themselves diligently to the study of the Holy Scriptures and the Tradition Literature, and laboured to make the sense of these clear in their Persian mother-tongue. The importance of Solomon b. Samuel's Lexicon from various points of view is explained by Professor Bacher, who also describes how the various parts of the MS. containing it came into his hands. It would be affectation on our part to pretend to pass judgment on our author's treatment of many other points. This must be left to experts, but we know enough of Professor Bacher's work of a similar kind in the past, and of the weight carried by his name to feel sure that the publication before us will be warmly welcomed by all who are capable of appreciating its value.

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### Among the Periodicals.

#### Professor Schürer on the New 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

THE *Theol. Literaturzeitung* of 24th November last contains a review, from the pen of Professor Schürer, of the third volume of this work. The favourable estimate formed by the same reviewer of the first two volumes is repeated, although Professor Schürer is still inclined to complain that the attitude of the Dictionary towards the historical criticism of the *New Testament* is unduly conservative. A classified enumeration of the leading articles, with the names of their authors is given, and a few articles are selected for special notice. The first of these is Mr. Burkitt's *Assumption of Moses*, whose independent studies in the text have been of material service, and whose explanation of *Taxo* (= *Ταξωκ* = *תכסוק*, by substituting for each letter the next one in the Semitic alphabet) = *Eleazar*, the hero of 2 Mac, is pronounced specially noteworthy.—Dr. Schürer would maintain against Professor Cowan (art. *Nicolaitans*), the equation *Νικόλαος* ('conqueror of the people') = *בִּלְעָם* (Balaam). He points to the circumstance that Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 6. 6 ff.) makes it a characteristic of Balaam that he showed Balak how he might obtain a victory over the Israelites (*νίκην τινὰ . . . κατ' αὐτῶν κερδάναι*) by the allurements of the Midianitish women.—In Mr. Headlam's

*Sergius Paulus*, Dr. Schürer misses a reference to the fact that the view, according to which it was the conversion of the proconsul that led to the change of the name Saul to Paul, was already known to Origen (*Praef. in Ep. ad Rom.*, Lomm. vi. 6 f.), and approved of by Jerome (*Comm. in Ep. ad Philem.*, Vallarsi, vii. 1. 764 f.; *de Vir. Illust.*, v.). He desiderates also a reference to the inscription discovered at Rome in 1887, according to which *Sergius Paulus* was *curator riparum et alvei Tiberis*, an inscription which, moreover, gives us for the first time the full name L. Sergius Paulus.—The archaeological articles are commended as 'always careful,' and a very special encomium is pronounced on Professor A. R. S. Kennedy's art. *Money*, 'which gives an admirable survey of the whole coinage question of Bible times.' The reviewer has a special interest in the circumstance that Professor Kennedy adopts and defends the view (first stated by Ewald [*Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1855, p. 109 ff.], and accepted by Schürer himself in the 1st ed. of his *N.T. Zeitgesch.*) that the shekel coins were not issued by Simon the Maccabee, but are to be assigned to the period of the great revolt against the Romans (66–70 A.D.). Professor Schürer sees abundant tokens that this view will make its way and be accepted as the unquestionably correct one. He points out that so high a numismatic authority as Babelon has adopted it, especially on the ground that the right of coining which was conferred upon Simon by Antiochus VII., must, following all analogy, have included only copper and not silver coinage.—Of the geographical articles, those of Professor W. M. Ramsay on localities in Asia Minor (*Laodicea*, *Lycaonia*, *Lycia*, *Lydia*, *Lystra*, *Myndus*, *Myra*, *Nicopolis*, *Pamphylia*, *Perga*, *Pergamus*, *Phaselis*, *Philadelphia*, *Phrygia*, *Pisidia*) are selected for special mention.—The review closes with recommending the Dictionary to the attention of German as well as English readers.

#### Priscilla and Aquila.

The order in which these two names are given in the various passages in which they occur in the N.T. has sometimes had considerable importance attached to it. In Ac 18<sup>18, 26</sup>, Ro 16<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ti 4<sup>19</sup> the wife's name comes first; in Ac 18<sup>2</sup>, 1 Co 16<sup>19</sup> the husband's. It is true that in Ac 18<sup>26</sup> there is some variation in the MSS and VSS. 'Priscilla and Aquila' is the reading of *ABE*,



vulg. boh., while DHLP, gig. syrr. sah. read 'Aquila and Priscilla.' Harnack (*Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad.*, 1900, p. 8 ff.) contends that the first order is the correct one, and finds in the reading of D a further evidence that the text of Blass'  $\beta$  in general is modified from the so-called shorter recension. In particular he supposes that D's reversal of the order of the names is due to a reluctance to give so much prominence to a woman. But, now, in the *Studien u. Kritiken* (1901, Heft 1), Blass offers a new theory regarding Ac 18<sup>26</sup>. He starts with a passage of Chrysostom (tom. ix. p. 741 A; cf. 746 E) to which Harnack himself (*l.c.*) calls attention. Chrysostom after referring to St. Paul's stay with *them* (Aquila and Priscilla), as referred to in Ac 18<sup>3</sup>, goes on to speak of Priscilla *alone* as the teacher of Apollos, the reference being to Ac 18<sup>26</sup> (cf. also Chrys. i. 306 D, 177 A; iii. 176 BC). Blass infers that in the latter passage Chrysostom must have read ἀκουσασα (cf. *cum audiret* of the Book of Armagh) δὲ αὐτοῦ Πρίσκιλλα προσελάβετο κ.τ.λ., instead of 'Priscilla and Aquila' or 'Aquila and Priscilla' with the plural verbs προσελάβοντο, etc. In that case the 'Aquila' which precedes 'Priscilla' in the present text of D would be simply an ordinary interpolation, and would prove nothing, argues Blass, against the originality or antiquity of the Western text. But, now, accepting the reference to Priscilla *alone* in Ac 18<sup>26</sup>, how comes it, asks Blass, that St. Luke here allows the personality of Aquila to disappear wholly behind that of his wife? Not simply, if at all, because she was the more important of the two, as Harnack holds, and as has been argued from her being named before her husband in Ro 16<sup>3</sup> and 2 Ti 4<sup>19</sup> (cf. Chrys. iii. 176 B); but rather, according to Blass, because Aquila had really nothing to do with the instructing of Apollos. Not that he was incapable of the task, but for the practical reason that he was probably absent at the time on a business journey, while his wife had remained behind at Ephesus.

### The 'Servant of the Lord' Passages.

The last eight years have been fruitful of literature dealing with Deutero-Isaiah, and with the

so-called '*Ebed Jahweh*' poems, as well as with a Trito-Isaiah. The whole of this literature is summarily reviewed, and the various problems set forth luminously, by Professor Cornill in the *Theol. Rundschau* of November last. He attaches special importance to the work of Budde, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jawe-Lieder*, etc., 1900, by which he declares its author to have laid O.T. science under as great an obligation as by his discovery of the *Kinah* strophe, and of the true sense of the Song of Songs. The 'minority view' (*Minoritätstheorie*), for which Dr. Budde pleads strongly, is to the effect that the '*Ebed Jahweh*' idea of the poems which it is the fashion to isolate, is the same as that represented by Deutero-Isaiah and that the Servant *always* stands for the people. These poems, moreover, are inextricably entwined with their present context, and cannot be torn from it without damage and confusion. 'The problem is not solved, but only raised, when they are separated off.' Cornill expresses the hope that the minority who hold this view will in the twentieth century become the majority. The indications pointing to this result he reads as favourable. Independently of Budde, Smend (*Alttest. Religionsges.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 352 ff.) has recognized the force of Giesebrecht's arguments for the identification of the Servant with the people of Israel, and denies that even in Is 52<sup>13ff.</sup> is the '*Ebed Jahweh*' the true Israel within the false. It is true, however, that he still considers it necessary to deny the composition of these poems by Deutero-Isaiah and to assign them to an earlier date. Again, Marti in his recent commentary on Isaiah (*Kurzer Hdcom.*) infers from a careful examination of all the passages that 'the only interpretation that is true to the language is to find everywhere Israel as what is designated the Servant of the Lord.' Further, 'One is forced to the conclusion that the '*Ebed Jahweh*' poems are an original part of Deutero-Isaiah's book of consolation.' Finally, the reviewer himself, Dr. Cornill, has always been, and continues to be, an adherent of the 'minority view.'

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# The Law of Spiritual Repair.

BY THE LATE REV. W. A. GRAY, ELGIN.

'The new man which is renewed.'—Col. iii. 10.

ONE of the sermons I remember listening to in my student days was a sermon by a great Scotch preacher. His text was the counsel of St. Paul—'I beseech you, brethren, that ye increase more and more,' and his subject was the subject of Christian growth. Starting with the dictum of one of the fathers of science, that minerals grow, plants grow and live, while animals grow, live, and feel, he denied the first statement,—that minerals can in any real sense be asserted to grow, and went on to emphasize and illustrate the other two. And then with a power of word painting and a fervour of appeal that were all his own, he worked up from the principle of growth in the physical sphere to the principle of growth in the spiritual sphere, and the duty and the means of attaining to *that*.

It was all very good and all very true. But there is another and even more general law of nature than the law of growth, and that is the law of repair. We say, and say truly, that gradual development is the rule of being, we might say equally truly that constant renovation is the rule of being. In nature, nothing can advance—we might even say nothing can exist—except on condition of its continually renewing itself.

Take the strongest case possible. Take the mountains. The very mountains are not what they once were. In the course of the ages their constituent elements change. Repeated waste, repeated replenishment; repeated dissolution, repeated formation—so the process goes on. It is only by poetic licence we speak of the everlasting hills. The substance passes, the shape and the outline remain.

Take the case of the waters. Here is a lake, apparently the one enduring feature in a landscape that has otherwise changed; woods cut down, cottages laid even with the ground. You look at it, and it spreads itself just as of old, in early days, when you boated on its surface or angled in its depths—the same jutting headland, the same winding bays; the same glints, the same glooms, the same deeps, the same shallows. And yet, though the setting be the same, though the colour

be the same, the element is not the same. Not a drop of it is the same. What the sun exhales, the rain gives back. What the river at the foot drains off, the stream at the head supplies. But for the law of renovation the lake would vanish, turn to an arid hollow or a muddy swamp. The lake, like the objects that surround it, keeps its beauty and its very being on the principle of constant renewal.

Pass upwards still in the scale of existence, and the working of the law is even more obvious. Take the case of the plants. Here is a tree,—some veteran of its kind you remember in your early days. In youth you climbed on its branches. In youth you rested in its shade. The garden fence that surrounded it is broken. The homestead that nestled beside it is removed. But there stands the tree, very much as it was in the old days gone by, with its gnarled roots, its mossy trunk, its great spreading canopy of green. And yet it is not the same. Over and over again it has thrown out fresh foliage. Over and over again it has formed fresh wood. If it had not, it would have died. The tree, like everything round about it that lives and is healthy, holds its position, maintains its vitality, only in so far as it yearly renews itself.

We come nearer still to the thought of the text, when we pass from being that has life to being that has life and feeling. There is the human body. What transformations go on in the substance of that. Physiology tells us that it takes only a short term of years for a change to take place in the human body so complete as to make it absolutely a new creation, through every bone and tissue. There is personal identity, but there is physical substitution. And the fact is, the law of waste as checked by the collateral law of supply is as impressive and suggestive in the case of the human frame as in the case of anything. It is always wasting. It is wasted by motion, wasted by effort, wasted by thought, wasted by sympathy, wasted by every forthputting of the energy that is in it, wasted by the subtle principle of decay, with

which the healthiest and strongest must lay his account. What is life, but a continual warfare with death; death surrounding us in every quarter, death pressing in on us through every avenue. Air, food, sleep,—they are, each and all, only means by which we repair death's incipient ravages,—weapons by which we beat back death's incessant assaults. We die daily. And it is only because we are resurrected daily that we do not die utterly. Our very frames then, so fearfully and wonderfully made, are witnesses to the law we are speaking of. They maintain their soundness, they fulfil their existence, only on the self-same condition, the condition of constant renewal.

Now what I wish you to note is, that what is true of the physical life is true also of the spiritual life. It is true of the work of grace. It is true of that Divine nature which is provided and implanted from above, which St. John calls 'that which is born of God,' and which St. Paul calls 'the new creature.' It should grow, of course, and it does grow. It should strengthen, and it does strengthen. But it grows and strengthens only on the plan I have tried to describe. That is, it grows and strengthens through repeated renovations. Here as elsewhere you have the double process—continued waste, continued replenishment; continued decay, continued repair. That is what is meant by the Scripture idea of renewal. I suspect when we read or speak of renewal, we attach to the word the notion of the great spiritual change that is wrought once for all, when the soul for the first time takes Christ, and taking Him, takes the blessing He brings along with Him, namely, pardon and peace and power. There is such a change. And Scripture, as we shall soon see, has a name for it. But that name is not renewal. Renewal, according to Scripture, refers not to the beginning of the Christian life, but to the course of it; not to its origin, but to its upkeep. Says St. Paul to the Corinthians, '*The inward man, which is renewed day by day.*' And again to the Ephesians, '*Be ye renewed*' (that is, 'Be ye constantly renewed,—maintain the habit of renewal,—keep up the process of renewal'); and here, too, to the Colossians, '*Ye have put on the new man which is renewed*' (that is, the new man which should be kept new,—by fresh forthputtings of faith, by accessions of strength). And here, as I take it, we have a very important and a very suggestive but often neglected view of the Christian life. The

great original change, by which the Christian life is imparted—we rightly lay stress upon that. But the experience that follows, when the renovated character must itself be kept renovated,—sustained in health and activity, through fresh forgiveness for fresh sins, through fresh supplies for fresh wants,—I am not so sure that we think about that. With regard, then, to this great practical truth, the truth of spiritual renewal, we have to look at three things—its *prerequisite*, its *necessity*, and its *method*.

I. First, its *prerequisite*. On what is it based? From what does it start? What is the great underlying condition that makes this continued renovation possible? It is the new manhood. 'The new man,' says St. Paul, 'which is renewed.' The new man, not the old man. The old man cannot be renewed. Flesh remains flesh to the end, and you can never make it spirit. Sin remains sin to the end, and you can never make it holiness. You may starve the old man. You may cripple it. You may conquer it. You may crucify it. But you will never transform it. 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? The carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be!'

No, the old man cannot be renewed. But in the sense I have attempted to explain, the new man can. And when is the new man formed? When does the new man appear? Why, at the new birth. And there we have the whole put clearly. Regeneration first, renewal second—the renewal of those that are regenerate. Regeneration an act once experienced and never experienced again, renewal a process continually needful and just as continually available. Am I over-refining? Am I importing into Scripture distinctions which Scripture does not sanction? Hear what St. Paul says again, he is writing at the time to Titus—'Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy hath He saved us,'—and now mark what follows,—'by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' 'The washing of regeneration,'—there is the great initial revolution that makes after recruiting possible. 'Renewing of the Holy Ghost,'—there is the after recruiting itself, which proves the initial revolution to be sincere.

And how many influences are at work with us to make these repeated restorations needful? Some



are from without, some are from within. But there they are, with their wear and tear, with their drain and strain, a law of death working daily in our members, which nothing can conquer and nothing hold back but the counter-operation of a law of life.

II. And this brings me up to the next point, the *necessity* of renewal. What, then, are the forces that beset us—what are the principles that assail us, that use up our spiritual energy and lower our spiritual tone, tending to a languor and decline from which nothing can possibly secure us but constant renewal from above?

(1) Take sin. Sin poisons. Sin wounds. Sin makes a rent in the heart and in the character, through which the life-force ebbs. Realized or not realized, sorrowed over or not sorrowed over, it crumbles a man down. Thanks be to God, there is repair even for that. The blessing of the text, the blessing of renovation, may be had for the asking, may be had for the taking. Hear what a penitent petitioner prayed: 'Create in me a clean heart, renew within me a right spirit, O Lord; though our iniquities are many and they testify against us, do Thou this for Thy name's sake.' Put that prayer up, with the suppliant's sincerity, in the suppliant's spirit, and you will be answered even as he was. 'Behold I have blotted out thine iniquities as a cloud, and as a thick cloud thy sins.'

(2) But look at other influences than the influence of actual sin, all of them apt, if we watch not, to lower and pull down. There is the force and friction of worldly interests. Worldly interests are so apt to predominate. Worldly interests are so apt to absorb. Oh, what necessity there is for fresh communications of grace, for the recovery of feelings which the world has chilled, the re-stamping of impressions which the world has dimmed or expunged!

(3) Or take another and a different kind of drain. I mean the drain of religious effort. There is something exhaustive in *that*. There is a demand in religious effort, both on the emotional and spiritual nature, of which those only who have been engaged in it can adequately know. Some people never recognize hard work except in the physical sphere. Some never recognize it except in the mental sphere. There is hard work in both spheres, no doubt. But neither work in the physical sphere nor work in the mental sphere

creates such a draft on the springs of being as the work that is sometimes done in the religious sphere—thought, feeling, sympathy, faith, all put to constant experiment, all kept at constant strain! Let the biographies and the journals of outstanding Christian writers be the proof. They are called, let us say, to special service. Or they are called to special sacrifice. They face it boldly. They discharge it successfully. So boldly do they face it, so successfully do they discharge it, that those who look on say, 'How strong they are! Nothing daunts them. Nothing discomposes them.' Ah, but go to them when the service or the sacrifice is over, and you will see what the effort has cost them. Take the case of Elijah—was there ever a stouter heart, was there ever a firmer brow than his? Yet look at Elijah under the juniper tree, in discouragement, despondency, depression,—the heaven darkened for him, all the foundations of the earth out of course. Did he not need renewing? A man may be never nearer weakness than just when he has touched his highest attainments of strength. Such invasions does genuine Christian work make on the vigour of those who engage in it, that over and over again the worker would be bankrupt—bankrupt in energy, bankrupt in faith, bankrupt in wisdom to devise, bankrupt in patience to bear—but for the fact that he casts himself on God. 'He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might He increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall. But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint.'

III. We have spoken of the *prerequisite* of renewal, which is regeneration. We have spoken of the *need* of renewal, which is the necessity created by all the manifold influences that wear the spirit and drain the strength. Let us now for a moment look at the *means*. 'Be ye renewed,' says the apostle. God is willing to renew you. Let His will have effect on you. So bestow yourselves, so dispose yourselves, as that God may grant you the renewal you require!

This is a wide subject, the means of renewal, and I have nothing more to say of it than to state one very simple rule. If you want to be renewed, keep where renewing influences are at play. And they are at play not beneath, but above. We



sometimes say of a Christian whose character we mean to commend, that he breathes the very air of heaven. But that is what we ought all to do—breathe the very air of heaven. Rise to that atmosphere by faith. Inhale that atmosphere by prayer. That will secure renovation. That will secure restoration of life, constant provision for constant want. I read some time ago an article in one of our semi-scientific magazines on the growth of trees. And the point which the author endeavoured to make was this, that the atmosphere is of far more importance to tree life than the soil. Trees, he said, don't grow out of the earth so much as they grow out of the air. They are solidified gas, drinking in from the elements surrounding them the ingredients that are congenial and fit. Plants may exist without soil, if only they have air. But they cannot exist without air, if they have only soil. 'Soil,' he said, 'is useful only as a standing place, air is the life.' Possibly this may be a strong way of putting it, so far as the physical sphere is concerned. But when we pass from the physical to the spiritual, it is not exaggeration, but plain, simple, accurate truth. Earth is of no great value as a source of nourishment. It is serviceable mainly as a location, something on which we may stand, something from which we may work. The true source and seat of nourishment is heaven. The substance of the soul is woven, the life of the soul is kept up, just as the tissue and life of the tree is, by draughts taken in from the fair free sky, of its colouring and transforming sunshine, of its rich refreshing showers. Reach up where the tree reaches, feed where the tree feeds, in the upper spaces, among the upper influences, and you will be renewed as the tree is, from grace to grace, from strength to strength.

Take two lessons in conclusion. One is a lesson of warning. (1) *There is no regeneration without the after renewing.* Do you know this

renewing? Has it occurred repeatedly? Is it occurring still? When was your last replenishing of grace? When was your last reply to prayer? When was your last exercise of faith? When was your last enkindling of hope? When was your last sacrificial act of love? Was it yesterday? Was it a week ago? Was it a month ago? Was it longer still? It is useless to rest in the past. And I fear there are some who rest in a very distant past. It will not do to say that the water was running a month ago, it may have frozen since then. It will not do to say that the tree put forth leaves a year ago, it may have died since then. Do not build too much on a fancied regeneration. The proof of the one great act of regeneration lies in repeated acts of renewal. Are these acts going on?

(2) And the other lesson is a lesson of encouragement. *Where there really is this renewing, you may believe there has been regeneration first.* I know you are often disappointed with yourself. You are back so continually where you were, so like to your old unconverted self, with the same feelings, with the same temptations, with the same difficulties, that you doubt if conversion has taken place at all. Do not doubt, if though seemingly back again, you are ready to begin again. There is a sense in which the Divine life is just a series of beginnings. And though you may not be aware of it yourself, each beginning may start from a higher step than the last one. Regeneration does not secure that you shall not have lapses. What it does secure is that every lapse shall be followed by its own advance. It does not secure that you shall not have decay, what it does secure is that every decay shall be followed by its own renovation. By and by there shall be no more lapses. By and by there shall be no more decays. Till then, let us be thankful that renewal is promised, and let us also remember that renewal is commanded. 'Be ye therefore renewed.'

# At the Literary Table.

## THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

In introducing Dr. Gross Alexander's *Studies in the Life and Teachings of Jesus*, to which has been given the simple title of *The Son of Man* (Nashville: Barbee & Smith, pp. 380), Dr. Tigert says that it is 'the first contribution to biblical theology emanating from our ministry or Church.' The Church is the Methodist Episcopal, South, of America. Now if Dr. Tigert had not said so, no one would have supposed that Professor Alexander had here made his maiden contribution to biblical theology, far less that he stood so isolated. For he knows the recent literature, he selects and judges it, and his gathering out of this much-worked though inexhaustible mine is his own, and it is true gold.

Messrs. Deighton Bell & Co. have published a volume of *Essays and Studies* by Dr. Sinker of Trinity College, Cambridge, (crown 8vo, pp. 121, 3s. net). They are mostly exegetical, and with all their caution they are the work of good scholarship. The 'Maxims of the Jewish Fathers,' the 'Jewish Sabbath,' 'Manasseh or Moses?' and 'On Grace at Meals in the Jewish Church,' are some of the subjects.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ESSAYS. EDITED BY A. G. B. ATKINSON, M.A. (Black. 8vo, pp. 426. 5s. net.)

Mr. Atkinson hopes that at future Church Congresses opportunity will be given to Nonconformists to speak, 'at any rate when questions bearing upon their own position have been under consideration.' But that is not yet. And as the next best to it, the Christian Conference held its meetings at the same time and place as the Church Congress in 1899, and these are the addresses that were then delivered. They include an Introduction by the Bishop of Hereford, a long paper by Professor Sabatier of Paris on 'Christian Dogma,' and nine addresses by Dean Fremantle, Dr. Brooke-Herford, Dr. Agar Beet, Professor Henslow, Dr. Horton, and others. The topics are various as the men. Among the rest: 'Prophets Ancient and Modern,' 'Our Debt to Modern Biblical Scholarship,' 'The Need for a Rational

Christianity.' The addresses owe much to their occasion, but they are published now in the well-found belief that they contain something of permanent value also.

CLUE: A GUIDE THROUGH GREEK TO HEBREW SCRIPTURES. BY EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (Black. 8vo, pp. xix, 158. 7s. 6d. net.)

Some time ago the Principal of the Baptist College in Manchester endeavoured to account for (at least some of) the variations in the Synoptic Gospels by the theory of translation from an Aramaic original. Dr. Abbott now makes a similar attempt. But instead of an Aramaic he supposes a Hebrew, a good classical Hebrew, original. For he holds it proved by the discovery of portions of the Hebrew Sirach that Hebrew was written by scholars long after it ceased to be spoken. The theory is worked out in great detail and with unflagging interest. For Dr. Abbott throws life into everything he touches. Here he first lays down general rules for retranslation between Hebrew and Greek; and then he applies those rules to the Synoptic Gospels. It is a contribution to the 'Synoptic Problem,' claiming examination and commanding attention. If it were not that the possible combinations of the letters of the alphabet are so numerous, we should be driven to conclude by the number and marvel of Dr. Abbott's examples that he had proved his case. Whether he has done that or not, he has thrown much incidental light on passages of Scripture, and produced a book which will be welcomed by fellow-workers everywhere.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL. BY THE REV. S. R. DRIVER, D.D. (Cambridge: At the University Press. Crown 8vo, cvi, 215. 2s. 6d. net.)

A Commentary on Daniel has been one of our greatest needs for a long time. Professor Bevan's was good for Hebrew scholars, but the rest could not use it. Dr. Driver did a true service to scholarship when he undertook the Book of Daniel in the Cambridge Bible series. There is no room for complaint any more. There is rather constant pleasure in the fulness as well as the

precision with which all the difficult places are dealt with. It is more than a commentary; some of the longer notes would serve as dictionary articles. Studied carefully the volume will cast much light on Israel's religious training. But above all it is an example, perhaps unsurpassed, of the caution with which true scholarship treads where the ground is thick with pitfalls.

From the Cambridge Press there issue now and then editions of the Fathers, sometimes complete treatises, sometimes portions only, always edited with nearly faultless scholarship and always printed in the most artistic way. Those who have discovered them count them among their dearest possessions. The latest issue is *Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv*, edited by H. F. Stewart, M.A. (crown 8vo, pp. xxxix, 140, 4s.). Besides the text of the Homilies Mr. Stewart has given us a translation and notes, a short sketch of Augustine's life, a comparison of his Latin with that of the Vulgate and 'Old Latin,' and some hints on the Latin grammar of that age.

BIBLE CLASS PRIMERS: THE MOSAIC TABERNACLE. BY THE REV. JOHN ADAMS, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12mo, pp. 112. 6d.)

Dr. Salmond's Bible Class Primers are now a considerable library. They cover so many of the subjects of Bible study that we begin to wonder if there is anything left. And then there comes another. Its topic is so important, and so suitable to the 'Primer' treatment, that we wonder we forgot it. What could be more welcome than a description of the Tabernacle, with all that it contained and all that it signified? It has to be studied by itself as in Mr. Adams' little book, if it is to be understood. And then how rich in religious interest it is. However unexpectedly it has come to us, we shall look upon this as one of the most helpful of all the Bible Class Primers.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS: WILLIAM HERSCHEL AND HIS WORK. BY JAMES SIME, M.A., F.R.S.E. (T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. 272. 3s.)

The Editor has given Mr. Sime elbow-room. Herschel 'has not attained unto the first three' of the world's epoch-makers, but his interest is many-sided, and it would not have been Herschel

if the astronomer only had been described. Whether we are edified by the tit-bits about Miss Linley and Miss Burney is perhaps outside the range of legitimate question, since it is evident that this series is not meant to be seriously scientific, but to afford us instruction in its most agreeable and entertaining fashion. It is not the astronomical discoveries of Herschel, it is Herschel himself, and both Miss Linley and Miss Burney have their place in Herschel's life and fortunes. The great end of the book is in any case accomplished. Herschel is seen to be heroic, and to do heroic work.

FROM APOSTLE TO PRIEST. BY J. W. FALCONER, M.A., B.D. (T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. 303. 4s. 6d.)

Christ, says Réville, neither founded a Church nor fixed its organization. Says Canon Gore, It was the founding of a Church that chiefly occupied Christ, and His greatest desire was to determine its organization. These are the extreme positions on either side, says Mr. Falconer. His study of the origins of Christianity has led him to occupy a place between. 'Christ founded the Church, but did not prescribe any fixed form of organization, since He, by His Spirit, would be the life of the Church, and this life would adapt itself according to the circumstances of a changing environment'—that is his own position. His fairness, so difficult to have and to hold on this subject, is most praiseworthy. His scholarship is above reproach. His love of the subject has touched his style with unwonted fire and vigour. It is a book we must read, for it is a scientific study of a great present-day controversy, and we shall delight in it, for it is written with literary culture and grace.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DISSENT. BY J. COURTENAY JAMES, PH.D. (Clarke & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 307. 5s.)

We cannot help regretting the title of this book. Not the word 'Dissent.' That is the author's business, and he deliberately employs the word, 'partly on the ground of its historical associations, and partly because it was never more necessary to dissent from certain claims of the establishment than it is to-day.' But what a helpless word is 'philosophy' when used in this way! Philosophy we know, and we have heard of the Philosophy of



Clothes, but a writer of Dr. James' ability might have saved us from the 'Philosophy of Dissent.' We regret the title the more because the book itself is so good. There is courage of conviction and candour—who would expect it otherwise? There is, moreover, true learning, and it is courteously and reservedly expressed. The whole ground is gone over, and the important questions thrown clearly into the light. We should have difficulty in naming a book more likely to meet the desires of those who would know what Protestant Dissent in England has to say for itself. Take these sentences as illustration: 'Protestantism discovers no necessary antagonism between religion and science, but regards both as *organic growths* expressive of an immanent Will, an omnipresent Spirit.' With an explanation of terms, Luther or Wesley might have used the language of Huxley: 'The man of science has learned to believe in justification not by faith but by verification.' But does not faith itself bring verification? 'Faith is the assurance (*ὑπόστασις*, "the giving substance or reality to") of things hoped for, the proving (*ἐλεγχος*, "the test or verification") of things not seen. Revelation and Nature are both scientific; one is the science of the visible, the other of the invisible. They are equally founded upon the ultimate Reality of things, and must consequently be fundamentally harmonious.'

Messrs. Clarke have also published a second edition of Mr. Brierley's *Studies of the Soul* (3s. 6d.). It is the 'Commonplace Philosopher' at his best and most thoughtful. Nothing is overdrawn or overdriven.

TRUTHS NEW AND OLD. BY THE REV. JAMES M. WILSON, M.A. (*Constable*. Crown 8vo, pp. 372. 6s.)

At the recent Conference in Oxford, presided over by Dr. Sanday, the only broad Churchman present was Archdeacon Wilson. And to him broad Churchism was a sufficient reality to compel him to issue a separate explanatory statement. The gist of that statement was that the Bible is not the only source of our knowledge of Christ, nor the Bible and early Church combined, but that to these must be added the immediate personal teaching of the Holy Spirit. Hence Archdeacon Wilson makes all truth to be tested by its present value in our life, and makes our life the realization

of truth. His sermons are modern and practical. Not modern as if they talked of newspapers and novels; not practical as if they were all 'application.' They are modern and practical, because theology is useless that is not workable, and mystery is vain that is not made known. What is the Incarnation in your life—what do you get out of it? That is the incessant question. And so this is a volume of sermons of original worth, with their own message and mission.

AFTER THE SPIRIT. BY JAMES ELDER CUMMING, D.D. (Stirling: *Drummond's Tract Depôt*. Crown 8vo, pp. 260. 2s. 6d.)

Whatever else we owe to the Keswick movement, we owe an unwearied insistence on the facts of the Holy Spirit. So much is this so, indeed (or rather so little is it so elsewhere), that a new book on the Spirit is expected to be from Keswick. This book is from Keswick. Its wealth of reference, its paramount claim, its experimental confidence, are all unmistakable marks. It follows Dr. Cumming's earlier volume, *Through the Eternal Spirit*, saying, as it were, What then? And answering, A life of identification, of oneness with Christ, by means of the Spirit's fullness.

From Drummond's Tract Depôt come also the *British Messenger* (1s. 6d.) and the *Gospel Trumpet* (1s.) annuals. The gospel in its most direct appeal—that is their theme, and it is sent home by anecdote and illustration.

*Britons at Bay* (Wells Gardner, 3s. 6d.) is the name of Mr. H. C. Moore's most recent book for boys. Its title is a good hit. It is itself a happy inspiration. The scene is the second Burmese War, and there are daring deeds and clever lads enough to satisfy the hungriest appetite for the brave and bold. The illustrations are vigorous and numerous.

*The Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus concerning Men, Manners, and Things*, translated into English by N. Bailey, and edited, with notes, by the Rev. E. Johnson, M.A., in three volumes of three hundred or more pages each, and published by Messrs. Gibbings at 7s. 6d. Mr. Johnson thinks that lexicography gives a man a great command of homely and colloquial English. Well, it did not give his own namesake any such

command. But whether it was Bailey's dictionary-making or not, something gave him this marvelously plain and graphic style, and no translation of the *Colloquies* can touch it.

As for the *Colloquies* themselves, they give an idea, not of the Reformation, but of the need of it, such as no other writing can give. Rough certainly, but not rougher than the reality. We surely have all made progress, if even the ministers of religion were once like this.

Mr. Johnson's notes will probably be little read. For really the *Colloquies* are their own explanation. But they will not disappoint those who do read them. They chiefly compare Bailey's idiomatic English with the original. Messrs. Gibbings are to be heartily thanked for the excellent reprints they are giving us, reprints of books that are worth reprinting and yet are only reprinted by them.

Mr. Philip Green has published in one volume (pp. 96, 1s. net.) two lectures by Dr. Stopford Brooke. The title of the one is 'Religion in Literature,' of the other, 'Religion in Life.' They are able to prove that the art of lecturing is not yet a lost art. Great subjects are made impressive, lasting knowledge is imparted, literary feeling is refreshed—all within an hour's delivery.

Messrs. Griffith & Farran have published a new edition in two volumes of an old English translation of Augustine's *City of God* (pp. 367, 377, 1s. each). It is a good idiomatic translation of the year 1610. No more serviceable edition of the *De Civitate* can be had.

GEORGE H. C. MACGREGOR, M.A. BY THE REV. DUNCAN C. MACGREGOR, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 309. 6s.)

A short life and a merry, was George Macgregor's motto. And where did he find his merriment? In the practice of holiness and the preaching of the gospel. Would he have lived longer if he had been more indulgent? That we cannot tell. But he would not have had so merry a life, and he might not have had the same assurance of the life that is to come. His history is the least of him. His history is nothing. What does it matter about university distinction, or even immediate success

as a preacher in Aberdeen? What about a heroic struggle in London and glimpses of heaven at Keswick? But the man is worth knowing. Not what he said, not how he said it, though both were part of him—not these things impressed, but he himself. He impressed everybody. The scholar brimful of dry lore, the servant-maid bursting with sentiment—they listened and forgot themselves, they all heard him gladly, and did many things because of him. If his cousin had not shown us the man, there was no sense in writing the biography. But he has done it. We have known men and found someone else in the biography. We knew George Macgregor, and this is he.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have issued in a cheap form (1s. net) a separate edition of chapters 3 and 4 of Rowntree and Sherwell's 'Temperance Problems.' The title is *State Prohibition and Local Option*.

THE LIFE OF HENRY CALDERWOOD, LL.D., F.R.S.E. BY HIS SON AND THE REV. DAVID WOODSIDE, B.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 447. 7s. 6d.)

The question has been raised, Who was the greatest in the United Presbyterian Church between 1847 and 1900? We had answered John Cairns, and still do answer. For together with all intellectual gifts, he had that which our Lord singled out when they asked Him, Who is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven? But if this biography is to be trusted, Henry Calderwood must run John Cairns close. The only suspicion of doubt in its trustworthiness is its excellent literary flavour. But we are not of those who think that a book cannot be true because it reads like a novel. The men who have written it could not help writing pleasantly; they were, however, constrained both by their place and by the example of the man of whom they wrote, to write with sensitive truthfulness. He is great in so many ways. He is greatest however in just this, his love of the truth and his courage in witnessing for it. If he went to the bedside of a sick student and asked him anxiously of his hopes in Christ, it was his love of the Truth—we spell it this time, however, with a capital. If he did not speak of the confidences men reposed in him, this again was the reason. If he loved his Church and his home, he loved truth more.

There is not a little pathos in the story of his life, beginning with the scene wherein we see him go home to die in early manhood, and ending with the scene wherein we see him leaving his political leader and the bulk of his friends, and putting far away the hopes he had lived and prayed for throughout so many years. It is all told faithfully.

KANT'S COSMOGONY. TRANSLATED BY W. HASTIE, D.D. (*Maclehose*. Crown 8vo, pp. cix, 205. 7s. 6d. net.)

Professor Hastie is a great favourite with his students, and he well may be. For his love is the love of learning, and he will sell time and other things to buy it. While other men would have hesitated to translate Kant's *Cosmogony*, lest no one cared to know what Kant's *Cosmogony* was, he said, It is time that men cared to know, and I will give them the opportunity. His translation is all that it ought to be. And his introduction, which occupies the first third of the book, is a marvel of learning and lucid information. It is enough to make the reader himself feel quite learned about Kant, at least about Kant as a scientific investigator. This is not Professor Hastie's first work on Kant. He has become in some sense his biographer for our day. And he is happy in such a biographer.

THE ENGLISH THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY. EDITED BY THE REV. FREDERICK RELTON, A.K.C. THE WORKS OF JOSEPH BUTLER. BY THE REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D. (*Macmillan*. 8vo, Two Vols. pp. 384, 325. 7s. 6d. net, each.)

No series of theological literature has recently appeared with less pretension and more worth than Mr. Relton's 'English Theological Library.' Though the price is small, the publishers have spared no pains or expense upon the books; but, what is more than that, the general editor has given himself with the utmost enthusiasm to the discovery of the best editors and the selection of the best works; and the editors have made a matter of conscience of their work. We dare to say that there is not in existence a better student's edition of Butler than this. Dr. Bernard has taught Butler for many years. He knows not only Butler, but just where help is required to get hold of Butler. And he makes no parade of his great learning, he only uses it to do its immediate work. There is a clearness in his

notes, as well as a pertinency, which only much use could give them, and his preface is itself an education in the proper appreciation of Butler. We could say much more than this if it were needful. It is not needful. We are content to repeat, that this is now the best student's edition of Butler in existence.

THE RELATION OF ST. PAUL TO CONTEMPORARY JEWISH THOUGHT. BY H. ST. JOHN THACKERAY, M.A. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 277. 6s.)

There was a time when a book with such a title would have been suspected of a heretical tendency. We are past the fear that to find sources for St. Paul's thought is to deny St. Paul's inspiration, or even to impair his originality. If we find that St. Paul's chief contribution to his thought was himself, we shall find him no less a man, no less a prophet of God. Mr. Thackeray has investigated one source, the Jewish. He has had to do so almost as a pioneer. But he loves pioneer work. He knows that progress is made by independent research and among the most primary sources. He has used books, but he has chiefly relied on personal interviews. The result is a book of distinct and very great value, a book to be read (and it is pleasant to read), and to be referred to in all these studies hereafter.

THE DIVINE LOVE. BY C. J. ABBEY. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 370. 6s.)

There are three things which Mr. Abbey chiefly finds in the love of God to men—sternness, breadth, tenderness. On the second he says emphatically that it is as broad as the universe, and more than that, victorious in every corner thereof. 'If all authority is His, and He is all-prevailing, what room is there in the universe for any black and evil corner where sin and pain and woe can reign on still without end,—a festering sore, to poison the very joy of heaven?' The sermons are very short. Every sermon takes up some morsel of the love of God and impresses it. And although no effort is made to be systematic, and other matters come in for exposition, there is a full description of God's love on its practical side, error being largely eliminated by the fulness.

Principal Garrod has followed his *First Thessalonians*, noticed quite recently, by an edition of



*Second Thessalonians* on exactly the same lines (Macmillan, crown 8vo, pp. 163, 2s. 6d. net). It is both an exposition of the phraseology of the Epistle (as most commentaries are) and an exposition of the thought of the Epistle (as most commentaries are not).

Of all the children who choose their own Christmas books commend us to the child who selects the *St. Nicholas Christmas Book* (Macmillan). Let us follow that child's future. For the writing here is literature, and the illustration here is art.

THE CHRISTIAN WORKER'S EQUIPMENT. By F. E. MARSH. (Marshall Brothers. 8vo, pp. 398. 6s.)

It is his spiritual equipment. It is not a matter of books and desks. The 'worker' is simply the Christian. It is what a follower of Christ ought to be. For every follower of Christ ought to be a worker, is less a follower the less a worker he is. Well, his equipment is not a small matter. This large handsome volume is close packed with it. But all is in admirable order, no soldier's kit could be better arranged for its purposes. The chapters begin with the worker's 'Assurance,' pass on through the worker's 'Acceptance,' 'Attraction,' 'Confession,' 'Authority,' and, after many more, end with the worker's 'Model,' the worker's 'Judgment,' and the worker's 'Reward.' It is all in order; and though each chapter is minutely divided, the order is ever kept, while all is made human by personal experience. It need not be added that at every step the appropriate text is quoted.

A little book with a mere paper cover, called *From the Front* (Marshall Brothers, 1s. net), contains better stories of the war—stories of bravery and Christianity—than many of the big pretentious volumes.

Example is better than precept, and the life of *Phyllis Seymour*, published by Messrs. Marshall Brothers, will bring more readers to glory than many sermons.

The same publishers have begun to issue a series of small square books, attractive by their novelty and prettiness, under the title of 'The Quiet Hour Series.' The first of the series is by

Mr. Webb Peploe. It is called *Within and Without* (1s.).

Messrs. Horace Marshall have published a new edition of *The New Testament in Modern English* by Mr. Ferrar Fenton. It is to be distinguished from the 'Twentieth Century New Testament,' which is in course of publication. Mr. Fenton's translation is more 'classical' than the other; it is more literal also. His purpose is not merely to give a modern translation, but also to make it emphatically a translation and not a paraphrase. The new edition is considerably altered and improved. Our only objection to it is the smallness of the type. Let the response be such as to encourage the author to produce a larger clearer edition.

Mr. Melrose has published a boys' book and a book for bigger folks than boys. The one owns its character in the title, *Barfield's Blazer* (2s. 6d.). It is a gathering of short school stories by W. E. Cule, with clever conversations and not a little good fun. The other is a tale of suffering and sin, by Bessie Marchant, its title *From the Scourge of the Tongue* (3s. 6d.). Truly the tongue is a fire still, a world of iniquity; one would gladly think such mischief were impossible.

GEORGE MÜLLER OF BRISTOL. By A. T. PIERSON, D.D. (Nisbet. Crown 8vo, pp. 462. 6s.)

This is probably the most *scriptural* biography that ever was written. For every incident is used to illustrate some text of Scripture, and some text is found to acknowledge every incident and every step. Its lesson is a double one—the power of prayer first, the value of the knowledge of the Bible next. Dr. Pierson has not been pedantic, but he has kept these two lessons before him. Probably he could do no other, they are writ so large over all the life. But the book needs now no commendation. It is passing through a fifth large edition. Let it circulate; there is a very special blessing in it.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMeward MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1833-1864. By WALTER WALSH. (Nisbet. 8vo, pp. 445. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Walsh is the best known of all writers against the Oxford movement. His *Secret History*

has had a phenomenal circulation. Though everybody would not allow it, the success of that book lay in its moderation. It contained facts, only one of which, he claims, has been disproved; and it stated them temperately. The present volume is yet more temperate. It relies on documentary evidence. It lets the documents speak for themselves. It rarely even draws conclusions from the evidence, leaving even that to its readers. If, therefore, the Oxford movement is condemned by this book, it must be because it is its own condemnation. We are not sure that it is altogether condemned. We are not sure that the authors of the Oxford movement were altogether responsible for it. Whatever in their ways was crooked, even though the end sought was good, deserved condemnation, and that is here condemned. Perhaps the one serious sin in the whole history is that which Mr. Walsh has exposed in his title, the sin of secretly serving Rome while openly serving England. Such conduct—and in some it was conscious, deliberate, and prolonged—deserved the merciless exposure it here receives.

Under the editorship of the Rev. W. H. Griffith Thomas, M.A., a new series of Church of England Handbooks has been undertaken by Messrs. Nisbet. There have already appeared *The Confessional in the Church of England*, written by the Rev. A. R. Buckland, M.A. (2s.), and *The Doctrine of Baptism*, by the Rev. Hay M. H. Aitken, M.A. (2s.). Thanks to Mr. Kensit, there is now no fear of exaggeration in books of the most polemically evangelical kind. But these earnest able scholars would in any case have written temperately. Both volumes will repay the most painstaking study.

Messrs. Nisbet have also issued a short life of *Mrs. Booth of the Salvation Army*, written by W. T. Stead (fcap. 8vo, pp. 255, 2s. 6d.). It has much of the fascination of Mr. Stead's writing, the deft handling of words, the abandon of emotion.

DAYBREAK IN LIVINGSTONIA. BY JAMES W. JACK, M.A. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 370. 5s.)

When Livingstonia historians are able and ready to write their own history, they will begin where Mr. Jack begins, having no older records, and they will freely quote from this book. It is full of quotable matter. It is less a history than annals, less literature than religious incident. And

so the future native historians of Livingstonia will find that their nation's history begins with the coming of the missionaries, as our own history, we may say, begins also. They will not canonize their first missionaries as we have done; canonization will be out of fashion by that time, but they will seek to follow their works. How great their works are! How pure, how single-eyed, these men and women who brought the gospel to Livingstonia! Their work is worth this full record, they are worthy the devotion of this enthusiastic historian. And the publishers have recognized the greatness of the occasion, for they have produced a handsome volume, filled with illustrations and enriched by an excellent map.

BIBLE CHARACTERS: JOSEPH AND MARY TO JAMES. BY ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 245. 3s. 6d.)

The New Testament characters are less frequently described and less well known than the Old. They are overshadowed by the great New Testament Character, and their lives are not so clearly seen. Elijah is a great visible portent; John also would have called down fire from heaven to consume, but he is less conspicuous against the sky. A New Testament biographer has (speaking in a literary sense) to free himself of Christ before he can do justice to John. Therefore Dr. Whyte's new volume is the more welcome. He sees John apart. He has insight enough to get at the character of John. He catches him early, he comes upon him unawares. It may not be the whole man. It may be, it is indeed, Boanerges John rather than the disciple whom Jesus loved. But it is unquestionably John, a living, struggling, sinning, victorious man of like passions as we are. Of course we do not speak specially of the study 'John.' We do not remember that in that study the word Boanerges once occurs, or the thought. It is Dr. Whyte's imaginative power of detaching his characters that we speak of, letting us see them, and see them men and women.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM. BY THE REV. ALEXANDER WRIGHT, M.A. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 249. 5s.)

The impression which Mr. Wright conveys is that he entered on the investigation of the authorship of the Psalms with a traditional leaning, and that the progress of the investigation carried

much of the leaning away. Mr. Wright retains some Psalms for David, and weaves them into his life in an ingenious and suggestive way; but their number is apparently much smaller than he expected to retain and use in that way. So it is a candid as well as a reverent book. It is scientific as well as devotional. It deserves the student's attention for its careful scholarship, and it will repay the ordinary Bible reader by its suggestive grouping of some of the Psalms round the life of the sweet singer of Israel.

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THE WRONGS OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD. BY MRS MARCUS B. FULLER. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 302, with Illustrations. 5s.)

The chapters of this book were written as articles for the *Bombay Guardian*. It was their recognized merit, and no ambition of authorship, that suggested their present form. They are the sympathetic, if unsystematic, judgments and hopes of a well-informed, devoted Christian missionary. It is a sad enough story they tell. The years that yet must pass before deliverance comes! But deliverance will come.

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Through Messrs. Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, Professor Laidlaw has published a modernized edition of Robert Bruce's famous *Sermons on the Sacrament* (crown 8vo, pp. lxxxi, 218, 6s.). They are magnificent sermons. We cannot preach like that now, scarcely any of us can. They are so mingled of experience and doctrine, so blended of familiarity and majesty; they give so lasting and healthy an impression of the power of God unto salvation. Dr. Laidlaw has edited them well—the old biting Scots being given in nearly as telling English; and the biographical introduction is full of matter.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. BY THE REV. A. H. HORE, M.A. (*Parker*. Crown 8vo, pp. xxiv, 564. 5s.)

This is the third edition. The book is recognized by the High Church as the most satisfactory History of the Church of England for their schools and families. It is not *too* High Church, and it is not *too* literary. It says, with a matter-of-fact air, things that a few years ago would have had to be asserted with the aid of strong adjectives. The author is not able, either intellectually or morally,

but he is industrious, and when a date can be got at he gets at it. He begins at the beginning—not foolishly with Christ and the apostles, as some historians have done,—but with the 'Celtic Fore-runners of the Church of England' in 177. And he holds on right through, not greatly rejoicing, but assured of the greatness of the Church in England, in spite of the fact, which he deplures, that she has been under Papal Authority, Royal Supremacy, and Parliamentary tyranny—one or other of these—all through her history. It is a full book, and it will impress all who are likely to use it with the importance of its subject.

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AN ALL-ROUND MINISTRY. BY C. H. SPURGEON. (*Passmore & Alabaster*. Crown 8vo, pp. 404. 3s. 6d.)

This is the best Spurgeon book we have received since his death. It contains twelve of the annual addresses he delivered as President of the Pastors' College. Spurgeon was at his best on these occasions; and these addresses are perhaps inimitable in their combination of homely wisdom and evangelical fervour.

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THE TEMPLE: ITS MINISTRY AND SERVICES. BY THE REV. DR. EDERSHEIM. (*Religious Tract Society*. Crown 8vo, pp. 414. 5s.)

Edersheim has passed through a searching criticism within the last few years. For he wrote over a large range, he dealt with subjects of great difficulty, and he usually expressed himself emphatically. It must be confessed that he has come out of it well. He was a capable scholar; he equipped himself in a special way for his special task, and did not take it up merely because he was a Christian Jew; and he was, it now appears, in some degree in advance of even the best scholarship of his day, anticipating discoveries that have since been made, or adopting new positions that have since been confirmed.

It is not to be claimed that all his positions have been confirmed. And perhaps it might have been wise if the R.T.S. had submitted his *Temple* to an expert before issuing it in a new edition, as Messrs. Longmans did with his *History of the Jewish Nation*. Scholars can make the necessary corrections for themselves; but not so the general reader for whom the book is intended. Still, we repeat, it is not so far astray as to make that measure more than advisable. And the excellent reprint is very welcome.



Thomas Scott's *Force of Truth* is a prevailing book. It is wise on the part of the Religious Tract Society to republish it (1s. 6d.).

The same firm has issued the wonderful story of one of their tracts, entitled *The Swearer's Prayer* (6d. net).

Their *Scripture Pocket Book* (1s. 6d.) is a case of the survival of the fittest, an application of evolution which even the R.T.S. will respect.

Most moving is the autobiography of Miss H. R. Higgins, called *Yet will I trust Him* (1s. 6d.). 'They also serve who only stand and wait.'

#### COMMERCE AND CHRISTIANITY. (Sonnenschein. Crown 8vo, pp. 205. 3s. 6d. net.)

The author of *Evil and Evolution* is a writer to be reckoned with. The tone of his new book is a trifle arrogant, but it is a terrible subject he handles, and a man who feels deeply on it may be excused if he finds the remedies unsatisfactory. What he would do himself is not always clear. He would have Government buy up the tramways, railways, and such like things all over the country, and see that they are run on Christian not on so-called commercial principles. But he has only touched the fringe of the matter. What of the factories, mines, shops, and private homes? Yet he is right, it is Christianity, applied Christianity, that will kill competition, and if the Churches do not apply it, so much the worse for them.

#### THE LIFE OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE. (Elliot Stock. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 200. 5s.)

This very attractive volume contains selections from the writings of Dean Farrar, gathered by the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D. It is a surprise to find that Dr. Farrar is so easily quoted. His impetuous style seemed in too great earnest to wait for quotation. But Mr. Burn has a gift and experience also. It is a book full of wisdom, and there is heart—we might say a man's heart's blood—in every sentence.

#### THE BOOK OF THE FUTURE LIFE. By P. W. ROOSE and D. C. ROOSE. (Stock. Crown 8vo, pp. 275. 6s.)

It is a gathering of the things that have been written on the life that is to come and all our hopes regarding it. To prove that there is such a life is still necessary for some, and many fine arguments can be used in its favour. But besides

that, many thoughts have passed into language about the nature and occupations of it. And all these things are reflected here, the writers' own words being freely broken up by quotations in poetry.

Mr. Elliot Stock has also published a cheap edition of the Rev. C. Callow's *Origin and Development of the Creeds*; and a little anonymous book on *Marriage, its Institution and Purpose*.

The Church of England Sunday School Institute has issued the annual volume of *The Church Worker*. It does not compete with the annuals that are meant for amusement, it is meant for work. It contains papers on Church life and doctrine, and many excellent lesson notes. That is its strength. But it does not despise a little diversion in the form of anecdotes from Bishop How's Notebooks or the like.

The series of *Lessons on Israel in Egypt and the Wilderness*, by the late S. G. Stock, has been revised, and republished by the Sunday School Institute (8vo, 2s.).

#### KEEP TO THE RIGHT. BY GRACE WINTER. (Sunday School Union. Crown 8vo, pp. 128. 1s. 6d.)

Grace Winter's work for children we have known intimately for several years and marvelled at. She has so absorbingly learned the text, 'See that ye despise not one of these little ones,' that she understands them as if she were one of them, never once rises beyond their reach, and always tells them true things beautifully. For the wee-est of the wee this is the book. For the infant teacher it is the book to be known by heart.

The Sunday School Union has published two volumes of short stories and poems with good morals and attractively illustrated. The titles are *Days out of Doors* (1s.) and *Tea-table Stories* (1s.).

#### DOCTRINE AND PRINCIPLES. BY C. E. BEEBY, B.D. (Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 217. 4s. 6d.)

A sub-title to the book says 'Popular Lectures on Primary Questions.' The 'Primary Questions' are chiefly the Athanasian Creed, the Atonement, Sin and Evolution, the Miraculous Conception, and the Resurrection. Mr. Beeby's position closely resembles that of Dr. Edwin Abbott; his

book forcibly reminds one of Dr. Abbott's *Exploratio Evangelica*. The miraculous in the usual sense of the word is denied, denied in the Gospels as well as elsewhere. But with Mr. Beeby as with Dr. Abbott there are none of the old vulgar charges of deceit and misrepresentation. Mr. Beeby perhaps advances beyond Dr. Abbott. For he scarcely will allow that the disciples were deceived. His explanation of the appearances after the Resurrection is that they were a species of 'spiritual vision'—that is the phrase he deliberately chooses. It does not come to more in the end perhaps. The appearances were not real, Jesus had not risen. He has still to explain the fact that the Church was founded on a belief which was false. Nevertheless, the tone of the book is excellent, and its learning praiseworthy. It will not help simple believers, but it may bring back some who have gone far astray. It shows how much more incredible are all the ordinary explanations than the old explanation that He rose from the dead.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate have published in handsome handy book-form their *Book Circular* for 1899 to 1900 (new series, Nos. 1-8).

They have also published a little volume of religious thoughts, broad-minded but reverent, by R. S. Kirk, called *Side Lights on Great Problems of Human Interest* (1s.).

### The Miracles of Unbelief.<sup>1</sup>

THE study of Apologetics has fallen upon evil days. All the studies that gather round the Bible are vigorous and progressive; apologetics alone has lost its interest. This is partly honourable to the profession of apologetics and partly not. It is honourable inasmuch as it shows that the enemy has been driven from his old positions. But the enemy is not conquered. He has only shifted his ground. And it is dishonourable to the profession of apologetics in so far as it has not followed him or invented weapons of greater range. Both defence and attack are as greatly needed, as ever, but the world is weary of the incessant pop pop of the old artillery that never reaches its mark.

<sup>1</sup> *The Miracles of Unbelief*. By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.M.S. T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 374. 6s.

In these deplorable circumstances the professors of apologetics have had recourse to the desperate expedient of turning the old guns round upon a portion of its friends. They speak of them contemptuously as the 'Higher Critics.' They do not deny that they are good Christians, that they believe in the same Saviour, worship in the same Church, and look for the same revelation of glory. But they do not study the Bible as the apologists do. And it has been found that the applause which could no longer be elicited for the old arguments, when turned against infidels, comes readily from the uninstructed multitude when the cry is raised that the Bible is in danger, though all that is in danger is the apologists' old lazy way of reading the Bible.

It is more than deplorable now, it is humiliating. But the science of apologetics is not dead. The hope of a better day wakens with the reading of a new book by Mr. Ballard. Its striking title suggests its originality and its intention. Mr. Ballard knows that it is useless to repeat the old phraseology. It has lost its grip. It is useless to go down to the old fundamental principles and serve up the old ontological, teleological, and other formidable arguments. The modern atheist is an agnostic, and these things do not touch him because he does not deny them. He only says, I know nothing at all about them.

But he admits, for example, that Jesus either did or did not rise from the dead. If he says that He did not, then he admits a greater miracle than the resurrection. Nay, he is surrounded with miracles, he is working among them, he cannot clear himself of them. And the simplest, most credible, most ethical of all the miracles are those that are called the Christian miracles. Mr. Ballard has discovered the enemy, and has found a weapon of long enough range to disturb him. The science of apologetics has become interesting again.

Mr. Ballard's book is more than the promise of a new day. It is a full introduction to the modern science of apologetics. The new ground is carefully chosen. In face of an enemy as hostile as ever, the opposition is uncompromising. But the warfare is less barbarous than of old. Even in the timely discussion of Haeckel's 'Riddle of the Universe,' which occupies the last chapter, there is courtesy mingled with the vigour of the refutation.

## An Index-Digest.<sup>1</sup>

To the mere lover of literature a title like *Index-Digest* may not count for much. But besides lovers of literature there are preachers. And in these days it is expected of all preachers that they should have the Bible at their finger-ends—if not in the pulpit, at least in the study. Now when a preacher has caught one word in a text he can easily find the rest by turning to his Concordance. The difficulty is when he has forgotten every word. He has an idea. A subject has taken hold of him. He knows there is a text somewhere that just expresses it. But where is the text?

It is partly for such a dilemma that Dr. Nave has compiled his *Index-Digest of the Holy Scriptures*. Whatever the subject may be, get this book, turn to that subject, it is sure to be here, and you find all the texts that belong to it. They are written out in full, according to the Authorized Version, and they are arranged according to their proper division and subdivision. Take an example.

One of the earliest subjects is AFFLICTION. All the texts that touch on Affliction are quoted under their proper sub-title. These are the sub-titles: Miscellany of Minor Sub-topics, p. 20; Unclassified Scriptures relating to, p. 20; Benefits of, p. 26; Benefits of, illustrated, p. 27; Consolation in, p. 28; Deliverance from, p. 34; Design of, p. 34; Despondency in, p. 37; Dispensation of God, p. 37; From Satan, p. 37; Impenitence in, p. 39; Mocking at, p. 39; Murmuring at, p. 39; Obduracy in, p. 39; As a Judgment, p. 40; Penitence in, p. 40; Prayer in, p. 40; Prayer in, answered, p. 46; Prayer for the Afflicted, p. 46; Resignation in, p. 46; Resignation in, exemplified, p. 47; Instances of Resignation in, p. 48.

Dr. Nave believes and claims that the work is complete, that is to say, that there is no subject in the Bible unclassified in his book. He is probably right. For he has had all the masters of this art before him, has himself spent fourteen years in the work, and has been assisted by the Hon. Judge Welch, author of Welch's *Index-Digest of Ohio Decisions*, who made a separate

analytical study of the Bible for the purpose. He might claim that it is more than complete. For right in the middle will be found some pages of 'Select Readings' which are very convenient, but outside the range of the *subjects* of the Bible.

Besides the classified subjects of the Bible, Dr. Nave has included in his work all the proper names and many of the antiquities. Still, it occupies the room neither of the Concordance nor of the Dictionary, for it does not give the occurrences of the mere word as the Concordance does, and it does not describe either persons or things as the Dictionary does. Its place is its own. It is perhaps as useful, perhaps as indispensable, as a Concordance or a Dictionary. It will save time as they do, it will give important instruction.

It is superfluous to add that the book is extremely handsome in appearance and workmanship, being issued by Mr. Frowde of the Oxford University Press.

## The Baptist Pulpit.<sup>2</sup>

THE title seems to signify that the volumes published under it represent the average preaching of Baptist ministers. We doubt it. We doubt if any Church just at present could give an average equal to this. In one sense, however, it is representative. These sermons are evangelical, they are all evangelical, they are nothing else. And we firmly believe that all over the land that is the way with the Baptist pulpit.

There are six volumes. These are their titles: (1) *The Evolution of Faith*, by the Rev. Charles Williams; (2) *Christ and Men*, by the Rev. W. Y. Fullerton; (3) *Visionaries*, by the Rev. Benjamin J. Gibbon; (4) *Church and Home*, by the Rev. James Stuart; (5) *The Lord's Prayer*, by the Rev. J. E. Roberts, M.A., B.D.; (6) *The First Sign*, by the Rev. C. E. Stone.

They are all evangelical, but there is abundant colour and variety. For the evangelical doctrine is a rich thing. It meets men's experiences, and it also fits men's minds. Nothing could be pruned away from these discourses, they are the barest offer of the gospel of grace; and yet every

<sup>2</sup> *The Baptist Pulpit*. Stockwell. Six vols., 2s. 6d. each, net.

<sup>1</sup> *An Index-Digest of the Holy Scriptures*. By Orville J. Nave, A.M., D.D., LL.D., Chaplain in the Army of the United States. Frowde. 8vo, pp. 1625, with Maps, 15s., in cloth.



preacher is himself, his whole manhood is given to the message he delivers.

Another note is the biblical. The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of *these* Protestants. The use of the Bible is not critical, and its interpretation is not allegorical,—perhaps the writers have left the allegorical and have not yet reached the critical use,—it is the Bible as plain men find it, and it is found to be sufficient for every want and aspiration of plain men. Now and then, as in Mr. Stone's sermon on 'The Song no man can learn,' there is originality of insight, but that also is due to great familiarity with a book that ever breeds new wonder in its best familiars.

### Horæ Subsecivæ.<sup>1</sup>

It is the day of dainty books. Every publisher looks round. 'What have *we* that deserves to be done up daintily?' And Messrs. A. & C. Black said inevitably, Dr. Brown's *Horæ Subsecivæ*. They have done it up most charmingly. Three small red-bound gilt-topped volumes, on thin paper, and in good type, and for six shillings—it is right good value commercially.

You know Dr. John Brown's usual style in those three dainty books—gentle, friendly, communicative. You know also that once and again it lifts a hand trembling with the restraint of emotion. Let us dare a separated paragraph. It is from the short chapter on the great Surgeon Syme—

'I have never seen anything more pathetic than when near his death he lay speechless, but full of feeling and mind, and made known in some inscrutable way to his old gardener and friend, that he wished to see a certain orchid, which he knew should then be in flower. The big clumsy knowing Paterson, glum and victorious (he was forever getting prizes at the Horticultural), brought it—the *Stanhopea tigrina*—in, without a word,—it was the very one. Radiant in beauty, white, with a brown freckle, like Imogen's mole, and, like it, "right proud of that most delicate lodging"; he gazed at it, and bursting into a passion of tears, motioned it away as insufferable.'

<sup>1</sup> *Horæ Subsecivæ*. By John Brown, M.D., LL.D. A. & C. Black. Three vols., 6s. net.

### Oliver Cromwell.<sup>2</sup>

It often happens that several writers set about the same writing at the same time. That is natural at centenaries and the like. But it often happens without visible occasion; and yet it is not blind chance; it is an atmospheric influence, it is due to the state of the intellectual barometer. Mr. Morley is surprised to discover that other two biographies of Cromwell are ready at the same time as his. But he wisely does not resent it. We need different views of a large subject, and Cromwell is not encompassed by them all.

If we were to criticise Mr. Morley's *Cromwell*, we should do so in the single sentence: Mr. Morley is too judicial. Some things have to be done by judges; but not biographies, not even historical biographies. No doubt, to stand outside and give unimpassioned verdicts commands confidence. But it does not reach the truth. A man is not a case. To estimate a man and a man's life-work, you must get alongside him, and you must (in the scientific sense) sympathise with him.

But it must not be supposed that Mr. Morley is unjust to Cromwell. He does justice, a judge's justice, to his imperial ideas and to his religious ideas. He sets down naught in malice, nor does he omit to set down aught that is of enlightenment. His account of the last scene may be quoted, it is so impressive—

'When the great warrior knew that the end was sure, he met it with the confident resignation of his faith. He had seen death too often and too near to dread the parting hour of mortal anguish. Chaplains, preachers, godly persons attended in an adjoining room, and came in and out as the weary hours went on, to read the Bible to him or to pray with him. To one of them he put the moving question, so deep with penitential meaning, so pathetic in its humility and misgiving, in its wistful recall of the bright bygone dawn of life in the soul, *Tell me, is it possible to fall from grace?* No, it is not possible, said the minister. Then, said the dying Cromwell, *I am safe, for I know that I was once in grace.*'

<sup>2</sup> *Oliver Cromwell*. By the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D. Macmillan. 8vo, pp. 518, 10s. net.

It is a biography of Cromwell, not a history of the Civil War or anything else. So much is omitted that belongs to history; but you do not miss much that concerns Cromwell. It is the estimate of a judge, we have said, but of a clear-

headed judge. The words are pictures, they gather together into one memorable and most impressive picture. And as for Cromwell, you are driven, you are driven if you follow this biographer, to say, 'Both great and good.'

## Contributions and Comments.

### In Memory.

EVEN as Christ said,

'I go to prepare a place for you,'

So may the fair sweet mother dead

Have left the home she knew,

Alone awhile;

Her loved who in God's time shall come

To find the happy waiting smile

That hath made heaven home.

That day seems far

To those she left in dimness here,

But surely where God's ransomed are

A flash of glory is each year!

Heaven's secret known,

It is enough that she who late

Loved to give joy unto her own,

To give this joy may wait.

SARAH ROBERTSON MATHESON.

### A Correction.

I REGRET to find that in my recently published *Commentary on Daniel* (in the Cambridge Bible) I have, on p. 69, made more than once an unfortunate *lapsus calami*, which, as it may mislead some readers, I venture to be allowed to correct in your columns. The *pērēs* (or *pērās*) was, of course, a half-m'na, not a half-shekel (see Levy, *NHWB*. iv. 123); hence, on the page referred to, 'half-shekel,' 'half-shekels,' should be (each time) 'half-m'na,' 'half-m'nas.' May I hope that readers of the volume will kindly pardon this inadvertence?

S. R. DRIVER.

12th December 1900.

### The Old Testament Quotations in St. Matthew and St. Mark.

#### I. St. Mark.

##### A. QUOTATIONS ASCRIBED TO CHRIST.

IN what follows the text of Westcott and Hort is implied for St. Mark, and Dr. Swete's Cambridge edition for the LXX.

i. Mk 4<sup>12</sup>. This is rather an adaptation than a quotation of Is 6<sup>9-10</sup>. The phraseology, however, has been taken from the LXX, except in the last clause, where the LXX has *καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτοὺς* for *καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς*, which agrees with the rendering of the Targum.

ii. Mk 7<sup>6-7</sup>. A quotation of Is 29<sup>13</sup>, the language being assimilated to that of the LXX. For *οὗτος ὁ λαός . . . με τιμᾷ* LXX has *ὁ λαὸς οὗτος . . . τιμῶσιν με*. In the last clause the LXX has *διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας*. By dropping *καὶ*, and placing *διδασκαλίας* after the participle, Mk<sup>1</sup> renders the quotation more aptly suited to the occasion.

iii. Mk 7<sup>10a</sup>. A quotation of Ex 20<sup>12</sup> or Dt 5<sup>16</sup> in the language of the LXX.

iv. Mk 7<sup>10b</sup> = Ex 21<sup>17</sup>. LXX has *αὐτοῦ* twice, after *πατέρα* and *μητέρα*. B of the LXX has *τελετήσῃ θανάτῳ*, but AF Luc. read *θανάτῳ τελευτᾷ* as in Mk.

v. Mk 9<sup>48</sup>, an adaptation of Is 66<sup>24</sup>, the language being assimilated to that of the LXX.

vi. Mk 10<sup>6</sup> = Gn 1<sup>27</sup> or 5<sup>2</sup> in the language of the LXX.

vii. Mk 10<sup>7.8</sup> = Gn 2<sup>24</sup> in the language of the LXX, but omitting one clause. This omission is strange, since it obscures the meaning. Note that the Heb. has nothing corresponding to *οἱ δύο*, and that the insertion minimises the effect of the

<sup>1</sup> Mk denotes the writer of the Second Gospel.

following comment, ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶν δύο ἀλλὰ μία σάρξ. The insertion is probably due to the fact that Mk was assimilating the language of the quotation to the LXX.

viii. Mk 10<sup>19</sup>. μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, μὴ ἀποστερήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. The order of the first three clauses is that of  $\aleph^a$ BCD Syr<sup>8in</sup>.

The first four clauses come from Ex 20<sup>13-16</sup> or Dt 5<sup>17</sup>. The order in the Heb. is that given above. In Ex B of the LXX has οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, but AF Luc. οὐ φον., οὐ μοιχ., οὐ κλεψ.

In Dt B has οὐ μοιχ., οὐ φον., οὐ κλεψ., οὐ ψευδ., but AF οὐ φον., οὐ μοιχ.

Mk therefore agrees with the Heb. and with AF of the LXX in order. He also uses the same words as the LXX, but different moods.

μὴ ἀποστερήσης may be a reference to Ex 21<sup>10</sup> or Dt 24<sup>14</sup> AF Luc.

The last clause comes from Ex 20<sup>12</sup>, the language being that of the LXX B (B<sup>ab</sup>F Luc. add σου after μητέρα), or from Dt 5<sup>16</sup>, where the LXX has σου after μητέρα.

ix. Mk 11<sup>17a</sup> = Is 56<sup>7</sup> in the language of the LXX with the omission of γάρ.

x. Mk 11<sup>17b</sup> = Jer 7<sup>11</sup> in the language of the LXX.

xi. Mk 12<sup>10, 11</sup> = Ps 118<sup>22, 23</sup> in the language of the LXX.

xii. Mk 12<sup>26</sup>. ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ. So BD. The words come from the LXX of Ex 3<sup>6</sup>, ἐγὼ [εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός σου] θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ.

xiii. Mk 12<sup>29</sup> = Dt 6<sup>4</sup> in language of LXX.

xiv. Mk 12<sup>30</sup> = Dt 6<sup>5</sup> in the language of the LXX, with the exceptions that for ἰσχύος the LXX has δυνάμεις, and that the LXX has only three clauses, in the order διανοίας, ψυχῆς, δυνάμεις; καρδίας being a variant for διανοίας in AF Luc. It looks as though Mk's rendering were a conflation of the two, but the variation ἰσχύος for δυνάμεις remains to be accounted for. It may be due to assimilation to the LXX of 2 K 23<sup>25</sup>.

xv. Mk 12<sup>31</sup> = Lv 19<sup>18</sup> in the language of the LXX.

xvi. Mk 12<sup>36</sup> = Ps 110<sup>1</sup> in the language of the LXX, with the exception of ὑποκάτω (BD) for ὑποπόδιον.

xvii. Mk 14<sup>27</sup> = Zec 13<sup>7</sup>. For πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα the LXX has πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας. In διασ-

κορπισθήσονται Mk agrees with the Heb. and with A of the LXX against B, ἐκσπάσατε.  $\aleph^{ca}$  has διασκορπισθήτω,  $\aleph^{ob}$ F διασκορπισθήτωσαν.

xviii. Mk 15<sup>34</sup> = Ps 22<sup>2</sup> in the language of the LXX, πρόσχες μοι being omitted and εἰς τί substituted for ἵνα τί.

Thus of these 18 quotations 9, namely, iii. vi. vii. ix. x. xi. xii. xiii. xv., are given in the language of the LXX, and one other, namely, xviii., comes under the same rule, with the trifling variation of εἰς τί for ἵνα τί. Omissions are not counted as variants. In other cases adaptation to the context has prevented this entire assimilation to the LXX. E.g. in ii. = Mk 7<sup>6</sup> the LXX language is intentionally varied in the last clause. Again, in xvii. the first pers. of the first verb πατάξω, which suits the context better than the imperative of the Heb. and LXX, carries with it the change of the second verb into the third person.

In still other cases assimilation to the LXX has been imperfectly carried through. E.g. in i. = Mk 4<sup>12</sup> ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς, which is also the rendering of the Targum, is not changed into ἰάσομαι αὐτούς. In ii. = Mk 7<sup>6-7</sup> οὗτος ὁ λαὸς has not been assimilated to ὁ λαὸς οὗτος, nor με τιμᾶ to τιμῶσιν με. In viii. = Mk 10<sup>19</sup> we have μὴ with the subj. for οὐ with the ind. of the LXX.

In xiv. = Mk 12<sup>30</sup> we have ἰσχύος for δυνάμεις, ἰσχύος being, however, a possible assimilation to another passage of the LXX. In xvi. we have ὑποκάτω for ὑποπόδιον of the LXX. Of the two remaining cases, iv. and v., the former agrees with AF of the LXX against B, the latter differs from the LXX in virtue of its being not a quotation but an adaptation of LXX language.

Thus in this gospel Mk has in general assimilated the wording of such quotations as are ascribed to Christ to the language of the Greek Bible.

## B. OTHER QUOTATIONS.

i. Mk 11<sup>9</sup> = Ps 118<sup>25, 26</sup>. In the last clause the writer assimilates to the LXX. In ὥσαννά he prefers to retain in a Greek form the phrase actually used on this occasion.

ii. Mk 1<sup>2</sup>. ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου. These words down to προσώπου σου are taken from the LXX of Ex 23<sup>20</sup>, with the omission of ἐγώ, which is inserted, however, by  $\aleph$ AL, etc.



The last clause seems to be a reminiscence of Mal 3<sup>1</sup>. The LXX here has *καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται*, which has been modified into the more suitable *κατασκευάσει*.

iii. Mk 1<sup>8</sup>. From the LXX of Is 40<sup>8</sup>. The attribution of *κυρίου* to the Messiah has necessitated the change of *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* into *αὐτοῦ*.

Upon these last two quotations some further remarks seem necessary. The construction of the first four verses of St. Mark presents difficulties which are well known. It is difficult to persuade oneself that 1<sup>1</sup> is a title to the whole book (cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. 220–223). On the other hand, not one of the methods of bringing this verse into connexion with the following verses seems at all natural. The inference irresistibly suggested is that either 1<sup>1</sup> or 1<sup>2-3</sup> is a later addition to the gospel. But, on the other hand, there is nothing to be said against them from the point of view of the evidence of MSS or VSS. From the first, vv. 1<sup>2-3</sup> seem to have formed part of the Greek gospel. What does this suggest? Surely that the gospel once existed in another language, and that the Greek translator has inserted one of these intrusive passages, and so made the construction difficult. The present writer has elsewhere (*Expos.*; June 1900) endeavoured to show that the gospel was written in Aramaic. He is not now prepared to reconstruct the Aramaic of the beginning section, but let us suppose that it ran as follows:—‘Before the preaching of Jesus Christ, Son of God, John, who baptized in the desert was preaching the baptism of repentance,’ or ‘was baptizing in the desert, and preaching.’ After a sketch of the ministry of John, the baptism and temptation of Christ, vv. 5–14, the thread of thought is again taken up, ‘And after the baptism of John, Jesus came preaching,’ etc. The Greek translator has in the first place obscured the meaning by rendering the Aramaic equivalent of ‘Before’ by *ἀρχῇ*. Secondly, he has made matters worse by inserting the references to prophecy. It is not supposed that he was the first who applied these passages to St. John. The fact that Mt and Mk both quote the first passage in quite a different context does not prove, but makes it probable, that this quotation at least was widely current in Greek circles. If so, the same is more probably than not true of the passage from Isaiah. But it is noticeable that whoever first applied this to St. John’s preaching in

the desert, whether it were the Greek translator of Mt, or another, was using his Greek Bible. Only there and not in the Hebrew is ‘the desert’ connected with the ‘voice crying.’

The theory here tentatively suggested, that Mk was translating from an Aramaic document, will fit in quite well with the data supplied by the other quotations. The Greek translator has for the most part adopted the language of his Greek Bible. Sometimes he retains the Aramaic before him, as in 4<sup>12</sup>, *καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς*. Sometimes the context prevents him from assimilating entirely to the LXX, as in *πατάξω* 14<sup>27</sup>. In a few unimportant cases no reason can be found for his divergence from the LXX, as in the variation in mood in 10<sup>19</sup>, or in *εἰς τί* for *ἵνα τί* in 15<sup>34</sup>, or again in *ὑποκάτω* 12<sup>36</sup>.

Whilst dealing with the question of an Aramaic St. Mark, it may be mentioned that Dr. H. P. Chajes, in his *Markus-Studien*, urges the probability of an original Hebrew Mark. His remarks on 1<sup>1</sup> first suggested to the present writer the line of argument taken above with regard to this verse. Speaking generally, the arguments of Dr. Chajes seem insufficient to prove his theory. The book has been criticised in detail by Dr. J. Halévy in his *Revue Semitique*, April 1900. The following is Dr. Halévy’s conclusion: ‘L’Evangile de Marc est la traduction d’un archétype rédigé en langue araméenne, abstraction faite des citations bibliques qui semblent avoir été conformes au texte hébreu.’

In conclusion, indebtedness should be acknowledged to Dittmar’s useful volume of parallel texts, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*.

W. C. ALLEN.

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## Is Salvation of the Jews?

‘THE woman saith unto Him, Sir, I perceive that Thou art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship that which ye know not: we worship that which we know (A.V., Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship): for salvation is of the Jews’ (Jn 4<sup>19-22</sup>).

For the last four years which I have devoted to the study of St. John's Gospel and Epistles, the above text has been a puzzle to me, and the various 'explanations' given in the numerous commentaries have served rather to intensify than remove my doubts. No reader of the Fourth Gospel can have failed to observe that the writer, far from sympathizing with the Jews and their institutions (compare e.g. 2<sup>6</sup>. 13 4<sup>22</sup> 6<sup>4</sup> 7<sup>2</sup> 11<sup>55</sup> 19<sup>40</sup>), always takes good care to dissociate both himself and his Master from that distasteful nation (1<sup>19</sup> 2<sup>18</sup>. 20 3<sup>10</sup>. 15f. 18 6<sup>41</sup>. 52 7<sup>11</sup>. 13 9<sup>18</sup>. 22 10<sup>24</sup>. 31. 33 11<sup>8</sup> 13<sup>33</sup> 18<sup>14</sup>).

Here then, and here only, we are told that, being termed a Jew by the Samaritan woman (9 and 20), Jesus readily and expressly admitted His Jewish nationality by the words, 'Ye (Samaritans) worship that which ye know not: *we* (Jews) worship that which we know'; and that He even intensified His avowal by the somewhat unkind declaration, 'for salvation is of the Jews.'

Now it is rather significant, if not surprising, that the woman, who evidently was a keen and patriotic Samaritan, on receiving such a disappointing or irritating reply from Jesus, did not feel her national pride hurt; on the contrary, she seems to have been most favourably impressed by Jesus' words, and so hastened to the town and called out the people—the very people He is supposed to have abashed—to come and see a prophet, if not the Messiah Himself: 'Come, see a man which hath told me all things that I have done: can He be the Christ?'

To my mind, the interpretation of the above text, though universally accepted, cannot be maintained; not only does it conflict with the general tenour and spirit of the entire Gospel, which is confessedly anti-Jewish; such an interpretation finds no solid support, even within our passage. For my part, I cannot but feel surprised at the indifference with which the woman, who was a keen Samaritan, received Christ's condemnation of the Samaritans. Nor can I understand how He could have declared in favour of the Jews and yet against their holy seat, Jerusalem. I am also struck by the abnormal looseness and incoherence of both style and sense (I see—our fathers worshipped—ye say—for salvation is of the Jews). But what strikes me as most significant is Christ's express and solemn statement to the woman: 'A time is coming when neither in this mountain

(Gerizim, the sacred seat of you Samaritans), nor in Jerusalem (the sacred seat of the Jews), shall ye worship.' For surely this *ye* cannot refer to the Samaritans alone, but must include the Jews as well. In other words, Jesus means: Ye—alike Samaritans and Jews—shall not worship in your respective places of worship.

As to the weighty declaration that 'salvation is of the Jews,' such an interpretation is not borne out by the Greek ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν, where σωτηρία ἐκ means: 'the (expected) salvation "from" the Jews,' that is 'the deliverance from the Jews.'

In view of these difficulties, I believe that a more natural and more satisfactory sense will be obtained if we read the words of the writer in their context, and at the same time discard the current punctuation, which, after all, is the work of editors. Thus if we closely examine the text, especially in its Greek form, in connexion with the preceding part of the conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman, we see that, being struck by Christ's divining insight, the woman discovers that He is not a typical fanatic Jew, but a prophet, and so, looking upon Him as a prophet, she puts the *question* to Him, 'I see that Thou art a prophet! Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; say YE (prophets) also (as the Jews claim)—καὶ ὑμεῖς λέγετε—that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship?' To which question Jesus now replies, 'Woman, believe Me, a time cometh (*i.e.* shall come), when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye (*i.e.* ye people, alike Samaritans and Jews) worship.' Here, the question being about the proper *place* of worship, and not the object of worship, the addition to the sentence of the term, 'the Father' (τῷ πατρὶ) is irrelevant and foreign to the purpose. This object of worship, 'the Father,' manifestly belongs to the next clause, which is a new and independent sentence, in the form of an interrogation and answer: τῷ πατρὶ ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε; ὃ οὐκ οἶδατε, *i.e.* 'Worship ye (Samaritans and Jews) the Father?' No; 'that which ye know not'—ἡμεῖς προσκυνούμεν ὃ οἶδαμεν, κ.τ.λ., whereas 'we worship that which we know,' etc. Now that the opening pronoun ἡμεῖς, 'we,' cannot mean 'we Jews' is clear; it can only mean either 'we prophets': 'We worship that which we (as prophets) know that it is the salvation or deliverance from the Jews'; or, which seems

preferable: ἡμεῖς, 'we,' can represent a 'plural of modesty,' and so stand for ἐγώ, 'I,' a case fairly common in classical Greek, and very common in compositions of the Græco-Roman period, including those of the New Testament, e.g. Jn 3<sup>2,11</sup> 11<sup>7,11</sup>, 1 Jn 1<sup>4</sup>, then Mt 5<sup>16</sup>, Mk 4<sup>30</sup>, 1 Co 1<sup>13</sup>, 2 Co 1<sup>4</sup>, 1 Th 3<sup>5</sup>, etc. etc. Accordingly, ἡμεῖς προσκυνούμεν δὲ οὐδαμὲν, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν, would mean, on the other hand, 'I worship that which I know, for it is the (general or my?) salvation or deliverance from the Jews.'

To recapitulate, while the current reading manifestly misrepresents both the letter and spirit of the sacred text, I believe that the reading now proposed deserves the earnest consideration of competent judges—

'The woman saith unto Him, Sir, I see that Thou art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; say YE (prophets) also that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship? Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe Me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain nor yet in Jerusalem shall ye worship. Is it the Father that ye worship? it is that which ye know not: I worship that which I know: for it is the deliverance from the Jews.' A. N. JANNARIS.

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### The Egyptian Month Abib.

I WONDER if your readers have ever been puzzled by the fact, that in the Old Testament the Passover was ordered to be kept in the month Abib, whereas in the time of our Lord and ever since it has been kept in the month of Nisan. It used to puzzle me at one time, and I asked several learned men and consulted several learned books without getting any satisfactory answer. No one could account for the change of name, though several suggested explanations which were more fanciful than satisfactory. But when I began

to study the history of the oldest Church of all, the Egyptian, this among many other things was explained. The name Abib is the Egyptian name for the month corresponding at the time of the Exodus to Nisan, and the same month is called Abib among the Egyptians to this day, although the two months no longer correspond. Abib is still in the summer, but Nisan has shifted about three months in 3000 years.

In the Egyptian calendar the death of the Virgin Mary's husband is commemorated on the 20th July in the following simple manner, 'Rest in the Lord of old Joseph, the carpenter,' and a note is appended saying he died on the 26th of Abib (20th July), being 111 years old. Two celebrated virgin martyrs of Egypt are also commemorated in this month: Theodora, who was beheaded during the great persecution under Diocletian, and Febronia (also called Cophronia, Afrania, and in Latin Synaxaria), who was slain by the Moslems under Merwan in the eighth century.

Egypt is unlike all European countries in the fact that her new year begins in the autumn instead of the winter. It is true that in practice they have now adopted the Western custom according to the Greek, or Old Style. But their year begins on the first of Tot, which is the 29th of August according to the Julian calendar, or Old Style; and the 17th of August in the Gregorian calendar, or New Style. The Egyptians, instead of having a leap year every four years, have an odd little month at the end of twelve months. This month consists of five or six days, as may be necessary to complete the solar year, for each of their twelve months consists of exactly thirty days. It is said that up to a comparatively recent date the Government employes used to receive extra payment for this little month. But it was found convenient—and economical—to use for business purposes neither the Mohammedan nor the Egyptian, but the European month and year.

*Church House, Cairo.*

E. L. BUTCHER.

### Entre Nous.

THERE has been so much excitement during the year that is closing, that we are evidently to pass into the new century quietly. It is better so. For we have learned that in quietness and con-

fidence lies our strength always. Yet surely no century since the first opened more hopefully for the study of the Bible and the Christian faith. The discovery of a gospel in Science, from which so



much was expected, has become a disappointment. There is no other gospel at present in competition with the gospel of Christ. And more than that, there is a clearer understanding, we believe, than ever before that those that name the name of Christ must depart from all iniquity. If that promise is maintained in the new century, its name will be greater than the name of the century that is closing. For great as knowledge is, goodness is greater. Nor is it without significance that one form of iniquity from which the followers of Christ are earnestly seeking to depart is the iniquity of sectarian strife.

Most hopeful of all is the prospect for the study of the Bible. The peace of the Bible is better recognized than ever before. So it seems to us. The methods of its interpretation are more fruitful. The new daring doctrine that the Bible was made for man and not man for the Bible, is discovering unexpected motions of reverence for the Bible, and on the whole is making for righteousness. The Bible is found to yield its richest treasure to minute self-denying research; minute research is found to be barren, and even pernicious, without the life and light of the Spirit.

Our interest is in the study of the Bible. During these eleven and a half years we have had the privilege of being the medium through which many scholars have made known their discoveries in the Bible. We have a greater representation of the best scholarship on our staff to-day than ever, and a greater number of readers. But our chief desire is not to provide instruction but stimulus, not to make the Bible known but loved, not to store our readers' minds with ready-made results but to touch their hearts with ever fuller desire to seek in the Old and New Testaments for themselves the revelation of God in Christ.

The significance of the Oxford Conference on 'Priesthood and Sacrifice,' on which some notes were written last month, has not been missed. And although it has to be confessed that some are eager only to claim a victory, there are even newspapers that welcome the Conference as the promise of at least a better temper in theological controversy.

Since then there has been published the Report of a like Conference held at Fulham Palace in October (Longmans, 2s. 6d. net). The subjects

of discussion, as well as the range of membership, were more limited. The Report also is less satisfactory and much less interesting. But some things have been more sharply defined. We hope to touch upon both these Reports in our next issue.

*Hermathena*, the Annual of Trinity College, Dublin (Longmans, 4s.), is more classical than biblical, but occasionally it offers an original biblical or ecclesiastical article. The new number (for 1900) contains 'Two Notes on Eusebius' of great value by Dr. Lawlor. The Notes are on 'The *Memoirs of Hegesippus*,' and 'Some Chronological Errors.' Further, it contains a long review by Dr. Gwynn of the new edition of *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*. We hope to return to these important papers.

The Present Day Papers, which some scholarly Quakers are issuing, seem to be steadily extending their scope and increasing their reputation. The third volume is finished. The fourth, for 1901, promises to handle social questions most of all, and among the rest Canon Moore Ede will write on 'Problems of Town Life.'

Beginning with the issue for 4th January, the *Record* will publish a series of articles, by Professor Moule of Cambridge, on 'The Evangelical School in the Nineteenth Century: its Men and its Work.'

The *Examiner* for 13th December contains a review of the new Ritschlian volume (*Justification and Reconciliation*) by Professor Mackintosh of Manchester. The buyers of the book should see this review. It is a summary of the book—such a summary as only a familiar student of Ritschl and a master in theology could give within the space. Dr. Mackintosh, like Dr. Denney, believes that the publication of this volume will mark an era in English theology.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE American Expedition has returned from Babylonia, bringing its 'finds' with it, and Professor Hilprecht, its director, has written a short account of the season's work to the *Sunday School Times* of 2nd December.

This is the fourth season. The first expedition went out in 1889 to a brief preliminary survey. Next year the second went out and demonstrated the existence of many monuments in the lower strata of the temple mound at the ancient city of Nippur. In the third campaign these monuments were reached and found to be in a fragmentary state. But that was the occasion of the great discovery that through the temple mound ran a series of 'platforms,' constructed of baked bricks, which often bore inscriptions. By these inscriptions the explorers were enabled to fix with nicety the date of the different strata of the mound. The lowest of the 'platforms' reached that year were seen to be the work of kings and priest-kings (*patesis*) of the years 4000 to 3800 B.C. The explorers stood on ruins of the city of Sargon and Naram-Sin, hitherto hardly more than mythical names, now shown to be actual historical rulers. And that was not all. Below these 'platforms' were earlier 'platforms' still. Thirty feet of ruins lay below, the remains of a yet earlier civilization—work for a later expedition.

The site of these discoveries is the ancient city of Nippur, now called by the Arabs Nuffar (or Niffer as most spell it). Nippur, which is two days' journey south-east from Babylon, was once the leading city in Babylonia. Its supremacy, both political and religious, may be traced, Dr. Hilprecht thinks, from the dawn of civilization down to the invasion of the Elamites in 2200 B.C. These Elamites, 'to whom Chedorlaomer belonged,' destroyed the power of Nippur, and the city of Babylon secured the supreme place. Babylon retained its supremacy (with more or less oscillation in its sphere of influence under the last kings of Assyria) down to the year 539 B.C., when it was entered by Gobryas, the general of Cyrus.

There is a Jewish tradition that Nippur is the biblical Calneh, one of the four great cities of the kingdom of Nimrod (Gn 10<sup>10</sup>). Professor Hilprecht believes that the tradition is correct, for every discovery that he has made has gone to confirm it. Again Professor Hilprecht has found the name of the river Chebar on two different texts that were rescued from its temple library. Thus, as he worked, the city was associated in his mind with 'the first and the final acts in the great drama of divine selection and human rejection in which Israel played the leading rôle.' About the

time when the Elamites destroyed the temple of Bel at Nippur, Abraham was leaving his ancestral home at Ur, or Mugheir, a little to the south; and again it was under the shadow of its crumbling walls that Ezekiel stood to comfort his fellow-exiles.

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Nippur is now a mere mass of ruined mounds. They lie half-way between the Euphrates and Tigris, 'at the north-eastern boundary of the great Affej swamps, which are formed by the regular annual inundation of the Euphrates,' and they are cut into two almost equal parts by a waterless canal. On an average about fifty or sixty feet high, these mounds are torn up by gulleys and furrows into a number of spurs and ridges, as if a rugged mountain range had risen on the bank of the upper Tigris. Now, the glory of ancient Nippur was the great temple of Bel. And the glory of the temple of Bel (at least in the eyes of the modern explorer) was the temple library. Under which of these mounds does the temple library lie?

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When Professor Hilprecht first saw the ruins of Nippur, he selected a certain mound, and said, 'The temple library lies there.' Ten years passed. Then that mound was examined. Dr. Hilprecht was right. But even Dr. Hilprecht was amazed at the wealth of literature which the explorer's spade laid bare.

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When the fourth expedition, which has just returned, set out, its journey was directed straight to this mound. Its work was clearly mapped out. It had to determine, if possible, the extent of Sargon's city, to ascertain the exact form and character of the temple of Bel, to search for the great city gates so often mentioned in the inscriptions, to study the manner in which the ancient inhabitants of Nippur buried their dead, but above all to uncover and carry home to America the temple library. Professor Hilprecht is sententious. He says, 'The task was great, but we have accomplished it.'

Four hundred Arabs were at one time occupied on the excavations. They unearthed nearly twenty-five thousand cuneiform texts. These texts have to be read and translated. But one grand result Dr. Hilprecht can already announce, it is the thrusting back of the civilization of the world 'some thousands of years.'

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This result has struck the imagination of the American. Sensational headlines, like 'A Library 9000 Years Old,' have appeared in some of the New York newspapers. But while answering these and deprecating exaggeration, Professor Hilprecht yet claims that the library he has recovered contains tablets from the fifth pre-Christian millennium, and that 'with reasonable certainty we can say that the lowest strata of Nippur, twenty to thirty feet below the surrounding desert, go as far back as the sixth and seventh millennium B.C., and possibly they are even older.'

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There are two difficulties in the Parable of the Unjust Judge (Lk 18<sup>1-8</sup>). The one is superficial, the other fundamental. The superficial difficulty is the comparison of God to a judge who is unjust. And it will not do to say that the judge's injustice has nothing to do with the comparison. It has much to do with it. But it has to do with it by way of contrast.

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There are two points in the parable, and they are both points of contrast. The one is that if a judge who is unjust yields to importunate prayer, how much more will God who is just. The other is that if the judge yields to a woman in whom he has no interest, how much more will God yield to His elect whom He has redeemed with the precious blood of His dear Son.

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But does God need to be wearied with prayer as the unjust judge was wearied? That is the very lesson of the parable, and that is its fundamental difficulty.



Well, in answer, we must say that there are some things which God grants His elect at once. 'Before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear.' It is a matter of simple experience. Who has not experienced it, and with it the inexpressible joy of surprise?

But there are things that are not granted at once. They are the greater matters of sin and of society. We pray that wars may cease, that diseases may be healed, that the poor may no longer be with us, that the oppressor may perish out of the land, that disappointment may never again eat our own or our dear friends' hearts out. These things are not granted. War may be less brutal, but it has not ceased; diseases have been stamped out, but diseases yet remain; the poor we have with us still, though their poverty is less abject; the oppressor seems only to have changed his violence into craft; and disappointment, like the worm in the bud, eats our own and our friends' hearts out still. These things are not granted. Yet we pray for them. We pray persistently. We weary God with prayer.

It was to this end, that we should always pray for these things and not faint, that Jesus spoke the parable. It was much needed. It was so much needed that He wondered whether after all any persons would be found praying these prayers and persisting in believing in their answer when the Son of Man came again. For it was not faith He doubted the presence of in the earth when He came again, it was *this* faith—faith in a God who hears prayer though He seems not to hear it, and tarries long over these things before He grants them.

John the Baptist is our typical example of the man who lost this faith. He did not lose his faith certainly. He only lost his faith in Christ's method of working. He had promised that the Messiah would come with His fan in His hand, and that He would burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. But Jesus came healing the sick, preaching the gospel to the poor.

And yet John's prophecy was not wrong, and Jesus agreed with him. He said that God would tarry long over the things which the elect prayed for, and yet He said that God would grant them speedily. It is merely a question of time. John was right. His fan is in His hand, a thousand years are as one day. And John was wrong. He tarries long before He vindicates His elect and answers their prayer,—a long, long time to them.

He will avenge them speedily. What a sublimity there is in that word *speedily*! It is the eye of a prophet foreshortening the distance. A thousand years are as one day. When the disciples returned and reported that even the devils were subject unto them through His name, 'I saw,' He said, 'I saw Satan fall as a lightning-flash from heaven.' He had observed them as they went forth two by two; He saw them enter the villages of Galilee; He felt virtue go out of Him to expel this demon and that: and then He gathered all these efforts and successes together into one grand occasion: He saw all these demons centred in the prince of the demons, and, standing at the end of the Age with the eye of a prophet, He looked back and said, 'I saw Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning.' He sees our little efforts in the cause of peace, of health, of comfort, of kindness, of happiness, He gathers them all into one supreme effort, the end has come of all the ills that flesh is heir to, and He answers 'speedily.'

The Urim and Thummim are with us again. In *The Ancient Scriptures and the Modern Jew*, recently published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, Mr. David Baron tells us all about them, what they were, and exactly how they were worked.

The breastplate of judgment, says Mr. Baron, was made 'like a four-square box,' a span in length and a span in breadth. Into the front of it were inserted twelve precious stones, varying in nature and in colour. Set in golden frames, they

were fastened to the breastplate and formed its brilliant front. On each of the twelve stones was engraved the name of one of the tribes of Israel.

But now, inside the 'four-square box' which formed the breastplate and behind the stones was placed a lamp with twelve separate lights. Each light shone upon one of the stones, and heightened its brilliancy and lustre. The twelve lights of this lamp were the Urim; for Urim means 'lights' or 'illuminators.' When an oracle was requested, the breastplate was put on and the lamp was lit. The high priest examined the stones. If any letter in the name on any of the stones was dark, that letter was taken. He looked again. If another letter was dark, it was taken. And thus he spelt word after word, and gave the answer.

But there were four letters of the Hebrew alphabet which did not occur in any of the names of the twelve tribes (ק, צ, ט, ח). To supply these a separate lamp with four lights [and, we suppose, a separate precious stone with the four letters engraved on it] was inserted in the box. Its light shone out at the right side. These lights were called the Thummim. For Thummim means 'the completers' or 'the perfecters.'

To make the method perfectly intelligible, Mr. Baron gives an example. There is sin in the camp. The princes of the twelve tribes of Israel are called together. The high priest puts on his breastplate of judgment. At once he sees that the stone on which is engraved the name of Judah is dark. The other eleven princes are dismissed. Then the fathers of the families of the tribe of Judah are called. There is a single letter dark. It is the first letter of Zebulun. Now there is another. It is the first letter of Reuben. But there are no more dark, and out of Z R the high priest can make nothing. He looks to the side of the breastplate. One of the four Thummim letters is dark. It is H. He returns to the front. The letter J (י) in Joseph is dark. Now he spells the name. It is *Zarhi*. The rest of the families of

Judah may go. The households of the family of Zarhi are taken. The same process is repeated. The Urim and Thummim spell *Zabdi*. At last Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, is taken, and Achan makes confession.

It is most simple. If only we had chapter and verse for it.

Less clear and less confident is a note by Professor Haupt in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1900. Professor Haupt thinks the breastplate of judgment, worn on the breast of the high priest, may have been 'a sort of sacred dice-box from which the sacred dice were thrown.' It is not necessary, however, he adds, to suppose that the Urim and Thummim were regular dice marked with spots from one to six. The sacred lot may have consisted of stones of different colours, small cubes or balls, perhaps one black and one white, so that Urim would practically correspond to our 'black ball.'

Then Professor Haupt thinks that the method of procedure may have been like this. Jonathan had disobeyed, but it is not yet known who is guilty. The lot is cast. The Urim, the black ball, comes out. That shows that the guilt is with the royal family. Had Thummim come, each tribe would have had to be taken separately. But now it lies between Saul and Jonathan. The lot is cast again. If Urim had come out, Saul was guilty, for it was he that cast the lot. Thummim came; Saul is free; Jonathan is condemned. 'It is hardly necessary,' adds Professor Haupt, 'to say that this explanation is to a great extent entirely conjectural.' Mr. David Baron forgot to say that.

If we may judge from the Conferences that have been held in Oxford and London, the troubles that afflict the Church of England in our day all turn upon a single small difference of opinion. The Conference held at Christ Church,

Oxford, though far more important, and conducted with far more ability than the London one, never focussed itself sufficiently. At the very end the members looked at one another and asked what held them apart. The difference was there, but they did not recognize it. The Conference held at Fulham Palace, London, came upon it almost at once. There were five sessions. The second session had not proceeded far when it rose and stood between the members, unmistakable, immovable. It is the difference of opinion whether, after consecration, the Bread and Wine of the Supper are still only Bread and Wine or are now Body and Blood.

It is not the question of sacrifice. At the Oxford Conference Canon Moberly and Canon Gore argued earnestly for the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, as earnestly as did Father Puller. But they did not believe, as he did, that the Bread and Wine were by consecration made anything more or other than Bread and Wine. At the London Conference also there were men, like Mr. Birkbeck, Principal Robertson, and Canon Armitage Robinson, who held that the Eucharist was a true sacrifice, but only Canon Newbolt and Viscount Halifax believed that (in the words of the latter) 'by virtue of the Consecration and by the sanctification of the Holy Ghost, the Bread and Wine become, are made, are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.'

It is not sacrifice that is the matter at issue. Because at the Oxford Conference, when Canon Moberly and Canon Gore explained what they meant by sacrifice, Canon Bernard, Bishop Ryle of Exeter, and even Principals Fairbairn and Salmond cordially agreed with them. But they could not agree with Father Puller when he said that the matter of the Church's sacrifice was 'primarily Christ's Body and Blood.' It is not sacrifice, because at the London Conference there was no impassable gulf seen or felt until Canon Newbolt said that in his belief, 'while the elements of bread and wine retain their natural

substances, an addition is made to them, by virtue of which the Body and Blood of Christ are present really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, under the outward visible sign or form of bread and wine.' It is not sacrifice; it is simply the opinion that the bread and wine of the Supper of the Lord is more or other than bread and wine.

But if the bread and wine at the Supper is changed into something that is more or other than bread and wine, that makes a difference in the conception of sacrifice. From those momentous Conferences it has accordingly emerged that in the High Church of England there are two different ways in which the Eucharist may be regarded as a sacrifice.

First of all, it is a sacrifice of the participant. It is the great occasion upon which we are enabled to present our bodies a living sacrifice to God, holy and acceptable. Or, to be more explicit, it is a sacrifice of the will. There is an altar, and the sacrifice that is laid upon it is the spiritual sacrifice of our impure affections and inordinate passions. That is the belief of Canon Moberly, of Canon Gore, of Mr. Headlam, we think even of Canon Scott Holland, and of all the rest at the Oxford Conference, except Father Puller. It is also the belief of all the members of the London Conference, except Lord Halifax and Canon Newbolt.

The other way is to regard the Supper as the occasion upon which the Church of Christ is enabled to offer in sacrifice the Body and Blood of her Lord. There is a slight difference of opinion regarding the relation between the visible and the actual offering. Canon Newbolt holds that after consecration the bread and wine still remain bread and wine, but now become in addition to that Body and Blood, the Body and Blood of the Redeemer. Viscount Halifax holds that the Bread and Wine are *changed into* His Body and Blood. On being appealed to, Lord



Halifax said he 'wished to be understood as stating simply that the bread and wine became the Body and Blood of our Lord.' The difference is inconsiderable. Both hold that the altar is an altar upon which is laid in sacrifice a Victim external to the worshipper. Both hold that that Victim is the Lord Jesus Christ. Both hold that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is a propitiation for our sins.

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Why do Canon Newbolt and Viscount Halifax hold this? Partly because they think the language of our Lord at the institution of the Supper demands it. He said 'This is My body.' They understand He meant that the bread was His body actually. He said 'This do.' They understand that the word He used means 'This offer.' He said 'In remembrance of Me.' They understand that the word He used means 'for a sacrificial offering of Me.'

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But further, they hold that the work of our Lord in heaven is the work of a priest. He did not begin to be a Priest, indeed, until He had ascended to the Father, since the priest's work always began *after* the victim was killed. Now the victim that as a Priest He offers in heaven, is the Victim that died on Calvary, His own Body and His own Blood. He offers His Body and Blood as a perpetual propitiatory sacrifice. But what He does in heaven the Church, which is His Body (in another sense), does on earth. The Eucharist is therefore an actual offering on earth of the same Body and Blood which He Himself is offering in heaven.

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But how can Lord Halifax and Canon Newbolt believe this? By faith, they say. And that is perhaps the root of the whole matter. Faith is

misunderstood. 'I believe,' says Viscount Halifax, 'that this change is sacramental, in a sphere outside the cognizance of sense, to be accepted, and therefore to be apprehended only by faith.' But that function is never given to faith in the Bible, or by any clear thinker out of it. Not once is faith called in because the senses fail. Not once is faith appealed to in order to supply the lack of evidence. Christ worked miracles as evidences of His power and mission. Accepting the evidence of the miracle, men might rise into faith in Him. But He never asked for faith in the miracle itself. There is first the miracle as demonstrable fact. Then faith stands on that, and rises into the region of the spirit. Faith is not faith that is not in touch with spirit.

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Christ turned water into wine at Cana of Galilee. He did not bid the guests drink water and believe that it was wine. It was wine. The evidence of their senses told them that. For in the economy of God's providence the senses have their own place always, and do their own work. They are not asked to intrude into the realm of the spirit, they are not asked to stand aside and let even the spirit do their duty. The wine was wine, not water. In the region of things material the senses hold their own.

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Nor even if Christ had offered them water, and had persuaded them—though it looked like water and tasted as water—that it was wine, and they had believed it—not even then would they have had any faith. What faith is we are very clearly told in connexion with that very miracle. 'This beginning of His signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested His glory; and His disciples believed on Him.'

## Recent Changes in the Presentation of Truth.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. D. S. CAIRNS, M.A., AYTON.

IN order to deal in any satisfactory way with this subject, it is necessary for us to look for a short time at the causes which have produced the present situation in the world of religious thought, a situation at least as interesting as that absorbing drama of the nations which we have been witnessing, and more important by far for the future history of mankind. The epoch in which the Church finds itself to-day is one of the great epochs of Christian history, in some respects on the same scale of importance, it seems to me, as the epoch which witnessed the consolidation of the Catholic Church, or as that which witnessed its Reformation.

The foundation fact of the present religious situation is the rise of Science, and the new understanding of Nature which that has brought to light. Nature is the first chapter of that great book of God, which contains the story of Nature, Providence, and Grace, and, since the story is one from beginning to end, it cannot but be that a new reading of the first chapter will react powerfully on our understanding of the others. Now the rise of Science has familiarized men with an order of ideas regarding the divine working which at first sight seem to be in hopeless collision with those convictions regarding Freedom and Sin and Miracle and Providence and Prayer, with which evangelical Christianity stands or falls. Hence, coincident with the spread of scientific ideas there has risen a cosmology purely naturalistic in temper, which systematically denies the truth of all these ideas. Over against it has arisen the Transcendentalist philosophy, which, great as are the services which it has rendered by demolishing the speculative basis of Naturalism, cannot at all points be equated with the traditional Christian thought, nor, as I believe, with the elementary principles of Christian faith. Out of this Transcendentalist philosophy, with its bias against miracle, moreover, have sprung the negative schools of both Old and New Testament criticism, which have given a new reading of the Bible, inconsistent with the view of it which has hitherto prevailed in evangelical Christendom.

<sup>1</sup> Prepared for a Ministerial Conference.

It is not surprising that in such a situation evangelical religion should have found itself gravely embarrassed. By the very principles of Protestantism it cannot entrench itself in the principle of authority like the Roman Catholic Church, but must justify its authority to the reason and conscience of men. Assailed thus in front by formidable schools of thought, which attacked its fundamental religious beliefs, and in the rear by a criticism which undermined the authority by which it had sought to enforce these beliefs, it has had to fight for its very existence.

In these circumstances the long battlefront of the scholastic Protestant theology, with its dogma of the literal inspiration of Scripture, and the proof-text system involved in it, was abandoned, and the apologetic writers of the Church, moved by a wise instinct, took up a line of defence more suited to the new conditions. Waiving the question whether the entire system was true or not, it was obviously tactically impossible to defend so long and so exposed a position against so formidable an attack, impossible to prove the verbal inspiration of so vast and, in places, so obscure a religious literature, and to vindicate so elaborate a system of thought as the scholastic theologians had wrought out in opposition to the Creed of Trent; to vindicate it, at anyrate, with so much power as to make it the standard of an aggressive and victorious propaganda. Hence a simpler and more vital issue was raised. Christian scholars fell back upon Christ. Who and what was Christ? became the great questions, instead of conflict over consubstantiation or the imputation of Adam's sin.

Here has been the heart of the battle with Rationalism, for both sides have recognized that with the vindication of the uniqueness and authority of Jesus Christ, or their overthrow, the whole controversy would be finally settled. We recognize the Divine Providence in the conflicts of nations and in the great secular movements of history, but surely seldom has that Providence manifested itself more plainly than here. The issue of that great movement which practically began with Strauss and Baur, has been

the steady emergence out of the mists and clouds of the past, and the dust and smoke of the present conflict, of the historic personality of Jesus of Nazareth, and this at one of the most critical moments in the moral and spiritual history of mankind.

I do not, of course, mean that in the bare literal sense this was a new thing, that Jesus Christ has not always been known as a real person by all true Christians ages before believing scholars girt themselves to answer Strauss and the men of Tübingen. But it is certainly true that the full riches of the Gospels, the colour, the definiteness, the specific teaching, the full human personality of the Jesus of history were imperfectly realized; it was a Christ rather than a Jesus, a redemptive Figure rather than a definite character and mind, that lived in the souls of believers. The last sixty years have witnessed a gradual and silent change. The labours of three generations of scholars in the three great Protestant nations have been focussed on the little handbreadth of history that held the human life of the Lord. Hundreds of workers have laboured, happy if their toil should fling the least ray of light upon the problems that fascinated them, and the process is still going on. A long series of lives of Jesus, of contemporary histories, of critical studies of the Gospels, of monographs on the chronology, the geography, the customs, and the dialects of the land and the time, and on special phases of the consciousness of Jesus; and of treatises on His teaching, are still steadily flowing from the great publishing houses of Germany, Britain, and America. Negative attacks have called forth believing replies, and these again have awakened new criticisms, and these again new replies, and steadily through it all, serene, majestic, incomparably grand and beautiful, the personality of Jesus has arisen upon the consciousness of the world. To anyone who can look up from the dust of the moment to the broad results of the conflict, the spectacle is an amazing one. In a sense Paul's splendid anticipation seems already coming true that 'at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow.'

This is true not only of the scholars and theologians, it is true also in a large measure of the great world which lies outside the inner circles. There is no religious subject which so interests the world at present as that of the character,

thoughts, and life of Jesus of Nazareth. A singular illustration of this may here be given. The greatest force in the realm of literature at the present moment is, probably, Count Tolstoi. His works are to be found almost everywhere, translated into the various languages of Europe, and the appearance of a new book by him is chronicled as a matter of European importance. To most of us, I suppose, his religious and moral teachings appear paradoxical, and his version of Christianity, in particular, fragmentary and impracticable. In truth, Tolstoi cannot be understood apart from his national and social environment, against which his teaching is one prolonged protest. None the less, like all teachers of genius, Tolstoi raises the relevant and burning questions, and the widespread response which his teachings have met shows plainly the things in which men of culture are most interested. The sum and substance of Tolstoi's teachings is that the civilization of to-day, with its armaments and legislation and luxurious fashions is on the wrong track, and that the one hope for the world is in a return to the Sermon on the Mount. That is, in so many words, the lesson of his last book, *Resurrection*, in which the central figure, Nekhliudov, after a prolonged struggle with himself and the civilization around him, comes by chance into the possession of a New Testament, and finds there, expressed in divine words, the truth after which he has been groping. Differ from Tolstoi as one may and must, these closing pages of that remarkable book affect one as a great spiritual spectacle, the spectacle of the most powerful imaginative mind in Europe, moving to such conclusions, and in his own way acknowledging that Jesus Christ is Lord.

No sharper contrast can be imagined than that between the Russian noble of ancient and famous name, writing in his country house, surrounded by his peasants, encompassed by the huge half-oriental fabric of Russian civilization, watched by a vigilant and suspicious censorship, 'willing to wound and yet afraid to strike,' and Mr. Sheldon, preaching in Topeka, Kansas, in a new and half-grown democracy, in a social atmosphere of a very different quality, fighting his battle against saloon-keepers and corrupt politicians, and persons who with the usual results are trying to make the best of both worlds. Yet, allowing for minor differences, on the broad issue



they agree in this, that in a return to Jesus, the very Man of Nazareth, lies the one hope of the world. With Mr. Sheldon's works we are all, I suppose, more or less familiar. We make, I imagine, deductions for the personal equation here, just as we do in the other case. No competent critic would for a moment dream of comparing the talent of the two men. But it is not Mr. Sheldon's intellectual power that has given his books their unprecedented circulation, it is the attractive and transparent simplicity with which he has been able to present his message, and the character of that message itself—a return in matters of practice to Jesus of Nazareth. I might give other instances of this widespread interest in the historical Jesus, but these will meantime serve. We find, then, that by the Providence of Him who overrules the currents of thought as well as those of action, scholars and the world alike are, as never before, interested in the personality of Jesus Christ, and that this interest has sprung from causes deep-rooted in the life of the epoch. What conclusions can we draw from this as to the Church's aim in the new century? I shall refer in what follows to only two of these conclusions, the first relating to the result for Theology, and the second to that for the preaching methods of the Church.

### I.

Has this great sixty years' movement of thought and scholarship resulted in any fuller understanding of the gospel or the New Testament which contains it? It is, I think, undeniable that it has put us in a far better position for understanding the New Testament as the historical outgrowth of a developing life. It has brought the historical teaching, as well as the personality of Jesus into far greater prominence, and given it a much more definite outline. The idea which some have of the Epistles as teaching the doctrinal side of Christianity, while the Gospels teach, in the main, its ethical aspects, is outworn. We understand the Gospels better than did the Moderates. Cut the ideas of grace and mediation out of them, and they become a hopeless ruin, for in the Messianic and Apocalyptic teaching of our Lord we have already in principle the essence of the whole evangelical system.

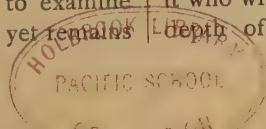
Neither time nor power allow me to examine the teaching of Jesus. Much work as yet remains

to be done in this sphere of thought. The idea of the Kingdom of God in particular, seems to me of immense importance at the present crisis. It lies at the root of the final decision as to the true doctrine of the Church, it forms the principle of synthesis between Religion and Morality, and between the Scientific and Religious views of the world, it is the true theological basis of the Foreign Missionary enterprise, and it involves a religious solution of the Social question. In short, its absence from the Christian system has caused some of its gravest difficulties and some of its worst errors.

What is true of the relevance of this particular idea is true of the teaching of our Lord in general, and this, not only in matters of religion but in matters of ethics. Enough is known to show us the riches of this great open field, and its extraordinary timeliness and interest in view of present problems. Just as the Church of Reformation times found in the Pauline gospel the divine means of escape from the intolerable incubus of the past, a religious achievement which, as such achievements always do, worked its way up from the depths of the heart into the economic and political realms and created the modern democratic world, so, I believe, in the personal gospel of Jesus Christ above all shall we find the divine means of transcending the present difficulties which harass not only the intellectual but the social life of our time, and hamper the Church at every turn.

Can we believe that it is by accident that at the very moment when the whole civilized world is heaving with unrest, when, to many sober inquirers, the very structure of society seems going into the crucible, when, by a vast, united, and yet only half-conscious movement, the civilized Western peoples have precipitated themselves upon the tropical and sub-tropical zones, and the whole question of their duty to the inferior races has thereby come up again with an urgency which all far-seeing teachers recognize to be imperative, can we believe, I say, that at such a momentous time it is by pure hazard or adverse destiny that the Church has been called, as it were, into the very presence of Jesus of Nazareth in a way such as no other century has experienced it, but the first? Believe it who can, and lament it who will! To me it seems better to say, 'O the

depth of the riches both of the wisdom and



knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!’

## II.

But now, in view of the situation described in the opening words of this paper, can we reach any definite conclusion as to the line which the preaching of the age should follow? The situation is much too complex for any single formula. Every congregation is a microcosm of many centuries. Hebrews, Jews, and Christians sit side by side in all our churches. Gnostics and Chiliasts, the men of logic, the men of fire, and the men of clay, a variety to make the man who realizes it half despair in his darker hours of ever commending the truth to his people. No doubt there are many in all our churches, probably the majority, who think little about the new century, and the new claims it makes upon us. They simply wish the old truth put in the old way. But among them there sit others, alert and critical, not out of shallowness and conceit, but because they hunger for the tone of absolute sincerity in the teacher, that tone which to-day takes sweat of brain and strain of heart to attain, and because they hunger, too, for the truth in forms of thought which they can take home. They do not love the cloud which has fallen between them, and the old people, and the old church, and the old book, but they are children of the new century, born out of due time, ‘wandering between two worlds.’ They are few, perhaps, as yet in our congregations, but how fast their number is growing; and, if the analysis of the present position with which this paper opens is true, how fast their number will grow! How can it be otherwise when to-day everyone can read, when our daily evening press is, as a rule, hostile to evangelical religion or frankly agnostic, and when the most radical problems of life and belief are openly canvassed in popular fiction.

One instance will show what is going on in the most unexpected quarters. A ministerial friend, whose work lies in a remote fishing village, which a casual observer would consider hermetically sealed to the modern world, told me the other day that while he was visiting, in one house one of the sons, a young tradesman, asked him if it was wrong to read Darwin’s *Origin of Species*. He had somehow got hold of the book, and was reading and enjoying it, when his mis-

givings were awakened by reading a sermon which declared that evolutionists were Atheists. Passing from this house to the next, my friend found the daughter of the house, home from work, reading *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*.

Now how are we to meet these young people, save them, bring them to know the Christ that we know? How are we to keep them from drifting out of religious profession, disillusioned and embittered, some of them, perhaps, to be flippant journalists, litterateurs, and novelists, with a sneer always ready for the Church and ministers and missionaries; or soulless men of the world, or children of the flesh and the devil? Heresy trials will not do it, rebuke and warning will not do it, for they know that in their protest a truth lies that you have not, but sympathy, prayer, imagination, and the conviction that to-day can be born only of downright toil, may carry us far. What shall we say to them? Are we to content ourselves with simply repeating and diffusing the terms of admiration of Jesus, which to-day are commonplaces to nearly everyone of moral refinement and education? That surely would be to come far short of our gospel and of our calling. Have we not the true key to the situation here in our Lord’s own *method*, as we have the key to the theological situation in the subject-matter of His teaching. It was through the Messianic hope of His people that He won an entrance into their souls for vaster truths than the prophets at their highest had ever dreamed. He took them where they were, and led them on to deeper and higher things. And the greatest of His apostles catching the Master’s spirit and wisdom, said, ‘Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law . . . I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.’

The widespread interest in the historical Jesus is the modern analogue of the Messianic Hope, and it must be the aim of the Church to transmute that interest into living faith. It must be our work to show that the whole character of Jesus Christ lives and moves and has its being in the realm of the religious truths which He believed and taught, truths as to the Fatherhood of God, of Mediation, of His own Personality, and of the Kingdom of God; it must be shown that if He



were in error here, then His character as having no reality for its foundation would cease to be the great and admirable thing which the uncorrupted conscience recognizes it to be; in other words, that the Personality of Jesus proves His teaching.

We can show further that the Rationalistic and Humanitarian account of Jesus not only breaks down in presence of His explicit teaching, but that it fails to account historically for the experience which is expressed with such astonishing wealth of imagery and thought in the apostolic writings. The class of which I have been speaking are probably not prepared to recognize the apostolic writings as authoritative, but they cannot fail to recognize the truth of the statement which, following his master, Harnack has made in his last remarkable book on the *Essence of Christianity*, that a great historical figure must be judged not only by his sayings, but by the broad effect he produces upon his followers. It can, further, be shown them that the broad effect of this apostolic picture of Jesus is wholly inconsistent with any humanitarian theory of His Personality. The matter is not one only of texts. It is one of *accent*, and it can be shown that the accent of the writers of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, whenever they name the name of Jesus, is wholly inconsistent with any humanitarian theory of His Personality. There is here something far beyond the reverence and affection of a disciple for his Master, far beyond the delight of the soul at the opening of a new realm of truth by a supremely gifted spirit. There is in the apostolic writings the note of amazement. The writers with faltering lips and stammering tongue are trying to tell of something, well-nigh incredible, which has *happened* and which they must proclaim to the world. *God* was in Christ. It is as if in some Arctic region of thick-ribbed ice and ancient snow the sun had suddenly come ten million miles nearer in the heavens, and a new world of verdure and colour and melody were springing up to welcome his coming. It is just this strange thrill of amazement and worship and love that distinguishes the New Testament from every other book, and that gives it its dynamic power in regenerating and sanctifying the soul. This profound and universal sense of redemption could only have come from Jesus Christ, and therefore again reverent admiration for Him must either disappear or go on to something greater.

If we can bring the earnest men and women of whom we have been thinking so far, they have come within reach of that appeal to the conscience which is our aim. If *God* be in Christ in the apostolic sense, it will no longer content them to admire Him half reverently and half patronizingly in the spirit of moral dilettanteism. If there is in them any moral soundness, they will recognize that there is here something not simply wise, beautiful, and holy, but something imperative and Divine, that personal message from God to the soul, the recognition of which is the beginning of the Christian life. Those who have thus entered the realm of Christian experience have now the key of the apostolic literature and the apostolic thought, and it should be the task of the Christian teacher, as their Christian life develops under the pressure of the providential discipline of circumstance, to make them at home in that domain. 'My soul,' said the Camisard martyr, 'is like a garden full of fountains.' It must be our task to show the men of whom we have spoken that the apostolic writings are not the jungle of Jewish overgrowth that they have believed them, but are in truth a garden full of fountains.

They already possess a nascent consciousness of faith in Jesus Christ. It will be our own fault if we cannot from this point lead them along the lines of Paul's teaching regarding sanctification through faith by union with the living Christ, and of John's conception of the Christian life as fellowship with the Father and the Son. We may show them how naturally and inevitably, when men began to reflect on what was involved in their religious experience, the teaching of the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel grew out of the normal Christian experience of the unique value and authority of Christ. We can show them the apostolic thought on the Person of Christ gradually becoming more and more conscious and explicit on this matter as experience grew, and the introduction of heresy called out its latent riches, until the structure was completed in the words, perhaps the last written in the New Testament, (as the Preface is usually the last part of any book), 'The Word was God . . . the Word became Flesh.' We can show them, too, how inevitably a great thinker like Paul was compelled to bring the new religious experience into harmony with the old, to bring his first belief, 'God was in Israel,' into relation with his



new faith, 'God was in Christ,' and how out of this struggle there arose the Theodicy of the Epistle to the Romans, and we can historically explain his view of the place of the Law in the education of the world and of the abolition of its curse by the work of Christ.

We can show them, too, the same struggle of thought in the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews issuing in the solution given in that great apology.

Finally, in the light of the Christian experience, and by the aid of the new historical knowledge, we can, I believe, show them the real meaning of what is in some respects the most difficult part of the New Testament, the apocalyptic element, which begins with the Second Advent sayings and discourses of Jesus, runs through nearly all the Epistles and expands into the 'sea of glass mingled with fire' of the Apocalypse. By the very nature of the case the Early Church was compelled to confine its aims to the conversion of individuals, the organization of these into churches, and the nurture of their individual life. It was compelled, meantime, to leave the great heathen world of civilization, with its government, its armaments, its social institutions, and its laws, intact. It could no more change these than it could change the climate or stay the tides, and so it simply left them over for Christ to set right in the Parousia.

But every reference to that Parousia, the entire apocalyptic element, the Apocalypse itself, that great Divina Commedia of Scripture, is a testimony to the primitive Christian consciousness of the need for a Christian world civilization. In a word, in symbol and in poetry, and in the time-forms of language in which all prophecy is always spoken, the whole apocalyptic element is a testimony to the social and international mission of Christianity, to which now in the fulness of the time God is calling the Church as never before.

I have already presumed too long, and yet

have only touched upon the subject. I have tried to show that the crisis of thought, from which, as I believe, we are now emerging, was inevitable, and that it was divinely ordained in order that the Church should be led to see new aspects of the old truth. That the old truth remains, in principle, unchanged, we are persuaded. Next to the great Christian name for God, 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our God and Father in Him,' there is no name so dear as this, 'the God of our Fathers.' We are not ashamed of our religion. Rather is our concern the other way about. But we should not be faithful to that religion in its boldest and noblest forms, if we clung to the letter and resisted the spirit. That that spirit is leading us out into ampler fields of action is plain to us all to-day. That it is the Spirit of God that summons us to larger ambitions in the world of faith and thought should be equally plain. The missionary aim of the Church knows no barrier of speech or of blood. Rome at her proudest was not so great in her aims as it is the glory of the humblest Christian to be in the cause of the Lord.

Jesus shall reign where'er the sun  
Does his successive journeys run,  
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,  
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

We must have the same spirit as we turn to the great realms of culture and of thought. We must aim at such a vindication of the Christian faith as shall *command* the thought of our time in so far as that thought is morally in earnest, and shall bring to an end the long period of uncertainty and twilight, whose close will mark, if God will, a new Age of Faith, out of which will spring a new and nobler civilization, a greater literature, and men and women of a nobler mould, a city greater than Dante ever dreamed of, or Virgil ever sang, 'the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God, out of Heaven.'

# Point and Illustration.

## Love.

*Thoughts from the Writings of R. W. Barbour.*

WHAT shall we call it? The root of roots, the seed of seeds, the sap of saps, the juice of juices. Love is first and last. When I have love, I have everything: without love I am nothing. Love is all faith, all hope. Love is like the earth—everything comes out of her, everything returns to her again. She is the mother and nurse of all the graces. What love is, it is hard to say: for those who have it, needless to tell; for those who have it not, impossible.

To say 'God loved' is to say that He was Himself, that God was God. For God is love. Wherever love is, there God is; whatever doctrine dwells in that region dwells in God, and God in it. Whatever truth has most of love in it, has most of God; for God is love.

God's love must be measured by the whole work of Christ. Never did God so truly give as at that awful hour of isolation and of desolation, when the two seemed separated and the Orphan's cry went up, 'My God!' If there be any explanation of that infinitely unspeakable cry, it is this: 'Art Thou welcoming all these, O Father, and art Thou forsaking Me?' The moment of forsaking for Him was the moment of adoption for the whole family of God in Him. In the shadow of a redeemed earth Jesus the Son of God spent that hour of desertion.—R. W. BARBOUR.

## Patience.

*Thoughts.*

FLODDING, commonplace workman though Patience seems, hers is a work that, will we let it, comes to a wonder of perfection. There is an air about things her hand has been on that is as unmistakable as it is indescribable. Not to sudden and bold strokes does the marble owe its utmost perfectness. No, but to the silent, oft-repeated passages of the chisel over the stone, little more than audible in the occurrence, almost imperceptible in the separate result,—it is these that leave the statue a marvel and a desire. Let us 'run with patience.'—R. W. BARBOUR.

## Sympathy.

*Thoughts.*

HAVE we never felt our lips sealed towards another, fallen into trouble, through past neglect of him when he was doing as usual? Has the word of comfort or reproof never stuck in your throat, when the moment for saying it came, because your heart had not been opened before as it ought to have been? Interest is sadly lame that begins so late, that wakens only when the cry of anguish has arisen, or the more difficult dumb stupor of grief has set in.

There is no more precious gift to get than human trust, no gift more holy. But it is a plant as tender as it is rare. It is not a thing which springs up in a night; and where it springs it needs watering and watching. There is no real affection without self-sacrifice. There is no true love that is not 'watered aye with tears.'—R. W. BARBOUR.

## Atonement.

*The Atonement in Modern Religious Thought.*

HUMAN illustrations are more useful for impression than for explanation in a case so original and unique as Christ's atonement, yet I may close with one less common than some.

Schamyl was the great religious and military leader of the Caucasus, who for thirty years baffled the advance of Russia in that region, and after the most adventurous of lives, died in 1871. At one time bribery and corruption had become so prevalent about him, that he was driven to severe measures, and he announced that in every case discovered, the punishment would be one hundred lashes. Before long a culprit was discovered. It was his own mother. He shut himself up in his tent for two days without food or water, sunk in prayer. On the third day he gathered the people, and, pale as a corpse, commanded the executioner to inflict the punishment, which was done. But at the fifth stroke he called 'Halt!' had his mother removed, bared his own back, and ordered the official to lay on him the other ninety-five, with the severest threats if he did not give him the full weight of each blow.

This is a case where his penalty sanctified her punishment both to herself and to the awestruck people.—P. T. FORSYTH.

## The Theology of St. John and of St. Paul.

*The Christian Conception of Holiness.*

IF it were required to define in words the difference between the theology of St. John and that of St. Paul, it might be said that, among other differences, this stands out clear: while St. John sees the essential nature of God, St. Paul discerns more particularly the divine economy. This difference can be illustrated by setting side by side with St. John's dogmatic statement, 'God is Light,' that of St. Paul, 'Seeing it is God that said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' And by St. John's words, 'God is Love,' we set what St. Paul says, 'God commendeth His own love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.'—E. H. ASKWITH.

## With Simplicity.

*Religion in Life.*

IT is not enough to put religious thought, feeling, and conviction into shape in life. The shape we give them must be as beautiful as we can make it. It ought to have charm, to be attractive, that we may draw men to the love of the good thing. Moreover, the thing itself—the good, just, and loving thing, having its own divine loveliness—demands that its form should be lovely, that the form should not contradict its essence. It was not enough in St. Paul's mind that we should give, but also that we should do it with simplicity. It was not enough that we should show mercy, but also that we should show it with cheerfulness. That the form of Christian action should be fitting, graceful, full of attraction, was of so great importance to St. Paul, and this he learnt from the ineffable grace of Christ, that the action, however good, was incomplete unless it was beautifully clothed.—S. A. BROOKE.

# What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

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## III.

### The Gospel of Luke.

1<sup>16-38</sup> are on a lost leaf.

\*1<sup>47</sup>.—‘And my spirit hath rejoiced in God *the* Saviour.’

\*1<sup>49</sup>.—‘For he hath done to me great things; he who by name is glorious and holy, whose mercy is unto the generation and on the tribe to those who fear him.’

\*1<sup>53</sup>.—‘And he hath filled the poor with his good things; and the rich *he hath despised when in want.*’

\*1<sup>64</sup>.—‘And he hath cared for his *son* Israel,’ etc.

1<sup>63</sup>.—‘And they all marvelled,’ is transferred from the end of this verse to the end of v.<sup>64</sup>. It is thus described as the effect of Zacharias’ tongue being loosed, rather than of his writing that his son’s name was John. The phrase has perhaps suffered a transposition similar to that about the size of the stone in Mk 16<sup>3. 4</sup>. In two old Latin MSS, the Vercellensis and Veronensis, this phrase comes after the word ‘loosened’ and before ‘And his mouth was opened.’ This last phrase does not occur in the Sinai text.

1<sup>64</sup>.—‘And straightway the string of his tongue was loosened, and he blessed God, and they all marvelled.’

\*2<sup>5</sup>.—‘He and Mary his wife, being great with child, that there they might be enrolled, because *they were both* of the house of David.’ Here the word used for ‘wife’ is more explicit than either the *ἐμνηστευμένη* of the Greek MSS or the ‘espoused’ of the Peshitta. It shows clearly that Mary was under the full legal protection of Joseph.

A curious question arises in this connexion. Were Mary and Joseph enrolled in the books of the Government Censor on the night of their arrival in Bethlehem, on the following morning, or later still? If their enrolment took place after the birth of our Lord, was His name added after theirs? And was He described as the son of Joseph? We think it must have been so; else the whole story of His supernatural birth would

have been made public, and as we have seen from our consideration of Mt 1<sup>16</sup>, according to Semitic ideas, there was absolutely no impropriety and no untruthfulness in the transaction.

2<sup>14</sup>.—‘And good will to men,’ the reading of our Authorized Version; *εὐδοκία*, instead of *εὐδοκίας* (with Codex Vaticanus and some other ancient Greek MSS, the Peshitta, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic).

\*2<sup>15</sup>.—‘as the angel hath showed us,’ instead of ‘as the Lord hath made known unto us.’

\*2<sup>35</sup>.—‘And through thine own soul thou shalt cause a *spear* to pass,’ or ‘a *spear* shall pass.’

\*2<sup>36</sup>.—‘And seven *days* only was she with a husband after her virginity; and the rest of her life was she in widowhood, eighty and four years.’

\*2<sup>39</sup>.—‘Now *Joseph and Mary*, when they had fulfilled *in the temple on the first-born* all that is written in the law, returned,’ etc.

\*2<sup>41</sup>.—‘And his parents (or kinsfolk) went every year to Jerusalem at the feast of *unleavened bread* of the passover.’

2<sup>42</sup>.—‘And when he was twelve years old, they went up *as was their wont* to the feast’ (with the Peshitta).

2<sup>43</sup>.—The Syriac word translated ‘parents’ may possibly mean ‘kinsfolk.’ (It is found also in the Palestinian Syriac, the Peshitta having ‘and Joseph and his mother.’)

\*2<sup>49</sup>.—‘wist ye not that I must be with my Father?’

\*2<sup>51</sup>.—‘in her heart,’ is omitted.

3<sup>4</sup>.—‘Make ye ready a way for the Lord, and make straight in the plain a path for our God’ (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

3<sup>5. 6</sup>.—‘and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together’ (almost with the Curetonian, but without its addition of ‘because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken,’ both being nearer to Is 40<sup>5</sup> than other manuscripts are. This is a very good instance for those who judge the Curetonian text to be an amplification of the Sinai one).



3<sup>9</sup>.—‘And behold, the axe *hath* reached unto the root of the trees’ (with the Curetonian).

3<sup>12</sup>.—‘Master,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian).

3<sup>14</sup>.—‘Do violence to no man, *and do injury to no man*; let your wages suffice for you’ (with the Curetonian). This seems to me a better rendering than ‘be content with your wages.’ Soldiers are not forbidden to ask higher wages from the Government; but they are exhorted not to supplement their wages by living at the expense of the people on whom they are quartered. I know from personal observation that this habit prevails in the Sultan’s army; and no doubt it was equally prevalent in the better paid Roman one.

\*3<sup>23</sup>.—‘as he was called the son of Joseph,’ instead of ‘being the son (as was supposed).’

4<sup>17</sup>.—‘And they gave,’ or rather, ‘and he gave unto him the book of Isaia the prophet, and he stood up for to read.’ Here the two clauses of the verse, and therefore the two acts, are transposed from what they are in other texts; the Sinai one narrating that our Lord did not rise till He was asked to read, by the book being put into His hands by the attendant of the synagogue.

\*4<sup>18</sup>.—Instead of ‘to set at liberty them that are bruised,’ we have ‘to send away the contrite with forgiveness,’ or ‘to assure the contrite of forgiveness.’ We are uncertain about the verb; ‘to send away’ and ‘to assure’ being differentiated in Syriac only by a tiny dot, now hidden in the palimpsest by a heavy line of the upper writing. But whichever it may be, it is an improvement on the tautology of the usual text. The Peshitta has a reading not unlike this, and there we have distinctly the verb ‘to send away.’ The reading of the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus, ἀποστείλαι τετραποσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, might be translated thus, if ἀμαρτιῶν be implied.

\*4<sup>27</sup>.—‘And none of them was cleansed, save a Syrian.’ Naaman is not mentioned.

\*4<sup>29</sup>.—‘And led him to the hill *Faras* wheron their city was built, so that they might *hang* him.’ The word ‘hang’ is evidently a mistake, the Syriac translator having taken κρημνίσαι for κρεμάσαι.

\*4<sup>38</sup>.—‘And they besought him for her,’ is omitted. It might easily have come here from some other place, such as Mk 5<sup>28</sup>, Lk 8<sup>32</sup>, etc.

\*4<sup>39</sup>.—‘And he stood over her,’ is omitted.

\*4<sup>43</sup>.—‘For therefore was I sent,’ is omitted.

4<sup>44</sup>.—‘And he preached in the synagogues of

*Judæa*’ (with Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus, and four other ancient Greek MSS, and with some Coptic MSS).

\*5<sup>19</sup>.—‘Through the tiles,’ is omitted. Many Eastern houses are not roofed with tiles.

5<sup>29</sup> to 6<sup>11</sup> is on a lost leaf.

\*6<sup>14</sup>.—‘And James and John, *the sons of Zebedee*.’

\*6<sup>20, 21</sup>.—‘Blessed are *the* poor: for *theirs* is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are *they* that hunger now: for *they* shall be satisfied. Blessed are *they* that weep now: for *they* shall laugh.’

Codex B alone of the Palestinian Syriac version has ‘theirs’ instead of ‘yours’ in the first of these beatitudes, and partly in the second.

\*6<sup>25</sup>.—‘Woe unto you that are full now! for ye shall hunger,’ is omitted.

6<sup>29</sup>.—‘and him that taketh away thy cloke or thy coat, forbid him not.’

\*6<sup>35</sup>.—For the clause ‘never despairing,’ we have ‘Do not cut off the hope of any,’ or ‘Do not cease hope of men.’

6<sup>35</sup>.—‘that your reward may be great *in heaven*’ (with Codex Alexandrinus and the Old Latin Codex Vercellensis).

6<sup>38</sup>.—‘pressed down, shaken together,’ is omitted.

\*6<sup>40</sup>.—‘There is no disciple who is perfect as his master in teaching.’

6<sup>42</sup>.—‘And behold, in thine own eye a beam is lying? Thou hypocrite,’ etc. (with Codd. Bezae, Veronensis, and Vercellensis).

6<sup>48</sup>.—‘and when there were floods, *and the rivers were full*, they beat upon that house, and could not shake it.’

\*7<sup>24</sup>.—‘into the wilderness,’ is omitted.

\*7<sup>29</sup>.—‘And all the people and the publicans that heard, *justified themselves to God*, who were baptized with the baptism of John’ (see Lk 16<sup>15</sup> for a somewhat similar phrase).

8<sup>36</sup>.—‘And they told them how the man was saved,’—nine words against seventeen of the Revised Version (with the Curetonian).

8<sup>43</sup>.—‘Which had spent all her living upon physicians,’ is omitted (with the Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae, and B and C of the Palestinian Syriac versions). It may be an echo of Mk 5<sup>26</sup>.

8<sup>45</sup>.—‘and they that were with him,’ is omitted (with Codex Vaticanus, the Curetonian, and the Palestinian Syriac).

8<sup>45</sup>.—‘Our Master, the multitude throng and press thee, *and sayest thou, Who touched me?*’ (with Codd. Alexandrinus, Ephraemi, Bezae,

Brixianus, and other Greek and Latin MSS, the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and Codex A of the Palestinian Syriac in a later hand).

9<sup>20</sup>.—‘Thou art the Christ,’ instead of ‘The Christ of God’ (with the Curetonian, the Old Latin Vercellensis).

9<sup>23</sup>.—‘daily,’ is omitted (with some Latin MSS).

9<sup>27</sup>.—‘and *in that day* when they were come down from the mountain,’ instead of ‘and it came to pass, *on the next day*’ etc. (almost with the Curetonian, and possibly with Codd. Bezzæ, Veronensis, and these Latin MSS which say *per diem*).

9<sup>39</sup>.—‘crieth out,’ is omitted (Codd. Bezzæ, Vercellensis, and the Curetonian).

‘And a spirit cometh to him suddenly, and it throweth him down, and chastiseth him; and he foameth, and it hardly departeth from him, when it hath bruised him’ (with the Curetonian).

\*9<sup>45</sup>.—‘and they were afraid *about* this saying,’ instead of ‘to ask about.’

\*9<sup>48</sup>.—‘for he that is small, and is a child to you, that one is great.’

9<sup>61</sup>.—‘but first let me *go and tell it to* them of my house, and I will come,’ instead of ‘to bid farewell’ (with the Curetonian and some Old Latin MSS).

10<sup>1</sup>.—‘And after these things he appointed of his disciples other seventy-two’ (with Codd. Vaticanus and Bezzæ, some Old Latin MSS, and almost with the Curetonian).

10<sup>16</sup>.—‘He that heareth you, heareth me; and he who wrongeth you, wrongeth him that sent me; and he that heareth me, heareth him that sent me.’ This is somewhat like the readings of Codex Bezzæ and of the Curetonian, but it is not exactly like either of them.

10<sup>17</sup>.—Probably ‘seventy-two’ instead of ‘seventy,’ although the word ‘two’ is illegible (with Codd. Vaticanus, Bezzæ, and some Old Latin MSS).

10<sup>22</sup>.—‘All things are delivered to me from the Father; and who knoweth the Son, except the Father? and who knoweth the Father, except the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him?’

10<sup>23</sup>.—‘Privately,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezzæ, some Old Latin MSS, and the Curetonian).

10<sup>34</sup>.—‘Set him on his *ass*’ (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

10<sup>85</sup>.—‘And *at the dawn of the day* he took out two pence’ (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

This is in accordance with the early start usually made by natives of the East when they are on a journey.

10<sup>41</sup>.—Here we have simply, ‘Martha, Martha, Mary hath chosen for herself the good part, which shall not be taken away from her.’ ‘Thou art anxious and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful,’ being omitted (with Codd. Vercellensis and Veronensis). Codex Bezzæ omits the second clause of this only. It is pleasing to imagine that our Lord did not really rebuke the anxiety of a careful housewife. He only meant her to understand that there is something of far higher moment than our daily bread. The reading of the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus is, ‘there is need of little except of one thing’ (Sin. *ὀλίγων δὲ ἐστὶν χρεία ἡ ἐνός*).

11<sup>3</sup>.—‘And give us the continual bread of every day’ (with the Curetonian).

11<sup>4</sup>.—The Lord’s prayer ends with the word ‘temptation,’ as in the Revised Version (with the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus and the Old Latin Friuli Lectionary).

11<sup>11</sup>.—‘that is a father,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian and Codex Veronensis).

11<sup>11</sup>.—‘a loaf, and he give him a stone,’ is omitted (with Codex Vaticanus).

11<sup>13</sup>.—‘give *good things*,’ instead of ‘give the Holy Spirit’ (almost with Codex Bezzæ and some Old Latin MSS).

11<sup>15</sup>.—‘And some of the Pharisees said’ (with Codex Veronensis and the Curetonian).

11<sup>36</sup>.—‘Therefore also thy body, when there is in it no lamp that shines, is dark; thus while thy lamp is shining, it gives light to thee.’ This is something like the Latin codex, Brixianus, which Tischendorf says has here a corrupt reading.

11<sup>53, 54</sup>.—‘And as he said these things against them in the sight’ (Syriac, ‘in the eye’) of all the people, he began to be displeasing to the scribes and to the Pharisees; and they were disputing with him about many things, and were seeking to lay hold of an accusation against him’ (almost with Codex Bezzæ, some Old Latin MSS, and the Curetonian).

12<sup>1</sup>.—‘First of all,’ is omitted (with some Old Latin MSS. It is found in the Curetonian and Peshitta in the beginning of our Lord’s exhortation, and might be translated, ‘In the first place, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.’ It is so also in the Coptic version).

12<sup>9</sup>.—‘but he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God,’ is omitted. It is possibly an interpolation in this place, having been suggested by Mt 10<sup>33</sup>.

12<sup>14</sup>.—‘or a divider,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae and the Curetonian).

12<sup>15</sup>.—‘Take heed,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian and Peshitta).

12<sup>18</sup>.—‘And he said,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian).

12<sup>18</sup>.—‘But it is fitting for me that I should pull down my barns, and build, and enlarge them; and I will gather in them my produce’ (almost with the Curetonian).

12<sup>27</sup>.—‘how they grow,’ is omitted (with Codd. Bezae and Vercellensis, and the Curetonian, which, however, adds ‘of the field’). It has, perhaps, been carried into Luke’s narrative from Mt 6<sup>28</sup>.

\*12<sup>27</sup>.—‘how they spin not, and weave not,’ instead of ‘they toil not, neither do they spin’ (with Codd. Bezae and Vercellensis, and the Curetonian). Here we detect in other MSS the hand of a harmonizer, who has obviously tried to make the text of St. Luke agree with that of St. Matthew, and if we assume that this reading is the true one, he has, in so doing, obscured a very appropriate allusion to those processes by which our clothes come into existence.

12<sup>29</sup>.—‘and wherewithal ye shall be clothed,’ instead of ‘neither be ye of doubtful mind’ (with the Curetonian, but without its addition of ‘and be occupied in these’).

\*12<sup>29</sup>.—‘he would have watched,’ is omitted (with Codex Sinaiticus; with the Curetonian. Perhaps it belongs only to Mt 24<sup>43</sup>).

\*12<sup>46</sup>.—Dr. Arnold Meyer has pointed out that the verb used here and in Mt 24<sup>51</sup> in all the Syriac versions, *palleg*, has the primary meaning of ‘cut in pieces,’ and the secondary one of ‘appoint to some one his portion.’<sup>1</sup> If we suppose that our Lord used it in the primary sense, the difficulty

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jesu Muttersprache*, p. 115. Dr. Meyer attributes these meanings to the *Afel* form of the verb. But they belong also to the form *Pael*.

as to how the man survived so trying a process becomes insoluble. But if we take it in the secondary one, we must assume that the evangelist, whilst investigating about all these things, and writing them down carefully in Greek for the benefit of Theophilus, misunderstood a Syriac idiom by taking it too literally. The translation would then be: ‘and shall allot his portion, and shall place him [or it] with the unfaithful,’ etc.

12<sup>58</sup>.—‘They shall be divided,’ is omitted, being superfluous as regards the sense.

\*12<sup>58</sup>.—‘as thou art yet in the way, “give him trouble,” or “give him his work,” and be delivered from him.’

13<sup>11</sup>.—‘a certain woman who had a spirit eighteen years.’ ‘Of infirmity,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian).

13<sup>35</sup>.—‘Behold your house is *forsaken*,’ instead of ‘is left unto you desolate’ (almost with the Sinaiticus, the Vaticanus, the Alexandrinus, and many other ancient Greek MSS; also with the Old Latin Friuli Lectionary).

14<sup>12</sup>.—It is supposed that perhaps behind the Greek of this passage there lies a Semitic idiom, by which in the first limb of a sentence the negative is made stronger than the speaker really intended it to be, in order to make more positive the statement in the second limb. Thus the true translation would be, ‘When thou makest a supper, call not only thy friends,’ etc. Our Lord, who attended so many social gatherings, did not surely intend to forbid hospitality to our equals as well as to our poorer neighbours. For examples of this idiom see Jer 7<sup>22</sup>, Jn 12<sup>44</sup>, and Dr. Hommel’s papers in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for July and August 1900. This idiom is, of course, not peculiar to the Sinai palimpsest.

\*14<sup>13</sup>.—Here the list of guests is longer than usual: ‘call the poor, and the blind, and the lame, and the afflicted, and the outcast, and many others.’

\*14<sup>21</sup>.—This list of guests is also longer, for it includes ‘the outcast.’

(To be continued.)



## Requests and Replies.

Would you kindly mention the best books *pro* and *con* on 'Prayers for the Dead?'—G. H.

*Pro*—Mortimer's *Catholic Faith and Practice*. Part ii. (Longmans, 1898).

*Con*—Wright's *Intermediate State* (Nisbet, 1900).  
EDITOR.

You would do us missionaries in the foreign field, as well as many ministers of the gospel, a great service, if you could either yourself, or if one of your esteemed contributors, could advise us on the matter of commentaries on the various books of the Bible. We cannot afford to buy more than at most one good commentary on each book, and we are quite at a loss which to select. What we need is a commentary which will expound the text verse by verse, and offer such suggestions as will help us in preaching on any given verse.

There are, we know, excellent volumes among the various series, such as the *Pulpit*, *Speaker*, *Lange*, etc., as well as commentaries on single books, such as *Godet* and others, but how is an isolated missionary or minister to know which to buy?

Possibly there may be a book on the subject more recent than Spurgeon's, if so, I shall be very grateful if you would mention it. If not, would it be too

great a task to give a little advice in your much appreciated magazine, even if only about commentaries on the more important books of the Bible?

I shall look out for your kind reply in *The Expository Times*, under the heading, "Requests and Replies"—Advice about Commentaries.—A. C. M.

IN 1893 Professor Marvin Vincent of Union Theological Seminary, New York, published (London: Nisbet—note the date 1893, there is none on the title-page) a *Student's New Testament Handbook*, but it is incomplete, indiscriminating, and sometimes inaccurate. In 1896 the late Principal Cave of Hackney College, published (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark) a second and much enlarged edition of his *Introduction to Theology*, which is really a literature of modern theology in all its departments, very full and very accurate, but without discrimination. The most useful book is also the most recent,—Professor Peake's *Guide to Biblical Study* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1897). It does not contain lists, as the other books do, and it is scarcely full enough to meet the needs of everybody, but it is severely judicial in its praise and blame, and is altogether a most instructive book.  
EDITOR.

## The Judaean Ministry of Jesus.

BY THE REV. THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., CANON OF WELLS.

### III.

#### The Teaching in the House.

THE first and most important stage of this ministry was in the City itself, and there occur the only two incidents by which its character is illustrated, the Testimony in the Temple, and the Teaching in the House. They exhibit very different aspects of the Lord's action, and in their external scenes present a striking contrast, which, but for the extreme brevity and simplicity of the narrative, might be described as picturesque. The one is in the open day, in the place of concourse, a rebuke for public sin, a voice of authority and prophecy. The other is in the stillness of night, in the

seclusion of the chamber, in intercourse with an individual but representative mind, teaching what ought to have been known, telling what had not been known, a voice of instruction and revelation.

The visit of Nicodemus has historical interest from the nature of the circumstances and the character of the man, and also from the evidence which it gives of what was passing in men's minds, under the impression made by the words and works of Jesus. Far greater is the spiritual and doctrinal interest attaching to this interview. Un-

doubtedly much more was said than is written here; but we have the salient points which fastened on the mind of the hearer,—that silent unnamed hearer, whose close companionship, sympathetic apprehension, and retentive memory made him the chosen witness of his Master's deeper sayings. Brief and abrupt as are the words reported, there is no question of the treasures of truth which they contain, of the leading lights which they have supplied to Christian thought, or of the convictions and experiences, the preachings and teachings, the discussions and controversies, of which they have been the source in all the Church and in all ages. Hence, as we approach the consideration of the words, a cloud of doctrinal associations and conventional applications rise before us. But it is a cloud which must be dispelled, or rather we must get behind it, in order simply to hear the words as they were spoken; and to hear them thus is the only safe basis of interpretation. Their place in the history, their relation to the circumstances of the occasion and to the mind addressed must, in all reason, be taken to give their primary intention; and only in that light are they here considered.

From the same point of view, I am constrained to limit the subject of consideration to vv.<sup>1-15</sup>; concurring with some later commentators, who read the entire passage as only in its first part the words of Jesus, and in its second part as the reflections of the evangelist. The sudden change of language (it may be said with reverence) would not have been suited to this stage of the manifestation, or to the person addressed. 'Son of Man,' was the Lord's adopted designation, and had already been twice used in the conversation with Nicodemus. To change it (as it is changed in the later verses) for 'Son of God,' and to speak of 'believing in the name of the only begotten Son of God,' would seem an anachronism and an unlikely shock and offence to an inquiring Pharisee. Furthermore, the second part of the passage (<sup>16-21</sup>) has, on the face of it, the character of a retrospective review of a past history, seen under the light of a perfected revelation. I therefore read the chapter, as we are assisted to read it, by the distinction of paragraphs in the Revised Version.

'There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, the same came to Jesús by night.' What kind of visitor is this? A man of the Pharisees, the typical religionists

and believers. They hold the faith and keep the Law, and surround both faith and Law with a fence of traditional observance and opinion. 'After the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee,' said one who knew the system by thorough and honest experience. We know the faults inherent in it, and to what an extent they prevailed in self-satisfied bigotry and a jealous love of power and repute. Yet were there among them men of just and sincere minds, and one such is here before us. He is candid, and therefore comes to inquire. He is cautious, and therefore comes by night. To a man of traditional prejudices candour is hard of attainment; to a Pharisee it must have been hard indeed; and Nicodemus must have had conflicts with himself before he could resolve to do what he did. Caution seemed imposed by circumstances. As a ruler of the Jews and a teacher of eminence, his movements at this crisis would be matters of both party and public interest, and he therefore came to the house in the dark to converse, if he might, without observation or distraction.

What then are the questions which press upon his mind? They are the questions of the day, which are moving the multitude, but which appeal in a special sense to men of his order, who ought to judge of them, if any can. The first question is that of the *Kingdom of God*. Is it coming? and what will it be? The proclamation that 'the Kingdom of God is at hand' gave the reason for John's baptism and the power to his ministry. It had resounded through the land, and now, in the action of Jesus was thrilling the heart of Jerusalem. Then, what is to be thought of the *baptism* associated with it? It is a novel introduction, and affronting to Israel, as implying that the children of Abraham are not, as such, the heirs of the kingdom. By what authority is it administered? A deputation of priests and Levites, sent by the Pharisees, had asked this question of John; and had left him saying, 'Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor the Prophet?' He had answered by pointing to a greater Person who would baptize with the Spirit. That Person has appeared, awakening new ideas round him, teaching as one having authority, and not as the scribes, doing works beyond human power, which could not be denied. It is become an urgent question, What is to be thought of *Him*?



With these three questions in his mind, concerning the Kingdom, the Baptism, and Jesus Himself, Nicodemus has sought a private interview, while the world is going to rest. He opens it with respectful words, stating the conviction at which he and others have arrived, and the reason for it. 'Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that thou doest, except God be with him.' The Lord answers him throughout as a true man and sincere inquirer, and goes straight to the first point on which he needs to be enlightened. 'Except one be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' It is assumed that the immediate question is the kingdom of God, the great subject of prophecy and of Jewish expectation. The brief words imply its true character, and treat it as a matter of present and personal concern. Not in another world, but here and now, the kingdom is coming, and in a sense is come; but the external changes and visible glories of which Nicodemus thinks have disappeared, while the one important point for him, as for every man, his own relation to it, is at once suggested. Without a great change in a man, it is not only beyond his attainment, but beyond his perception. He is not able to see it (*οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν*), and the words have their literal meaning. Being a spiritual order of things, it needs spiritual capacity to apprehend it, which man has not by nature. What he wants is not information or improvement, but another birth. He must be born (*ἀνωθεν*) from above, as the word more usually means, but in this place it must be rendered 'anew,' as the answer of Nicodemus shows. 'How can a man be born, when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?' He speaks in perplexity; for he knows but of one kind of birth; and the latter question is only the common form of expressing an impossible idea. He speaks also with feeling, as a man advanced in life, 'How can a man be born, when he is old?' What kind of birth is meant, and by what power effected? The reply is direct, 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except one be born of water and spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Jesus speaks as exponent of the kingdom, shall we not rather say, as Lord of it? with solemn repetition of 'Amen, amen, I say to thee.' The new birth, then, expresses the communication of a new life, and the entrance into new relations—such as by

nature we cannot have. It comes to a man, *ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος*, out of water and spirit. The two words are in the same construction, and I cannot see the right of translators to insert before 'spirit' the article which is not there. It is in the next sentence that the explanation begins to appear. Throughout the discourse the steps of thought are distinct. We are now led from the general idea of seeing the kingdom to the definite act of entering into it. None but the person born anew is able to enter it; and that birth is to be derived from water and spirit, both, as stated here, being real and concurrent factors in the result. That baptism, a positive ordinance and external act, should be one of these factors would seem reasonable to the Pharisee, and it gave an answer to one of the questions which he had in his mind. In late times men, possessed with the greater truth,—that concerning the Spirit,—have thought that the conjunction could not have been meant, and have sought by various shifts of interpretation to set it aside. I say in late times, for, as Hooker writes of these controversialists in his day, 'To hide the general consent of antiquity, agreeing to the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm that "certain" have taken those words as meant of material water, whereas they know that of all the ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise, either expound or allege this place than as implying external baptism' (Bk. v. chap. 59). Neither ancients nor moderns can do otherwise, if they will but take the natural meaning of the words, and have respect to the circumstances under which they were spoken. It is a divine sentence, announcing a principle of the kingdom, uttered in its initial stage, but contemplating its permanent order. It asserts an ordained conjunction of the water and the Spirit: for the new birth and the entrance into the kingdom, but it does no more. What is the nature of the connexion, whether simultaneous or otherwise? What is the relation of the ordinance to the life? What is its proper office and separate efficacy in the entrance into the kingdom? These and the like questions remain for after consideration under the general light of the word and of the facts of human history. We know how they have been dealt with, in guiding words of the apostolic writings, in fervid utterances of the Fathers, in the elaborate systematizing of the School-



men, and then in Roman, Anglican, Lutheran, Calvinistic confessions. These large discussions are outside the present purpose, which is concerned only with the brief word of Jesus, which underlies them all, and with its primary intention at the time. It is certain only that baptism, as then in question and as known to Nicodemus, had a double character. In regard to the past, it was an act of repentance and an ordinance for the remission of sins; in regard to the future, it was a passage into a new dispensation, being administered as preliminary to the coming kingdom. These fundamental characters remained afterwards in the institution of Christian baptism. Its first word was, 'Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins' (Ac 2<sup>38</sup>), or (as spoken by the Lord's messenger to Saul) 'Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on His name' (22<sup>16</sup>); while it was at the same time a passage into a new spiritual position, being an admission into the kingdom as by a legal act and deed under the seal of the King.

Regarded in the light of our Lord's words as a factor in the new birth, baptism is, on the face of it, a means symbolic and instrumental, having effect from positive ordinance of God, and through voluntary use by man. Very different is the other factor, the Spirit. That is essential from the nature of the case, and independent of human action. If the water is the sacrament of the new birth, the Spirit is the power of it. Therefore the discourse, while asserting the obligation of the first condition, dwells on the necessity of the second. The Lord speaks as having the truth of things before Him. He sees two kinds of life, and two worlds or regions of life to which they respectively belong, distinguished as flesh and spirit. The one life is derived by natural generation; not so the other. The life of the flesh we know; not indeed in its essence, for life is a mystery; but in its beginning and its end, in its activities and manifestations, physical, intellectual, moral, in its relations with surrounding conditions and its part in the visible scene, in its powers and weaknesses, its limitations and frailty, its insecurity, brevity, mortality. In the last respects it is like all lower life in nature, animal and vegetable, 'All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man, as the flower of grass.' But the visible scene is not the whole of things, and the life in

the flesh is not the whole of man. In virtue of the immortality of the soul he has potential relations with another order of things, not seen and eternal, the world of spirit; where in the manifested presence of the living God are powers and intelligences that do His will, and the reign of truth and righteousness, and the seat of eternal judgment and the glory of perfect love. This is the Kingdom of God; and when it is said that 'the Kingdom of God is at hand,' 'is come nigh unto you,' or 'is among you,' it is a proclamation that some action of God is taking place, which brings that world nearer to men than it had been, which discloses afresh its character and principles and powers, and calls them to enter in. But the life which enters the region of spirit must itself be spirit; and in order to life there must be birth, and that too from its proper source. As 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' so 'that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.' The same word, 'spirit,' here and elsewhere expresses both that which generates and that which is generated, showing their common nature. The generating power can be no other than the Holy Spirit, the Lord, and Giver of life (*τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν*), and on the other hand, 'that which is born' is evidently the spirit in man, quickened by that power into actual and conscious life. The relations between these two are thenceforth so close that it is not always easy to discern in the language of Scripture which is directly intended. Sometimes, as when it speaks, of 'the Spirit himself witnessing with our spirit' (Ro 8<sup>16</sup>), the distinction is expressed. But often it may be a question, whether the primary thought is that of the Holy Spirit working in man, or the human spirit wrought upon by God. The Lord uses the word 'birth' for the origination of spiritual life, not as a figure of speech, but as the appropriate statement of the fact. There is thorough analogy between the one case and the other. Birth in the flesh is not a separate accident. It has its natural origin from another life, and its antecedent process and conditions. It is the same in the other case. In human nature reason, conscience, the moral sense create a capacity for conception, but not for spiritual origination. The life must come from without, and it does come from the impact of truth upon the soul, from the Word in some form or other brought home by the quickening Spirit. Thus St. Peter addresses Christians as 'having been begotten again, not of

corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the word of God, which liveth and abideth' (1 P 1<sup>23</sup>). This incipient life may have to pass through a hidden and doubtful process before it issues into light; and when it does, the birth (as the same passage tells us) has to be followed by nourishment and growth, being the beginning and not the completion of its course. The spiritual life must grow and prevail in constant contact with the life of nature and with the course of this world, through those experiences of the double life in the flesh and in the spirit which every Christian knows. This fundamental distinction, pregnant with practical consequences, is here for the first time set forth in the words which explain to Nicodemus the necessity of the new birth. The explanation is sufficient, and should put an end to wonder and doubt. 'Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born anew.'

Jesus speaks of a universal necessity, but He says, not We, but Ye; as Himself standing apart in solitary exemption. But had He not Himself received a baptism both of water and the Spirit? True, but the baptism of water was not sought for remission of sins, but was an act of obedience in the fulfilment of all righteousness; and the baptism of the Spirit conveyed no newness of life, but was an anointing of the Son for His mission to mankind. For us the Spirit is the giver of life, being the Spirit of God who alone can give it, acting towards us by a will above our own, and in ways that we can not trace. The words which say so may be read simply as a statement, the term spirit (*πνεῦμα*) being taken here in its proper meaning, as in the rest of this passage and elsewhere. Thus, for instance, Wycliffe renders, 'The Spirit brethith where he wole, and thou herist his vois, but thou wost not fro whennus he cometh, ne whidir he goith.' But if, after the general sense of versions and commentaries, we see here a similitude, and change 'spirit' into 'wind,' we gain from the illustration a help to our thoughts, which Nicodemus also needed. The wind is, of all the powers of nature, the most typical of freedom and force. Invisible, rising from we know not where, and on its way we know not whither, its effects are felt and its sound is heard. It seems, as Godet says, 'Like an irruption of the infinite into the finite'; the world of nature suggesting, as is frequent, the realities of a higher order than its own. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof,

but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth.' We hear more than the sound, the *voicē* (*τὴν φωνήν*). The voice of the Spirit is the Word; and we hear it truly and in its proper power when it becomes a living voice from the hearts, the lives, the characters of men. To this result therefore the discourse passes at once, disregarding irregularity in the form of comparison. 'So is every one that is born of the Spirit.' By the perfect participle (*γεννημένος*) attention is fixed, not on the event of birth, but on the state ensuing. It is state of life in the spirit, in which the man proves his new birth by immediate converse with God, and by an affinity with things eternal, in judgments and affections, aims and motives, which are not of this world. It is a state in which the same Holy Spirit who is the author of the new life still acts to preserve, revive, or perfect it, in temper, character, and conduct, which are touched with the breath of heaven. The spiritual element pervades with its virtue and fragrance the whole moral being, and the character silently bespeaks its origin and its destination. As to the worldly character, we know the influences in this world which form it, and the objects in this world which are its goal. Not so the character born from above.

Its source and its destination are alike beyond our sight. We do not see that Great Spirit from which the sons of God derive their birth; we do not see that heavenly society of the spirits of just men made perfect towards which they are journeying. Whence they come and whither they go we see not, and that because they are born of the Spirit (Mozley's *University Sermons*, p. 242).

Nicodemus still finds what he hears beyond his apprehension. 'How (he says) can these things be?' or rather, 'How can they come to be?' (*δύναται γενέσθαι*). He may need information, but why this unintelligent perplexity? It was because the Pharisaic habit of thought, conversant only with the Law, gave no room for this spiritual doctrine. Justly he is answered by another question, 'Art thou the teacher of Israel and understandest not these things?' It belonged to teachers of Israel to discern the deeper truths in their Scriptures, and to draw them forth for instruction and guidance. Had Nicodemus been such a teacher, he would have known enough of the action of God with men to make him recognize in the words of Jesus the true interpretation of the older teaching. The dispensation of the Spirit



was not yet. The work of the Son must be accomplished and redemption wrought before (in the fuller sense) the coming of the Holy Ghost. Nicodemus could not know on this subject what St. Paul knew and what we know. But in the voices of the prophets, read in the synagogue every Sabbath Day; in the Psalms, which had so large a place in Jewish religion, the doctrine of the Spirit was expressed and illustrated. The sound of the wind, which blows where it lists, is

there heard, sometimes with intermittent force, sometimes in sudden gusts of faith and fervour; manifestations which cannot be mistaken of a life which is born from above in the spirit of man quickened by the Spirit of God. On the threshold of the Coming Kingdom and of the revelation of 'heavenly things,' there was need to impress afresh these truths which ought in measure to have been known by a true teacher of Israel.

(To be continued.)

## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

#### THE TRUE CHRIST AND THE FALSE CHRIST.

By J. GARNIER. (*George Allen.* Crown 8vo, Two Vols. pp. 329, 340. 5s. each.)

There are two volumes. One describes the true Christ, the other the false. Or rather, one describes the true doctrine about Christ, the other the false doctrine. For it is not Christ, but our thoughts of Him and of His work that are the subject of Mr. Garnier's volumes.

Now, the true Christ is not found in Paganism, in Romanism, in Ritualism. He is found in Evangelicalism. But Evangelicalism is of two kinds. The one kind teaches a doctrine of expiation, and that is a false Christ. The other teaches a doctrine of spiritual fellowship through faith: that is the true Christ. The evangelicalism that teaches substitution is as false as ritualism, for it keeps Christ outside of us and makes Him do everything for us. The true Christ is found in the evangelicalism which unites us with Christ by faith, so that we suffer and die with Him, and then rise and reign with Him.

So Mr. Garnier's interesting and capable volumes make all turn on the nature of faith. And he is right. All does turn on the nature of faith. And a Christ that is not revealed *in* us, so as to produce good works, is not the true Christ.

The volumes are most attractively printed and bound. That is worth mentioning, for we are pre-disposed in their favour thereby, and so the reading is a pleasure from beginning to end.

*Concerning Jesus* is a good title for a book of studies in the life and character of our Lord. Its author is the Rev. Henry Hewett, A.T.S. It

contains nine chapters or sermons, one on the Homelessness of Jesus, one on His Happiness, one on His Manliness, one on His Womanliness, and so forth. Each chapter has something in it that is its own. The publisher is Mr. Allenson (6d.).

WHAT IS TRUTH? By THE REV. ROBERT WATERS, A.K.C.L. (*Banks.* 8vo, pp. 498. 10s. 6d.)

Immense volumes under general titles like 'What is Truth?' are usually disappointing. We are not able to take in knowledge in large quantities at a time. We resent being set right (or being considered wrong) on every conceivable subject in one day. Such books, besides, are invariably ugly to look at. And so we are set against such a book as this before we open it.

Perhaps that is why we have not enjoyed it. The prejudice has never, perhaps, been removed. For it is a reasonable serious account of the religion of the Christ, according to the Old and New Testaments, and of the corruptions that after New Testament times have been introduced into it. Serious and most earnest the author is, and the things he lays his finger on are real evils, unmistakable corruptions, and he does well to expose them. If his book had had a more limited title, and if it had been written in a more lively manner, we might all have heard Mr. Waters gladly and done many things because of him.

After the death of the Rev. R. W. Barbour of Bonskeid, some of his poetry and prose was collected in a handsome volume which was presented to his private friends. That volume has been



held by them in priceless estimation. And now, unselfishly, they have counselled a smaller selection to be published for all. Here it is—a beautiful blue leather 16mo at 2s. 6d. net, from the firm of Messrs. Blackwood & Sons. Its quality may be judged by extracts. Try the page in this issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES called 'Point and Illustration.'

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YOUNG PEOPLE. EDITED BY THE REV. ERNEST F. H. CAPEY. (*Burroughs*. New Series, Vol. II. 4to, pp. 192.)

*Young People* is a living and even very lively magazine. It has a serial and some short stories. It describes good men in 'our own Church,' and gives their photographs in youth, middle life, and old age. It gives an occasional portrait of, and contribution from, some distinguished man of letters. It even inserts good jokes and funny pictures. And it never has a dull page or a disappointing paragraph. For the editor is determined to make *Young People* a success.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK. BY HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. 603. 7s. 6d. net.)

Professor Swete's *Introduction* will take its place beside his well-known manual edition of the Septuagint. Both will supersede all other works of the kind. Both will be constantly consulted by Old Testament students.

There is no occasion to review the book elaborately. It is the work of our best known Septuagint scholar. He has been aided by Professor Nestle, the best known Septuagint scholar on the Continent. We have no ability, and feel no call to go behind these men and find fault. But one characteristic may be noted—its reserve. The utmost patience has gathered what can be gathered at present about the Septuagint. But much remains doubtful and obscure. That fact is as frankly stated as any other. It may also be noted that the book is really an *Introduction*. Dr. Swete has been able to bend down to the very beginner. He has gone a good way into the subject, and brought together in admirable order an immense amount of historical and critical information, but he has begun at the beginning. He thus keeps his book human, makes it fit for reading, and offers the subject as an attractive one.

It will be no surprise if from the date of the publication of this *Introduction* the study of the Septuagint takes a new start and occupies a new place even in our Colleges.

A piece of scholarship in keeping with the rest of the work is Mr. Thackeray's account of the Letter of Aristeas, which is printed as an Appendix. The book is dedicated: '*Eberhardo Nestle, Ph. et Th. D., viro, si quis alius, de his studiis optime merito, huius operis adiutori humanissimo.*'

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THE BARD OF BETHLEHEM. BY THE REV. H. A. PATERSON, M.A. (*Andrew Elliot*. Crown 8vo, pp. 530. 4s. 6d. net.)

To spend one's life in work upon the Psalms must surely be a good as well as a pleasant thing. It is, perhaps, the chief thing that the Psalms do for us—their study makes for our righteousness. What we do for the Psalms is of less account. Mr. Paterson has had a very definite object in mind in all his study of the Psalms. He has sought to translate them. In this volume he has added a prose translation to the verse translation he had published previously. And no doubt we must have some such definite purpose in all fruitful study of the Psalms. To go to them deliberately for devotion is often as useless as to try to add a cubit to our stature by thinking. Mr. Paterson has not really translated the Psalms. His prose translation is too inartistic and too unscientific—for here both words must go together—to be quite successful. And as for his translation in verse—well, nobody can translate the Psalms in verse. Milton could not, and no one else need try. Still, it is pleasant reading, and we too shall receive some of the blessing which this study has been to the author.

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LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION. BY D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 327. 6s.)

Professor Margoliouth has in this handsome volume reprinted the papers which he contributed to the *Expositor* throughout the year 1900, and added one on the 'Principles of Criticism.' It is a book which perhaps no man living is able to criticise, it stands so absolutely apart in origin and argument. The direct purpose of the book is to assail the literary analysis of the Old Testament. Hitherto that has been done either by literary analysis leading to different results, or by the evidence

of the monuments. Professor Margoliouth does it by an appeal to Arabic literature. And one feels that to appreciate even the method of reasoning adopted, it is necessary to think oneself into Arab ways of thought and expression, as evidently Professor Margoliouth has done. To an Arab, one feels, these arguments may be conclusive; they do not impress an Englishman. To which, we do not doubt, Professor Margoliouth would answer, 'Quite so, this Hebrew literature is more akin to Arabic than to English, and therefore this way of arguing about it is more likely to be right.' And we can only reply that we cannot get outside our own understanding. In other words, Professor Margoliouth's arguments may demonstrate the unity of Isaiah to an Arab, but they do not appeal to us. But even the ordinary insulated Englishman can appreciate the miracle of out-of-his-way learning and the abundant felicities of thought which the book contains.

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THE PREACHER'S DICTIONARY. BY E. F. CAVALIER, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. 8vo, pp. 641. 12s.)

It was only last month that we had the pleasure of reviewing a work remarkably like this in scope and purpose. What is the purpose? It is to guide the preacher to the Scripture passages that handle certain moral and religious subjects. The subjects are given in alphabetical order and subdivided, and the texts are printed in full. In the present volume, however, there is more than that. The leading Greek words are gathered, and a great many quotations are given from general literature. The value of such a book as this depends entirely on the use that is made of it. Fortunately this book is neither so elementary nor so exhaustive that it can be simply transferred to the manuscript or to the mind. It is suggestive and illuminative. It suggests a subject, quotes the chief texts on it, and lights it up by apt and memorable sayings. If men would do this for themselves, it would always be best. But some have not the time, some have not the patience. For them this volume is bound to be serviceable.

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THE ANCIENT SCRIPTURES AND THE MODERN JEW. BY DAVID BARON. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 354. 6s.)

Mr. Baron is one of the directors of a Jewish mission, called the 'Hebrew Christian Testimony

to Israel.' He is also an expositor. This book is a combination. Part is Jewish missionary work, part is expository work. On the whole, the missionary work is best. Mr. Baron is not always sure of his footing in the interpretation of Scripture, perhaps because his scholarship is somewhat old-fashioned. But his account of the Jews of the present day in their relation to Christianity is very valuable. It is also very hopeful; and yet Mr. Baron knows the difficulties, and does not belittle them.

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Analyses of Sermons are rarely readable, and even Mr. J. F. B. Tinling, B.A., with all his experience, has failed to retain the spark of life in his Analysis of all the published sermons of Bersier, which he calls *Bersier's Pulpit* (*Hodder & Stoughton*, crown 8vo, pp. 150, 1s. 6d.). But his purpose is perhaps served in simply presenting his author's thought. Let the preachers who refer to the book add the fire and the life themselves.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. BY B. W. BACON, D.D. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 300. 3s. 6d.)

Professor Bacon is among the more advanced of American theologians. It is no surprise to find this *Introduction* denying positions that the best English critics hold. The shock administered by Dr. M'Giffert's *Apostolic Age* will not be repeated, though that book and this are in close critical agreement. The Gospel of John is the work of three men—the Apostle, the Presbyter of Ephesus, and an editor who added the 'Appendix'; and the result is disturbing to ordinary ideas of the character of John. For the disciple who leaned upon Jesus' breast, the spiritually-minded author of the Gospel and First Epistle, is all the creation of the nameless Presbyter's fond fancy; the real John, son of Zebedee, is 'a fiery, zealous partisan, whose salient faults are self-assertive ambition and narrow intolerance.' Well, Dr. Bacon is entitled to his own hard-won conclusions. He is a scholar of first quality, and works independently. If slightly out of touch critically with some other volumes in Professor Shailer Mathews' series, for accuracy and reverence it is a volume of which any editor might be proud.

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Messrs. Marlborough have published a second



edition of the Rev. C. E. Stuart's evangelical *Outline of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (2s. 6d.).

THE DHAMMA OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA  
AND THE GOSPEL OF JESUS THE CHRIST.  
By C. F. AIKEN, S.T.D. (Boston: *Marlier*. Crown  
8vo, pp. 365. \$1.50.)

It has often been asserted that the gospel of Christ owes something to the teaching of Buddha. It has sometimes been asserted that it owes all that is most searching and essential. If it were so, it would not make the gospel of Christ less, though it would make the teaching of Buddha more. Dr. Aiken investigates the matter. He is highly competent so to do. He is not an apologist. And he concludes that the theory of dependence, or even of the slightest acquaintance, wholly breaks down. The book is one of the most valuable additions to the Buddhist literature that has seen the light for many a day. It is a discipline in scientific method, and it casts fresh light not only on many Buddhist doctrines, but even on some doctrines of Christianity.

*Furnishing for Workers* is the title of a small volume, which contains a selection of texts arranged under prominent doctrinal heads, and all in order, to be ready to the hand of the busy teacher. The compiler is Dr. L. W. Munhall, the publishers, Messrs. Marshall Brothers (rs.). In size it fits the pocket, and ought to be found useful.

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have added to their 'Quiet Hours' series of small quarto volumes *The All-Sufficient Saviour*, by the late Rev. G. H. C. Macgregor, M.A. It is the last work he did; it is the ripest fruit of his singular close walk with God.

A number of familiar evangelical texts have suggested to Freda Hanbury Allen some practical thoughts which [she] has expressed in verse, and which have been issued by the same publishers under the title of *That I May Know Him*.

THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM. (*Melrose*. Fcap.  
8vo, pp. 189. 2s. 6d.)

In his series entitled 'Books for the Heart,' Mr. Smellie has included an edition of the Heidelberg Catechism. It contains the German text, an English translation, and an introduction on Reformation Catechisms in general and the

Heidelberg in particular. We rejoice in the possession of the little book. It adds one more to a most agreeable series of volumes; it has given us delight through its introduction, which had to be finished at a sitting; and it is the handiest edition we know of the most human Catechism on earth. Most Catechisms are for the head, but this is really a 'book for the heart.'

Messrs. Nisbet are the publishers of *The Church Directory and Almanack*—one of the marvels of successful compilation and cheap publishing (8vo, pp. 650, 2s. net). There are directories published at ten times this price and they are not so good as this. It contains everything that a Churchman can desire to know.

*Ships and Havens*. It is hard to say whether Dr. van Dyke who wrote, or Messrs. Nelson who published it, have most credit by this book. It is a homily in short chapters on the text, 'So he bringeth them to their desired haven.' It is printed effectively in black and red.

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS. BY THE REV. J. A. PATERSON, D.D. (*Nutt*. 4to, pp. 67. 5s. 6d.)

Thirteen volumes have now been published of the Polychrome Bible in Hebrew. Three more are in the press. We congratulate Professor Haupt most heartily on the steady progress of his great undertaking.

To the casual eye this will prove one of the most attractive volumes of the series. For eight colours are required to set forth the various sources of the Book of Numbers, and some of the pages are gorgeous enough to make the popular title of the 'Rainbow Bible' scarcely an exaggeration.

But the searching eye of the student will be attracted also, though more to the notes than to the gaudy text. Professor Paterson has given himself gladly to the work, and evidently has found himself much at home amid the textual and grammatical niceties of the book. Professor Haupt has added many notes in square brackets, chiefly literary and archæological, and chiefly supplementary to the special editor's work, though we have observed an occasional contradiction. Together they have produced a work rich in interest. No commentary exists in English that throws half the light of this one on the Hebrew of the Book of Numbers.



SONGS AND SAYINGS OF GOWRIE. BY THE REV. ADAM PHILIP, M.A. (*Olipfant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 319. 5s. net.)

Mr. Philip's sketch of the *Church and People of Longforgan* (Olipfants) is one of the best parish histories ever written. It has carried his name far beyond the bounds of the locality. This work is greater. It is conceived in the same generous love of life, and it is executed with the deepest reverence for truth and religion. No care has been considered lost that gathered a name or verified a date. Yet there is so little ostentation of antiquarian lore that we can read the book under the uninterrupted fascination of charming story and good song. In a real sense some of these delightful songs and stories are rescued. They come from fleeting broadsheet or forgotten tome. But more than that, something is gathered from the lips of the people of the Carse. For Mr. Philip has entrance not only to homes but to hearts, and is able to unlock the secrets of catch and proverb that are perhaps as jealously kept back by the Scotch peasantry from the mere literary hunter as the record of personal religion. For the greater part, however, the volume owes its charm to wide reading in the field of Scottish literature. Every reference has been noted, every hint has been followed up. Not those who live in or near the Carse of Gowrie only, but lovers of Scottish literature everywhere will rejoice to possess this book, and will honour its author. Scotsmen abroad will welcome it with special affection.

Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster have published a second edition of Henry's *Outlines of Church History* (2s. 6d.).

The Social question, they say, is the question for the new century. Grant it may be solved. Grant that we may have a hand in it. That we may, let us read *Social Service Ideals*, an introduction to the subject, by Dr. J. Paterson Smyth (Sands, 1s.).

THE CHILD. BY A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, M.A., PH.D. (*Walter Scott*. Crown 8vo, pp. 510. 6s.)

The title of the latest volume of the 'Contemporary Science' series is brief enough. It is enlarged, however, by the subtitle, 'A Study in the Evolution of Man.' That gives its key and indicates its character. It is a study in anthro-

pology, a study in man. But man is caught before he has grown to manhood. He is caught before he is conscious of himself. He is then turned willingly about, and set in all possible positions, in relation to ancestry, to sex, to savages, to language, to education, to size, to crime, to other animals, and much more. A complete scientific account of him is extracted and written down before he is released. And the result is a most entertaining, disconcerting, severely scientific volume. Great are statistics when greatly handled. And surely it becomes us not to shut our eyes either to ancestry or any other part of the evolution of which we are the survivors and progenitors. There is nothing here to stagger faith. There is much to lay carefully and even prayerfully to heart and to practise in our lives.

THE LIFE OF JESUS OF NAZARETH. BY RUSH RHEES. (*Smith Elder*. Crown 8vo, pp. 327. 6s.)

The title of this, the newest Life of Christ, suggests Keim's *Jesus of Nazara*. And it is not to be denied that Professor Rush Rhees has something of the critical suspicion of Keim. But he believes that miracles do occur—and after all, the difference between one interpreter of the Life of Christ and another lies there. He believes that miracles did occur in the days of our Lord's flesh, that the miracle of a bodily rising from the dead occurred, and especially that there was seen on earth the greatest miracle that earth has ever known—the person of Jesus Himself.

Why is it that so few Lives of Christ are written? 'So few?' Yes, so few, when the attraction and the magnificence of the subject are considered. It must be that many men write but few men publish. For a Life of Christ is like a painting of Christ, it falls infinitely below even our idea. The man who publishes must be blind or brilliant. It is great praise, but Professor Rush Rhees seems to us to be brilliant. He calls his book a study—as if he would say, 'Just a bit of what I see, and I see so little.' It is all quite modest. But it is sincere and never superficial. The knowledge too, the knowledge of the outer facts, is always accurate. And for the student's use one most serviceable feature is a record of selected and criticised literature for every chapter. Two sentences in that record it is pardonable to quote: 'The most important treatment of the subject is the article JESUS CHRIST by William Sanday in the *Hastings*

*Bible Dictionary* (1899). It is of the highest value, discussing the subject topically with great clearness and with a rare combination of learning and common sense.

PRO PATRIA. BY THE REV. C. W. STUBBS, D.D. (*Stock*. Crown 8vo, pp. 182.)

The Dean of Ely knows no gospel that is not preached to the poor. And when we think of it that is the only gospel Christ Himself knew. It is the only gospel that the prophet prophesied He would preach. The gospel that is called 'comfortable,' under which our ears go to sleep to the cry of the oppressed is 'another gospel.' This volume has a considerable range of subject. But every sermon is 'social' whatever its subject, and a social gospel is at the last a gospel for the poor. The sermons were all preached on special occasions either in England or America. They were worthy of their great occasions.

Mr. Wilfred Woollam, M.A., LL.M., who further is described as 'sometime contributor to *Temple Bar*, *Cornhill*, *The Graphic*, *The Guardian*, *Cassell's Magazine*, *The Quiver*, *Sunday at Home*, etc. etc.,' has published a gathering of spicy (sometimes peppery) sayings, partly in prose and partly in verse, through Mr. Elliot Stock. The title of the book is *All Change*.

A FIRST PRIMER OF APOLOGETICS. BY ROBERT MACKINTOSH, D.D. (*Stock*. Crown 8vo, pp. 92.)

A speaker at the late Church Congress desired earnestly to see some modern critic draw out the 'Argument from Prophecy.' Here it is. And there is no unreality or emptiness about it. Dr. Mackintosh is in touch with the most modern methods, but evidently he has lost no hold of the old doctrines. His book is masterly. It will make two things clear, first, how deep is the gulf that separates the old apologetic from the new; second, how unhesitatingly the new apologetic makes Christ the centre of all doctrine and all life.

The Sunday School Institute has issued *Easy Lessons on Israel in Egypt and the Wilderness*, by W. Taylor (1s. 6d.).

The *Boys' and Girls' Companion*—the volume for 1900—is as youthful as ever. It is the discoverer of the elixir of life, and has surely

patented it. Just the same size of boys and girls, just the same absorbed interest (S.S. Institute, 2s.).

From the publishing house of the Sunday School Union come the *Notes on the Scripture Lessons for 1901* (pp. 364, 2s.). It is the fifty-seventh annual issue. And the purpose of the Notes is still the same—suggestion rather than satisfaction.

The same firm has published the annual volume of the *Sunday School Teacher* (8vo, pp. 428). Under the sympathetic editorship of the Rev. Alexander Smellie, M.A., this has been one of the most helpful magazines that have reached the teacher throughout the year. Its contents are never commonplace, they are often of the highest literary merit.

The new volume of the 'Green Nursery' series is *Our Holiday in London*, by Ellen Velvin. The boy and the girl were both there, and the story is good for all other boys and girls (S.S. Union, 1s.).

The first volume of the *Golden Rule* is out. It should have been noticed sooner, but did not come in time for that. Is it succeeding? This is a successful volume surely. It is a book fathers and mothers will give their boys and girls, it is so pleasant and so pure (Sunday School Union, 2s.).

The recent discoveries in early Christian literature have gone hard against some papal as well as some rationalistic claims. Their use to discredit both is now deliberately called in by an American writer, P. P. Flournoy. He starts with the 'Refutation of all Heresies,' and so he calls his book the *Search-Light of St. Hippolytus* (Thynne, crown 8vo, pp. 250, 2s. 6d. net). No more legitimate, no more effective, apologetic is in our hands at present.

Under the title of *What a Young Man ought to Know*, the Vir Publishing Company has issued a plain-spoken but wholly inoffensive and highly to be commended volume on the subject of personal and social purity (pp. 281, 4s. net).

A remarkable Cornish woman has had her life sketched under the title of *A Mother in Israel* (Wells Gardner, 1s.). It is a pity, indeed, as Canon Mason who introduces the narrative remarks, that her life was not better known and

her words more fully remembered. For this is a woman among ten thousand.

A little book called *Music from the Harps of God* has been written by Mrs. Campbell. Its author has discovered the value of affliction. Destroy it not, she says, for a blessing is in it. And so she rebukes our lack of faith in God's ways. This was the faith Christ asked if He would find on earth when He came again. Will He find it? There is one He will find it in to-day, and perhaps in others also who read her little book.

'I am become all things to all men,' said the apostle, 'that I might by all means save some.' And the Rev. J. N. Farquhar, of the London Missionary Society's College in Calcutta, becomes a commentator for the self-same end. He must by all means save some Hindus, and he turns St. Matthew's Gospel into the instrument of their salvation. He selects, prints in sections with special type for quotations and the like, comments, analyses, and never for one moment forgets the Hindu mind he would reach, the Hindu soul he would save. He does not forget that the Hindu has to buy the book, and so, packed as it is of brains and time and patience, he sells it for four annas. Four annas, we say, not four pence, because it is for India the book is produced, and it is greatly to be desired that every missionary in India should see a copy of it. The title of the book is *The Crossbearer*.

### The Golden Bough.<sup>1</sup>

The still glassy lake that sleeps  
Beneath Aricia's trees—  
Those trees in whose dim shadow  
The ghastly priest doth reign,  
The priest who slew the slayer,  
And shall himself be slain.

'Who does not know Turner's picture of the Golden Bough? The scene suffused with the golden glow of imagination in which the divine

mind of Turner steeped and transfigured even the fairest natural landscape, is a dream-like vision of the little woodland lake of Nemi, "Dian's Mirror," as it was called by the ancients. No one who has seen that calm water, lapped in a green hollow of the Alban Hills can ever forget it. The two characteristic Italian villages which slumber on its banks, and the equally Italian palace whose terraced gardens descend steeply to the lake, hardly break the stillness, and even the solitariness of the scene. Dian herself might still linger by this lonely shore, still haunt these woodlands wild.

'In antiquity this sylvan landscape was the scene of a strange and recurring tragedy. On the northern shore of the lake, right under the precipitous cliffs on which the modern village of Nemi is perched, stood the sacred grove and sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis, or Diana of the Wood. The lake and the grove were sometimes known as the lake and grove of Aricia. But the town of Aricia (the modern La Riccia) was situated about three miles off, at the foot of the Alban Mount, and separated by a steep descent from the lake, which lies in a small crater-like hollow on the mountain side. In this sacred grove there grew a certain tree, round which at any time of the day, and probably far into the night, a grim figure might be seen to prowl. In his hand he carried a drawn sword, and he kept peering warily about him as if every instant he expected to be set upon by an enemy. He was a priest and a murderer; and the man for whom he looked was sooner or later to murder him and hold the priesthood in his stead. Such was the rule of the sanctuary. A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or a craftier.'

This priest was also a king, and 'surely' says Dr. Frazer, 'no crowned head ever lay uneasier, or was visited by more evil dreams, than his.' That the whole weird and woeful custom was out of touch with the polished Italian society in which we find it, is very manifest. It rises like a primeval rock from a smooth-shaven lawn. It is a survival from an earlier and more barbarous age. Can we detect its motives? Can we show that it has an affinity with other and better known institutions? Dr. Frazer believes we can. He has written his *Golden Bough* to do it.

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*. A Study in Magic and Religion. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. In three vols. 8vo, pp. 495, 471, 490. London: Macmillan & Co. 36s. net.



And we who are arrested with the opening sentences of his book read on with increased interest and ever-widening sympathy. For the book touches us on many sides and always deeply. It is a study in magic, says the author. What have we to do with the study of magic? It is a study in religion, he adds. And we find that religion is magic and magic religion, and both have most surprising affinities with the very faith we hold most dear. Who can understand the religion of the Old Testament who misses or misunderstands the things that are written in this book?

But most of all, it is a study of man. It is one of the most scientific, it is perhaps altogether the most absorbing, of the additions that have recently

been made to the young science of Anthropology—to the young science of Man in the largest, fullest sense. They have just started a great quarterly with the title *Man*. This is one of the books that have made that possible and even inevitable. It is long since we learned that the proper study of mankind is man; it is only quite recently that we have begun it. Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is almost its introduction.

The new edition is much enlarged—three volumes in place of two. The enlargement is due to additional illustrations of the arguments, additional arguments also to illustrate. What book, brochure, or scrap of periodical writing, bearing on his subject, has the author missed?

## St. Luke and the Incarnation.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

‘That which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God.’—Luke i. 35 (R.V.).

THE text which I have chosen will plainly indicate the subject on which I am about to speak. I am about to speak of the mystery, as it is rightly called in our Litany, of the Holy Incarnation of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ. It is, indeed, a subject deep and mysterious, a subject that has been a stumbling-block to many, but still a subject on which it is our duty, in times such as these in which we are now living, reverently to meditate, and to draw from it all the boundless consolations which it ministers to the humble and believing heart.

Only too often the subject is set aside as something too deep for us ever to understand, something that we must believe but can never, never realize. That God should come down from heaven, be incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, be born as we are born, live as we live, and as we must also say, die as we die, does seem to be something, thus broadly stated, that, on this side the grave, must ever remain to us, however real and true, as absolutely inconceivable.

It was so felt even from the very first, and the two earliest attempts that were made to explain away the adorable mystery remain to this very day, in one form or another, in the background of much that is directly written or dimly entertained in

reference to the Incarnation. Of those two earliest tendencies of poor human thought we can only speak in very general terms, as, like all false doctrines, the errors they involved only showed themselves in their real deformity as time went onward. It cannot, however, be reasonably doubted that one of these tendencies was as old as the days of St. John; and that when, in his First Epistle, he says that ‘every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus, is not of God’—and when again, in his Second Epistle, he speaks of the deceivers ‘that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh’—that, when he was thus speaking, the holy apostle was referring to what was afterwards called Docetism, or the strange and wild persuasion that our dear Lord was man only in appearance, and was born and died only in semblance and in deceptive manifestation. The other tendency was probably older still, and apparently showed itself among the earliest Jewish Christians under the form that our Lord was verily the carpenter’s son, but that, at His baptism, or at some other epoch, the Divine power entered into Him so that He came to be the Son of God.

On these ancient tendencies of poor human thought we need not pause for a moment to show that both were what St. John pronounced the first of them to be—antichristian, emanations from the spirit of Antichrist; but we may certainly recognize them as the true sources of all the errors that connected themselves in old times with the mystery of the Incarnation. Even now they exercise some influence on modern thought in the contemplation of some of the blessed circumstances which Christmas-tide especially brings before us. It is not to be denied that some of the great teachers of our own days have felt and avowed their difficulties in regard to the literal truth of the Incarnation; and it cannot also, I fear, be denied that many really earnest and devout Christians are only too ready to put aside the closer consideration of the blessed doctrine, as involving what, in their judgment, transcends all powers of human thought and understanding.

But it is clearly the judgment of our Church that the great doctrine of the Incarnation ought not to be so put aside, nay, rather that each earnest worshipper should have a clear and right knowledge of what is meant by the apostle when he declares to us that the Word who, in the beginning, was with God, and who was God, became flesh, and dwelt among us. What could be a clearer indication of the mind of our Church in regard to belief in this holy mystery than this—not only that it instructs us by the great and lucid Creed which it has bidden to be sung or said thirteen times in each passing year; but further, that it teaches us in the Collect for Christmas Day that the eternal Son was to be born of a pure Virgin, and, in the proper preface in the Communion Service for that day (in language which has ever seemed to me of the most reverential clearness), has even vouchsafed to explain the very mystery of that Virgin-birth. Can words be more fully and more solemnly clear than those which the Prayer-Book directs the celebrant to utter on Christmas Day in the presence, as it were, of angels and archangels, and of all the company of heaven,—that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary, His mother.

We are thus fully justified in saying that it is completely contrary to the mind of our Church that the Incarnation should be put aside as a

mystery that transcends all possibility of being understood by, and realized by, the faithful worshipper. There is indeed, in the fact of the Incarnation, a mystery that passeth all understanding—the mystery that God did so love the human race that He had vouchsafed to call into existence, fallen though it was, and gone far from its holy ideal—that He did still so love it as to give His only begotten Son to be born in it, and be its Redeemer as well as its Perfecter. This is a mystery indeed, a mystery that can never be understood until the eternal truth that God is Love is understood in all its fulness, and we begin to know hereafter what here can only be known in part, and in holy expectancy. But into these deep thoughts it is not well for us here even to attempt to enter. All that I am desirous in these few and simple words to bring home to you is not the Incarnation in those higher aspects in which it was regarded by early thinkers like Irenæus, and by great writers that have followed him, viz. as being cosmical, and as involving relations to all that has been called into being. It is not the Incarnation so considered that I am now desirous to dwell upon, but the Incarnation as it relates to us men and our salvation, and is revealed to us in all plainness and simplicity in the Scriptures.

To many, alas! these plain and simple revelations have, as I have already said, seemed to involve such mystery, and so much that the mind cannot clearly realize, that the tendency to regard the whole narrative, as it is put before us by St. Matthew and St. Luke, as doubtful and unhistorical, is steadily increasing. The general truth that Jesus Christ did come into the world is not denied, but the belief that He came into the world in the manner that the first and third evangelists describe, especially as relates to the Virgin-birth, is regarded by many as not absolutely vital, and so as not absolutely necessary to salvation. And why is it so regarded? Because it involves the supernatural, and the supernatural in a form that is contrary to the whole experience of mankind. How is it then that all real and true Christians do believe it, and not only believe it, but rightly deem it to be the very foundation and corner-stone of Christian truth? Why do they thus believe it? By many it has been considered sufficient to say because it rests on the authority of the Church, and has been believed in from the very beginning. Such an answer is undoubtedly



an answer of great weight and validity; but have we not that which to many minds is of far greater weight and validity? Have we not historical evidence which, when calmly and dispassionately considered, will be found by every fair and reasonable mind to impart almost irresistible conviction? Have we not the declaration of one of the apostles of Jesus Christ, and an appeal to prophecy, on the very truth that is the chief stumbling-block to so many, the Virgin-birth? Have we not also, what must be considered as even more important, a full and circumstantial statement of one who though not an apostle was a companion of St. Paul, a physician,—this should not be overlooked,—and one who made it his especial duty to collect from eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word the carefully traced out narrative that bears the name of the Gospel according to St. Luke? Of such evidential importance is this narrative that the argument for the truth of all the circumstances related by St. Luke, in connexion with the birth of our Lord from the blessed Virgin, has been worked out, especially recently, with a fulness and care which I am sincerely persuaded must carry conviction to any heart that had not been prejudiced and pre-occupied against acceptance of the supernatural. This argument, of course, I cannot attempt to lay before you in its completeness, but I may still lay before you two or three considerations which, in the working out of the argument, are of primary importance, and which, when simply mentioned, seem to carry with them a suggestive force which may not have been adequately felt in our general musings on the holy narrative of the Lord's nativity.

In the first place, this, it is rightly urged, must never be overlooked, that the main features of the narrative could only have come from the blessed Virgin Mary herself, either directly to the carefully inquiring evangelist, or to some one to whom the blessed Virgin had related them, and by whom they had been communicated to St. Luke. And what a consideration this is. Could she whom all generations shall call blessed unto the very end of time, could she have been in any way mistaken? Such a question in its mildest form is painful; in any other form it is to anyone bearing the name of a Christian unthinkable. It is thus through the blessed Virgin herself that the full revelation has been made to mankind.

In the second place, if the evangelist had only received the recital of the facts indirectly, the same one who had communicated them could hardly have been other than one of the earliest believers, and most probably one of the apostles. For we are distinctly reminded that Mary, the mother of the Lord, was with the small holy company that, after the Lord's Ascension, joined the apostles in the Upper Room and continued steadfastly with them in prayer. Would not those earliest days have been days of holy reminiscence, would not every event in our Lord's earthly life have been dwelt upon with all the quickened powers of spiritual retrospect, and, in that holy retrospect, could it have been possible that the Annunciation, and all the circumstances it involved were not dwelt upon, when the mother of our Lord was present, who alone could tell the mysterious history of the angel visit, and all in the fulness of time that followed? May it not further be said, as accounting for the silence in other parts of Scripture (except in St. Matthew) as to any of the details of the Incarnation, that such things would sink into the very souls of those who heard them, and remain there, deep and eternal truths, which, as we may well believe, would never have been likely to form a part of their general teaching. The Resurrection was the standing witness of the truth of the Incarnation; and Christ and the Resurrection formed, as we are told, the, so to say, outward and general teaching of the first preachers of the gospel.

Much more might be said, but probably enough has now been said to give some conception of the nature of the argument for the historical truth of the Incarnation that may be derived from the opening chapter of the Gospel of the beloved physician—that opening chapter which many believe, and not without strong grounds for their belief, was supplied directly to the evangelist by the blessed Virgin herself. But be that as it may, I hope enough has been said to encourage every earnest thinker to dwell with unshaken confidence on all that Scripture reveals to us of the Incarnation of our Lord, and never, never to put these revelations aside as mysteries which only faith can understand and accept. They must ever be regarded by every faithful believer, as our Prayer-Book regards them, as real and living truths on which all our hopes here and hereafter will be found ultimately and permanently to depend.



# Sennacherib's Second Expedition to the West, and the Siege of Jerusalem.

BY PROFESSOR J. V. PRÁŠEK, PH.D., PRAGUE.

## I.

FROM the time of the earliest attempts to decipher the Bab.-Assyrian cuneiform texts, hopes were aroused in the circles primarily interested that the decipherment, when accomplished, would be of essential service to our knowledge of the relations between Assyria and Israel. These hopes rose still more when it was learned that the first decipherers had been able to read the names of various Assyrian kings well known to us from the O.T. Nor were these expectations disappointed, for in the documents of the Sargonides, especially of the king so frequently mentioned in the Bible, Sanherib or Sennacherib, a surprising amount of information was discovered about the relation of both the Israelitish kingdoms to Assyria, nay, we were now put in a position to fix a new basis for checking the Israelitish chronology which hitherto had been exposed to insuperable difficulties. To what an extent the teaching of the O.T. regarding the earliest history of the world comes in contact with the traditions of the Babylonians, has been amply shown by various specimens of translation, but the later history of the O.T. as well receives from the Assyrian cuneiform texts a support which cannot be too highly valued. Dr. Franz Kaulen (*Assyrien u. Babylonien nach den neuesten Entdeckungen*<sup>5</sup>, p. 273 ff.) remarks quite correctly—

‘We have now before us no longer notes by writers belonging to an insignificant people which in an inconsiderable corner of the earth draw up history from hearsay and combination, but we see the evidence written on stone that the Hebrew writers found themselves in direct intercourse with the nations, and have recorded all occurrences with documentary fidelity. The gain thus arising is twofold. In the first place, that which forms the subject of biblical history, especially in all its statements about foreign nations, can only be rightly understood after the biblical narratives have received such unexpected illustration.’

In general the statement just quoted is justified, but in particular cases the cuneiform statements must be treated as giving occasion for a fresh examination of the statements that have come down to us in the biblical tradition, and in this

way we arrive at results which from the standpoint of our previous historical knowledge must be regarded as extremely gratifying. This is true especially of the events of Sennacherib's reign. This haughty conqueror was on the very point of destroying the last relic of the ancient glory of David by the capture of Jerusalem, the necessary consequence of which would have been the conquest of Egypt, when he was checked in his victorious career by a strange occurrence, often explained as a prodigy, and was shortly thereafter murdered by his own son,—thus becoming quite unconsciously the chief cause of the henceforward inevitable decay of the first world empire which the world had seen.

It is natural that, since Sennacherib's inscriptions have become known and the secret of their contents penetrated, information has been looked for especially on the points just referred to. Beginning, in fact, with Niebuhr, the conviction has reigned that the disaster which befell Sennacherib before the gates of Jerusalem constituted a very important turning-point in the world's history, particularly in the history of ancient W. Asia. Hence there was an eager curiosity to learn what the Assyrians said about the matter, the more especially as it became known that the so-called Taylor-cylinder contained a detailed account of the campaigns of Sennacherib against Syria and Egypt, and, amongst others, mentioned by name King Hezekiah and the city of Jerusalem. This eagerness is to be assigned as the principal reason why Assyriologists have accorded to the inscriptions of Sennacherib a relatively premature editing and translation.

Soon, however, it turned out that the biblical account of the events in question does not coincide with the Assyrian, especially as to the siege and the deliverance of Jerusalem. The merit of having recognized the divergence between the two narratives and of having drawn the correct inferences from this, belongs to Sir Henry Rawlinson,

who, with the acuteness peculiar to him, writes (*The History of Herodotus*<sup>1</sup>, p. 484) as follows:—

‘Such is the account which Sennacherib gives of an expedition briefly touched on by Scripture in a few verses (2 K 18<sup>13-16</sup>), an expedition which is not to be confounded with that second invasion of these countries by the same monarch, which terminated in the destruction of his host and his own ignominious flight to his capital. This latter expedition is not described in his annals, and it may perhaps belong to a period beyond the time to which they extend.’

Sir H. Rawlinson thus recognized nearly forty years ago that the biblical account of the siege and deliverance of Jerusalem refers to a second campaign of Sennacherib not mentioned in the Assyrian records at our disposal. Following the lead of his illustrious brother, G. Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*<sup>4</sup>, ii. p. 165 ff.) also distinguishes the two accounts, that of Sennacherib and that of the Bible, and assigns the campaign recorded by the Assyrians to the year 701 B.C., the siege of Jerusalem and the catastrophe that befell the besieging host to the year 699 B.C. The circumstance that the Taylor-cylinder makes no mention at all of a second expedition to Palestine and Egypt, although it gives a detailed and generally graphic account of all important occurrences down to the 20th Adar of the year of the *linu* Bīlīmūrāni (= 691 B.C.), G. Rawlinson seeks to explain by pointing to the well-known fondness of Assyrian tablet-writers for ascribing the glorious deeds of particular generals to the king himself, and for passing over in silence everything which might detract from the fame of the king in the eyes of posterity. G. Rawlinson was led to date the second expedition of Sennacherib to the West in the year 699 B.C., because he identified the Egyptian contemporary of Sennacherib mentioned by Herodotus, namely, the alleged king Sethos, with the second of Manetho’s kings of Ethiopian descent, namely, Sebichos.

Another course has been adopted by George Smith in his *Assyria from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh* (‘Ancient History from the Monuments’), p. 116 ff. He holds that the two accounts, the Assyrian and the biblical, have to do with one and the same occurrence, which coincides chronologically and materially with the campaign of Sennacherib against Palestine in

701 B.C. The discrepancy between the two accounts he seeks to explain thus:—

‘We cannot, however, expect to find any direct confirmation of the overthrow of Sennacherib from the Assyrian inscriptions, as it was not the custom of these ancient nations to record their own defeats. Excepting this single circumstance, the agreement between the Assyrian and biblical records is very close, the principal difference being that in the annals of Sennacherib the events are given at greater length.’

The same course is followed by F. Delitzsch and Mürdter (in Mürdter’s *Kurzgefasste Gesch. Bab. u. Assyriens*<sup>2</sup>, 1882, p. 201). They, too, are of opinion that Sennacherib’s narrative agrees ‘almost entirely’ with the statements of 2 K 18<sup>13-16</sup>; only that the Assyrian text speaks of 800 talents of silver, the biblical of 300. But, according to the calculations of Brandis (*Münzsystem*, 98), 300 Israelite would be equal to 800 Assyrian talents; or it might be assumed, thinks Delitzsch, ‘that the extra 500 talents were a special present of the kind so frequently mentioned in the enumerations of tribute.’ It will be seen that Delitzsch, in order to maintain the coincidence of the two narratives, has recourse to an explanation which is not justified by the sources.

Schrader (*K.A.T.*<sup>3</sup> 306) likewise believes that the two accounts are coincident, but finds himself in consequence compelled to make far-reaching assumptions, which it is difficult to derive from the texts at our disposal. This most reputable scholar misses in the Assyrian inscription a statement of the number of prisoners and chariots captured, etc., such as is not usually wanting in similar accounts of Assyrian victories. There is, further, the circumstance that Sennacherib is still able to overpower the Philistine Ekron and to make Thimnath tributary; while, on the other hand, he is not in a position to take the offensive against Egypt, and as little to compel Jerusalem to surrender. His resolution to retreat may finally have been brought to maturity by an occurrence such as that of which Herodotus tells, or to which the Bible (2 K 19<sup>35</sup>) alludes; most likely the latter, namely, a pestilence breaking out in the army in the course of the war.

Wellhausen (in Bleek’s *Einleit. in d. A.T.*<sup>4</sup> 256) reaches the conclusion that Sennacherib’s inscription speaks only of the earliest and not of the last and most decisive phase of the campaign. This he holds to be evident, especially from the

<sup>1</sup> I regret that in this question of priority I am unable to consult the first edition of this famous commentary.



localities mentioned—a view which might find its justification in the well-known custom of the Assyrian tablet-writers to ignore the reverses that befell the king in the course of his campaigns.

Maspero, at first in his *Hist. ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (the second edition of which is the basis of Pietschmann's German translation, and in some measure revision, which appeared in 1877, and from which I quote), p. 402 ff., sees in the Assyrian narrative simply supplementary matter to the biblical account. He follows the same course most recently also in his *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*, iii. 293. He distinguishes here already the different strata utilized in the biblical narratives, without, however, drawing his conclusions from this.

Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* 317) also holds to the coincidence of the two accounts, after he has first discussed in detail the views of his predecessors, especially the brothers Rawlinson. He thinks, however, that in the biblical narrative the order of events was transposed, and seeks to strengthen this assumption by asserting that it was desired on the part of Israel to represent the mishap which befell the Assyrian army as a miraculous deliverance wrought by Jahweh, and as an authentication of Isaiah's prophecy. Thus of course it was necessary that the section relating to this should come in at a late point and the catastrophe overtake that part of the host which lay before Jerusalem. But then there was no more place left there for the story of Hezekiah's message to Lachish and his submission, and this had either to be omitted or placed at the beginning, where it had no right to be. The narrative of the siege of Jerusalem thus fell of itself into the middle. In order to establish a connexion between these purposely mixed up portions of the history, the passage 2 K 19<sup>8</sup> (= Is 37<sup>8</sup>) was interpolated, in which the Rabshakeh is represented as a simple ambassador who speaks of his commission, and where there is no word of an army at all.

This explanation of Tiele's might possibly be accepted if his theory of two editions of the same account in 2 K 18<sup>13, 17-20</sup> 19 and Is 36-39 were established.

Duncker (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*<sup>5</sup>, ii. 353-367) discusses with his own fulness of detail Sennacherib's expedition to the West, and strives, by making them mutually supplementary, and by means of various assumptions, to establish harmony between

the two narratives before us. In this way, however, he obscures the real contents of both or robs them of their original characteristics. He seeks at the same time to explain the Assyrian inscription in a way that is illegitimate from the standpoint of historical criticism, by assuming that in the inscription the order of events is reversed, the capture of Ekron, the surrounding and investment of Jerusalem, the assignment of Judæan territory to Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza, and, finally, the paying of tribute by Hezekiah being made to follow the battle at Altaḫu-Elteḫe, whereas these events preceded the latter. But even the biblical account is not held by him to have come down to us in its original form; for one can find traces of its being worked over by a prophetic hand, which consistently traces every misfortune which befell Israel and Judah to the apostasy of their kings. All the more readily, on the other hand, might the sudden unlooked-for deliverance of the pious king be attributed to the direct interposition of Jahweh which authenticated on the spot the prediction of the great prophet.

The defects of such a method of explanation did not escape the sharp eyes of E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. § 384), hence the extremely cautious description he gives of the campaign of Sennacherib in question. He simply places the principal points in the two accounts side by side, introducing them with the words, 'the great king relates as follows,' and 'somewhat differently runs the Hebrew narrative'; and he distinguishes in the latter a shorter and a second more detailed version. As to the main point, the deliverance of Jerusalem, Meyer admits that it must really have been a natural occurrence, presumably a pestilence, which compelled Sennacherib to desist from his attack upon Jerusalem and to raise the siege. As to the contribution paid over to Sennacherib by Hezekiah, Meyer's hesitation is noteworthy: 'The 300 Hebrew talents are *perhaps* [the italics are his own] exactly equal to 800 Assyrian talents.'

A. H. Sayce (*Alte Denkmäler im Lichte neuer Forschungen*, 151; cf. also *The Ancient Empires of the East*, 133 ff.) likewise endeavours to harmonize the data of the two narratives, and accepts of only one campaign of Sennacherib to the West. In his opinion the two accounts supplement and complete one another. Sennacherib of course conceals the mishap which befell him in Palestine, and transfers the payment of tribute from the time when Hezekiah sought in



vain to buy off the siege of Jerusalem to the end of the campaign. He is unable, however, as appears to Sayce, to conceal the fact that he was never able to capture the revolted city or to chastise Hezekiah as he had done the other rebel kings. The final verdict also of the famous Oxford scholar is that Sennacherib undertook no further campaign to the West. In succeeding years we find him indeed in Babylonia and Cilicia, but Sayce holds that he never ventured back to Palestine. 'During his lifetime Judah had nothing more to fear from the Assyrian king.'

The matter is viewed in the same light by Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. u. Assy.* 705). He too labours to establish harmony between the boastful narrative of the Assyrian and the Jewish tradition. This forms the basis of his discussion, in which he takes the situation after Hezekiah's payment of tribute, mentioned by the Assyrians, to have been that by the latter step the danger was not yet warded off from Judah, and that Sennacherib, who in any case must have thought of utilizing his victory over the Egyptians by an expedition to Egypt, would probably on his victorious return thence have entered Jerusalem after all, had not the threatened danger been averted by some wonderful occurrence which is equally well authenticated by the Bible and by Egyptian records. But farther on Hommel admits that Sennacherib once more appeared in the West at the head of an army, upon the occasion of a campaign against the Arabians, in the course of which an Arab fortress named Adumû was captured. This campaign, the year of which unfortunately is unknown, would have brought Sennacherib at farthest to the East Jordan district, but not to Judah or the Judæo-Egyptian frontier.

The difficulty produced by combining the Assyrian account with the biblical tradition has been observed also by Kittel (*Gesch. d. Hebräer.* ii. 311). He too seeks to reconcile the discrepancy between the two narratives by the process of mutual supplementing, and indeed by supplementing the Assyrian account by the divergent data of that of the Bible. He remarks, however, that in the matter of the alleged victory of Sennacherib at Elteke, the data are mutually complementary, and holds in consequence that Sennacherib did not pursue his victory farther, and thus gave the Egyptians the opportunity to collect their forces anew. It may be suggested, says Kittel, that that

victory cost Sennacherib himself so dear that Hezekiah could venture to continue his resistance. 'The biblical accounts, *if we understand them aright* [the italics are ours], are in harmony with this.' In addition to this whisper of doubt as to the correctness of the methods hitherto employed, Kittel's note (*ad loc.*) is also significant, in which he allows that two parallel accounts which supplement one another underlie the biblical narrative. But, in spite of this well-founded doubt, Kittel reaches the somewhat surprising conclusion that the account thus produced corresponds in all essential points to the real state of affairs, for precisely those elements in it which we might expect to find recurring in the Assyrian story, show, he alleges, the most remarkable harmony with the latter, such points notably as the mention of Sennacherib's attack upon Judah, the submission of Hezekiah, and the siege of Jerusalem. In opposition to this view of Kittel's, it must be pointed out that he succeeds in establishing the harmony of the two narratives only by presuppositions and supplementings, a method of procedure little in place where it is a question of getting at the real state of the case by means of the data at our disposal.

But on no account can we approve of the attitude of Piepenbring (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, 337), who expressly glories in following the lead of Stade, and cites the weighty criticisms of Kuenen and Tiele, and yet describes the condition of things in the present case in the fashion that has hitherto been usual, and with altogether disproportionate brevity: 'Les Assyriens durent lever le siège, sans avoir pris la ville' ['The Assyrians had to raise the siege, without having taken the city']! Thus Piepenbring disposes of the detailed narrative of Sennacherib, the biblical story, and the speeches of Isaiah, not to speak of Herodotus' account of the Egyptian king Sethos and the wonderful deliverance of Egypt from the hands of Sennacherib, a story which, notwithstanding its late origin, contains, as we shall presently find, a considerable kernel of truth, and hence deserves to be taken into account and critically examined in seeking the solution of one of the most burning questions in ancient Eastern and especially biblical history.

We have here passed in review all the opinions of scholars which, starting with the assumption that the biblical narrative which has come down to us is a unity, have set themselves to harmonize

the latter with Sennacherib's official account. Now it turns out that this presupposition does not tally with the facts, and we have noticed, in the case of some of the authors cited, that a suspicion of this has floated before their minds; only they have preferred to give expression to their doubts in a

way that affects little the main point, for they have for the most part been content with the assumption that the biblical narrative in its present form has been produced by a redactor from two parallel narratives.

(*To be continued.*)

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

HEBREWS II. 14, 15.

'Since then the children are sharers in flesh and blood, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same; that through death He might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage' (R.V.).

#### EXPOSITION.

'The children.'—The children are God's children, in the spiritual sense, whom He had given to Him, and as one with whom He presents Himself.—DAVIDSON.

'Flesh and blood.'—Is a designation of human nature as mortal (1 Co 15<sup>50</sup>), or in general (Mt 16<sup>17</sup>, Gal 1<sup>16</sup>). In the O.T. the corresponding expression is simply 'flesh.'—DAVIDSON.

'He also Himself in like manner partook of the same.'—The mere taking part in human nature is not the point which engages the interest of the apostle here. The incarnation in itself probably was not felt to need justification. The incarnation is referred to because it was a necessary preliminary to the sufferings, as the sphere of existence to which the Son essentially belonged made Him incapable of death. In order to be able to die, He must take part in flesh and blood. In another passage (10<sup>5</sup>) the preparing of a body for Him is also said to be in order that He might offer it.—DAVIDSON.

'Through death.'—It was by the death of the flesh that our Lord vanquished this power of the devil; for, as he declared, these two deaths, the voluntary death of the cross, *i.e.* of flesh and self, and the death of the spirit are mutually antagonistic. This distinction of various kinds of death was familiar to Jewish teachers. Philo says, 'There are two kinds of death, one of man, the other belonging especially to the soul. The death of man consists in separation of soul from body; the death of the soul in decay of virtue and assimilation of vicious elements.'—RENDALL.

'He might bring to nought him that had the power of death.'—Christ by the offering of Himself made a perfect atonement for sin, and so brought to nought the power of the devil. It is not said here that he 'brought to nought death' (yet see 2 Ti 1<sup>10</sup>). That end in the full sense

is still to come (1 Co 15<sup>26</sup>); and it is reached by the power of the life of Christ.—WESTCOTT.

'The power of death.'—The devil as the author of sin has the power over death its consequence (Ro 5<sup>12</sup>), not as though he could inflict it at his pleasure; but death is his realm; he makes it subservient to his end.—WESTCOTT.

'The devil.'—The power of death is ascribed to the devil, because he is the tempter to sin which brought death into the world, and the accuser of those who sin, so that they, having sin brought to mind, fear to die.—BRUCE.

'Through fear of death . . . subject to bondage.'—This was felt, as we see from the O.T. far more intensely under the old than under the new dispensation. . . . In heathen and savage lands the whole of life is often overshadowed by the terror of death, which thus becomes a veritable 'bondage.' Philo quotes a line of Euripides to show that a man who has no fear of death can never be a slave. But, through Christ's death, death has become to the Christian the gate of glory.—FARRAR.

THIS fear of death is not the mere natural recoil of the living from encountering death. It is the moral and religious fear of it.—DAVIDSON.

#### METHODS OF TREATMENT.

##### I.

#### In Bondage to the Fear of Death.

*By the Rev. Alfred Ainger, M.A.*

Some words of our Lord illustrate v.<sup>14</sup>. He warns His disciples that they will meet persecution. They will carry their lives in their hands. But those who killed them could not touch what was life indeed. 'Fear him,' He says, 'which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell.' The meaning is unmistakable, the comparison is between one enemy and another; the enemy to be feared is the enemy whose power is not limited to the body, but who can destroy the soul, who 'has the power to cast into hell.' The writer of our



text speaks of the devil as 'him who had the power of death.' The person spoken of in both cases must be the same, yet annotators have explained the enemy of men's souls, whom they have most cause to fear, who can destroy the soul, as being God, their Father in heaven.

Death is used in this passage in two senses. In its first use death means the death of the body; in the second instance it includes the death of the soul. But death, whether of body or soul, is regarded as the victory of a power opposed to God. We call death the gateway to heaven, and try to persuade ourselves that it is not a curse but a blessing. The Bible speaks of it as a curse, the fruit of sin. St. Paul confessed that to depart and be with Christ was far better, yet he speaks of death as an enemy, 'the last which shall be destroyed.' The hope of a perfected existence beyond must not mislead us as to death. In death we yield to a conqueror, and it is the curse of sin that only through defeat we conquer.

And if it is the evil power which kills the body, still more is it that power which kills the soul. Eternal life is the knowledge of God, therefore eternal death is alienation from Him. Two powers are wrestling for our souls: He that has the power of life, that is, God; and he that has the power of death, that is, the devil. How strange our controversies about eternal punishment would have seemed to St. Paul! We assume that God the deliverer is the oppressor; the Giver of life the sender of death. But God cannot destroy; He is ever calling to you to turn from your iniquities and *live*, but Satan is calling to turn to him and *die*. If you are obeying him, why wonder if God will destroy your soul *hereafter*? It is destroyed already, you are dead while you live.

The fear of death belongs to no special religion, but to the constitution of our being. Men, says the writer, are in slavery to this fear. He speaks not of what follows death, but of death itself. The educated Greek or Roman might pride himself on being free from the vulgar terror of the infernal regions, but Stoic and philosopher confessed to this bondage to the fear of death. Said the Roman satirist, 'If you wish to ask the gods for that which will be a blessing, ask for a brave spirit, unfettered by the fear of death.' He knew that slave and philosopher alike felt this fear; the philosopher even more than the slave,

since he had learned the divine significance of *life*, and if he did not fear what death might bring, he feared what it would take away.

And to deliver from this bondage the Son of God submitted to the enemy. He died not to remove death—Death yet remains, the last enemy—but to deprive it of its sting. For the Christian's triumph over sin is the pledge of his triumph over death. The resurrection of the soul is the earnest of that of the body. There is still a shrinking of the bodily nature, but that is not bondage. Death is still a curse, even though in old age, when its seal is on the faculties, it may be regarded as a friend,—that only means that the curse is already fallen. But we are no longer slaves to it, since we lean on a stronger arm, and we feel that he who has power to kill the body is welcome to his victory, since Christ has obtained for us the salvation of the soul.

## II.

### The Death of Death.

*By the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A.*

We fear death with a double fear. (1) There is the instinctive fear shared by the animal creation. Surely this fear is not wrong. It is often congenital and involuntary, and afflicts some of God's noblest saints, who will doubtless one day confess it was unwarrantable. (2) There is spiritual fear. We dread the *mystery* of death. What is it? Whither does it lead? Why does it come just now? What is the nature of the life beyond? We dread its *leave-taking*. We dread the *after-death*. Christ knew men's fears. He has associated them with Him as brethren. He will alleviate that fear of death. But to do it He must die. He must fulfil the law of death before He can abolish death. And to die He must become man. Others die because they are born; Christ was born that He might die. And by His death He accomplished two ends. (1) He destroyed him that had the power of death. He is brought to nought, not extinct; not impotent but chained. Still he assails the Christian, but at the Resurrection his doom was sealed. (2) He delivered from the fear of death. Fear not the mystery of death! Jesus has died, and has shown us that it is the gateway into another and more blessed life. Fear not its loneliness! The soul



in the dark valley becomes aware of another at its side. Death cannot separate us, even for a moment, from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. In the hour of death Christ fulfils his own promise, 'I will come again and take you unto Myself.' Fear not the after-death! Our Substitute has borne the curse and penalty of sin. How shall they die who have already died in Christ? It is to them a sleep after the long working-day, from which they will awake in the fresh energy of the eternal morning.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

THERE is a profound and beautiful apologue in one of our earliest English authors—more profound perhaps than the teller of the story knew—of a time when the plague was raging in a certain town, and three revellers, one of whose comrades had been struck down by the destroying angel, set forth, 'flown with insolence and wine,' to find Death and wreak their vengeance upon him. They have not gone far, when they meet with an old man enfeebled with age, himself waiting hopefully for the deliverer, whom they have come to meet and slay. The rioters demand of him where Death is, and he tells them that if they will go into a certain wood, they will find the Destroyer resting beneath a tree. They follow his direction; but beneath the tree they find, not Death, but a heap of gold, which some terrified man, who had fled from the plague-stricken town, had left there in concealment. The revellers straightway forgot the object of their search, in the excitement of their new discovery. They at once seize upon the prize; and in the greed and jealousy it develops they compass one another's death, each falling into the trap he has laid for the other. The narrator of this story appends no moral to it, save the commonplace warning against covetousness; but surely there lies in it a deeper truth than this. The seekers after Death found not the destroyer of men's bodies; but they found their real enemy, the destroyer of their souls. They went to search for Death; and they found Death indeed, for they found Sin. They did not find him who can destroy the body, but him who long before he kills the body may have destroyed the soul.—A. AINGER.

A CHILD was in the habit of playing in a large and beautiful garden, with sunny lawns; but there was one part of it, a long and winding path, down which he never ventured; indeed he dreaded to go near it, because some silly nurse had told him that ogres and goblins dwelt within its darksome gloom. At last his eldest brother heard of his fear, and, after playing one day with him, took him to the embowered entrance of the grove, and leaving him there terror-stricken, went singing through its length, and returned, and reasoned with the child, proving that his fears were groundless. At last he took the lad's hand, and they went through it together, and from that moment the fear which had haunted the place fled, and the memory of that brother's presence took its place. So has Jesus done for us.—F. B. MEYER.

THE Spanish poet Calderon, in one of the finest of his dramas, tells us of a beautiful Roman girl named Daria, who lived in the early ages of Christianity. She belonged to the nobility, and was of a very proud and haughty nature. In her pagan state she used to say that she would never love till she found someone who would die to prove his love for her. One day she heard a wandering friar preaching the gospel of the crucified Redeemer, and her heart was at once touched. She found at last some one whom she could indeed love, for He had proved His love by dying for her. She was converted, and became one of the meekest and most devoted of the early Christian saints, and finally died herself the martyr's death to prove her love to Him who first loved her.—H. MACMILLAN.

AMONG the few remains of Sir John Franklin that were found far up in the Polar regions there was a leaf of the *Students' Manual*, by Dr. John Todd—the only relic of a book. From the way in which the leaf was turned down, the following portion of a dialogue was prominent:—'Are you not afraid to die?' 'No.' 'No! Why does the uncertainty of another state give you no concern?' 'Because God has said to me, "Fear not, when thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee."' "

MAN's life is death. Yet Christ endured to live,  
Preaching and teaching, toiling to and fro,  
Few men accepting what He yearned to give,  
Few men with eyes to know  
His Face, that Face of Love He stooped to show.

MAN's death is life. For Christ endured to die  
In slow unuttered weariness of pain,  
A curse and an astonishment, passed by,  
Pointed at, mocked again  
By men for whom He shed His blood—in vain?

C. ROSSETTI.

#### Sermons for Reference.

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- Archer-Hind (T. H.), Some Scripture Problems, 24.
- Beecher (H. W.), Sermons, 354.
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- Bruce (A. B.), Epistle to the Hebrews, 65, 106.
- Caughey (J.), Revival Sermons, 136.
- Edgar (R. M.), Philosophy of the Cross, 131.
- Farrar (F. W.), Eternal Hope, 225.
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- Lindesie (A.), Gospel of Grace, 32.
- Macmillan (H.), Spring of the Day, 313.
- Maurice (F. D.), Doctrine of Sacrifice, 227.
- Meyer (F. B.), Way into the Holiest, 47.
- Milligan (W.), Resurrection of our Lord, 304.
- Trench (R. C.), Brief Thoughts and Meditations, 44.
- Westcott (B. F.), Historic Faith, 58.

## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., OXFORD.

A NEW and interesting volume has just appeared on Babylonian religion. It has been published by M. Fr. Martin under the title of *Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens* (Paris, 1900), and contains transcriptions and translations of the cuneiform texts edited by Professor Craig, together with an excellent introduction and notes. The texts have all been revised, and the readings corrected in several cases. They are a fresh example of that curious mixture of old women's charms and exalted religious thought which distinguishes so much of the religious literature of Babylonia. Passages which remind us of the Psalms are embedded in spells and incantations, which are at once stupid and wearisome. Popular superstition and deep spiritual feeling are mingled together in a way that is both puzzling and repulsive to the modern mind. The very hymns to the gods form part of a spell. I will take, as an instance, one of the most favourable specimens in the collection—

Incantation.—O Sun-god, thou art the king of heaven and earth, thou rulest all that is above and below,  
O Sun-god, thou art he that raiseth the dead to life, delivering him with thy hands,  
Thou art a judge that taketh no bribes, who guidest mankind aright,  
The supreme offspring of the lord of glory,  
(his) mighty son who kindleth the light of the world, illuminator of the whole heaven and earth, O Sun-god, art thou!  
O Sun-god, as for the evil spell which for long days has been bound upon my back and is not loosed, wasting, decay, and illness are (my) lot, among men (and) the beasts of the field whatever be their name it shatters me,  
with sickness (and) ceaseless suffering it has filled me;  
with sickness of heart and ill-health am I smitten, and day and night I remain without taking rest.  
I am in deep darkness, and I look up,  
with pain and lamentation do I waste away;  
my littleness I knew not, the sin I have committed I know not;  
I was little and I sinned,  
the commands of my god I transgressed.'

As M. Martin points out, pain and misfortune were for the Babylonian, as for the Israelite, a proof of sin. The gods punished the wicked, but the punishment took place in this world, as also did the reward of piety and righteousness. The moral government of the universe was bounded by our

present life. Arallu, the world of the dead, was, like the Hebrew Sheol, a place of darkness and misery, a land of shadows and ghosts, where all things were forgotten. In one of the hymns we read: 'Who knows, O my god, thy habitation? Thy glorious abode, thy dwelling-place, at no time have I seen.'

I have at last found evidence confirming the statement of Ezekiel (16<sup>3</sup>) that Hittites, as well as Amorites, formed part of the population of southern Canaan. One of the vassal princes whose letters are included among the Tel el-Amarna tablets was the Hittite prince of Rukhizzi, which, as I have pointed out in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (June 1899), is the Rukhasina of the Egyptian copy of the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittite king. His name was Arzawaya (also written Arzauya), which is a derivative from Arzawa, the name of the country over which Tarkundaraus, one of the Pharaoh's royal correspondents, ruled. Tarkundaraus wrote in his own language, which now turns out to be that of the cuneiform tablets discovered by M. Chantre at Boghaz Keui, and consequently Hittite. Arzawaya, 'the man of Arzawa,' would thus have been a Hittite both in language and race.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we find him taking part with Etu-gama, 'at the head of the soldiers of the Hittites,' in the conquest of Damascus and Kadesh on the Orontes, and of that district of Ammia or Am in which Pethor was situated. What became of him afterwards we do not know. But Ebed-tob (or Ebed-Khiba), the king of Jerusalem, says in one of his letters that the sons of the Bedâwin chief, Labai, had united with 'the sons' of Arzawaya in seizing Rubute and other towns in the extreme south of Palestine, and so taking the country of the Pharaoh for themselves. Here, therefore, we have the sons of a Hittite prince occupying what was afterwards the territory of Judah and acting as the leaders of marauding troops. As Ebed-tob states in another letter that Rubute had passed into the possession of the Khabiri, with whom, as he tells us elsewhere, the sons of Labai had been intriguing, it would seem that the Khabiri were the troops in question.

If so, they were Hittite soldiers, who, as I have long maintained, gave their name to Hebron, the 'Confederacy.'<sup>1</sup> In any case, there were Hittites in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and Hebron in the century before the Exodus, and as Jerusalem and its Amorite king, Ebed-tob, appear eventually to have fallen into the hands of the Khabiri and their leaders, the ethnological statement of Ezekiel is fully justified. It is even possible that the Jebusites were a Hittite tribe and represent the Khabiri of the letters.

<sup>1</sup> Those who wish, however, may compare the name with that of Khubur, which is given as a synonym of Subartum, or northern Syria, in *W.A.I.* ii. 50, 51, and Khabur, which is coupled with Khamanu, or Mount Amanus, in *W.A.I.* ii. 51, 3. In the Tel el-Amarna letters Su-ba-ri (*Winckler*, 101 R. 7) is interchanged with Su-ri (*Winckler*, 83, 17). It is clear that we should pronounce Suwari, Suwartum.

As for 'the sons of Heth' with whom Abraham had dealings at Hebron, the ethnography of the Mosaic age may have been proleptically transferred to an earlier period, as is the case with the Philistines in Gen 26<sup>1</sup>. Or the Heth here mentioned may have been the head of a clan with the Babylonian name of Khattu. At the same time, recent archæological discoveries have so unexpectedly confirmed the accuracy of ancient tradition, that I should hesitate about denying the existence of Hittites in southern Palestine even as far back as the Abrahamic age. We must not forget that nearly a hundred years before the period of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence Thothmes III. describes the Hittites of the north as inhabiting 'the Greater Hittite land,' which implies that there was a lesser Hittite land elsewhere.

## News.

### i. HEBREW AND GREEK WORDS—

#### 1. The Hebrew words translated 'new' are—

(1) חָדָשׁ, *new* or *fresh*, the usual, almost the only word; it is occasionally rendered in the LXX by νέος, generally by καινός. It is always translated 'new' in A.V. and R.V., except Job 29<sup>20</sup>, 'My glory was (R.V. 'is') fresh (A.V. m. 'new') in me.'

(2) חֲרִית, an Aram. form of חָדָשׁ, only Ezr 6<sup>4</sup>.

(3) טָרִי, only in Jg 15<sup>15</sup>, of the 'new (Amer. R.V. 'fresh') jawbone of an ass,' i.e. not yet dry and brittle. The same word is used of 'fresh' meat in Is 1<sup>6</sup>.

(4) בְּרִיאָה, only in Nu 16<sup>30</sup>, a 'new thing,' lit. a 'creation,' from בָּרָא, to create.

(5) In Ezk 47<sup>12</sup> the verb [בָּרַךְ] in Piel, meaning here 'bear early,' is translated 'shall bring forth new fruit.'

#### 2. The Greek words translated 'new' are—

(1) καινός, the chief word.

(2) νέος, always of wine, except a new lump (1 Co 5<sup>7</sup>), new man (Col 3<sup>10</sup>), new covenant (He 12<sup>24</sup>), and (in fem. plu.) 'young women' (Tit 2<sup>4</sup>). In the compar. it is used of a 'younger' son (Lk 15<sup>12, 13, 22<sup>26</sup></sup>), a 'young man' (Jn 21<sup>18</sup>, Ac 5<sup>6</sup>, 1 Ti 5<sup>1</sup>, Tit 2<sup>6</sup>, 1 P 5<sup>6</sup>), a 'young woman' (1 Ti 5<sup>2, 11, 14</sup>).

(3) πρόσφατος, lit. 'just slain,' *recent*, only He

10<sup>20</sup>, 'a new and living way' (cf. Dt 32<sup>17</sup> 'new gods,' Sir 9<sup>10</sup> 'new friends,' and Delitzsch on He 10<sup>20</sup>).

(4) γλεύκος, *sweet*, used of wine, only Ac 2<sup>12</sup>.

(5) ἀρτιγέννητος, *newborn*, only 1 P 2<sup>2</sup>.

3. The Greek word tr. 'newness' is καινότης, only Ro 6<sup>4</sup> ('n. of life'), and 7<sup>6</sup> ('n. of spirit'): νεότης (Mk 10<sup>20</sup>, Lk 18<sup>21</sup>, Ac 26<sup>4</sup>, 1 Ti 4<sup>12</sup>) is always 'youth.'

4. 'News' occurs only in Pr 25<sup>25</sup>, 'good news from a far country.' The Heb. is שְׂמוּעָה, lit. 'something heard,' which elsewhere is translated 'fame' (2 Ch 9<sup>6</sup>), 'tidings' (1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>42</sup>, Ps 112<sup>7</sup>, Jer 49<sup>3</sup>) or the like.

### ii. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN καινός AND νέος.—

The idea of newness as it is revealed in Scripture will not be caught unless the difference between the adjectives καινός and νέος, with their verbs ἀνακαινώνω (2 Co 4<sup>16</sup>, Col 3<sup>10</sup>, also ἀνακαινίζω, He 6<sup>6</sup>) and ἀνανέομαι (Eph 4<sup>23</sup>) is clearly seen. The adj. νέος (with its verb) refers to time, while καινός (and its verbs) refers to nature, quality, or fitness for use. In Lk 5<sup>38</sup> both adjectives come together, οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον, where R.V. (first of all the Eng. versions), distinguishes the words, 'New wine must be put into fresh wine-skins.' The wine is of a recent vintage,



the wine-skins may have been made some time ago, but they are not worn with use. Only once is *καινός* used of wine, when our Lord says (Mt 26<sup>29</sup> = Mk 14<sup>25</sup>) that He will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when He drinks it new with us in the kingdom of God. Again, in He 8<sup>8.13</sup> 9<sup>15</sup>, the new covenant is *διαθήκη καινή*, but in 12<sup>24</sup> it is *δ. νέα*. It is *νέα*, for Jesus Christ had just appeared in time to establish it, and the Mosaic covenant was in comparison old; but it is *καινός* in as much as it supersedes the old, being a better covenant established upon better promises. But the most illustrative passages are Col 3<sup>10</sup> (τὸν νέον [ἄνθρωπον] τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον), and Eph 4<sup>23.24</sup> (ἀναγεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον). In Col the 'new man,' recently born, is to manifest his new nobler nature by a constant process of renewal in holiness; in Eph this constant renewal is represented as ever making him *young* again. 'In Col,' says Alexander, 'the Christian stands in the flush of a new life's spring, with something of the glow of youth, being ever renovated through and through. In Eph he becomes young again in the spirit of his mind—the prelude of complete renovation.'

LITERATURE.—Trench, *N.T. Syn.* 211; Cremer, *Bibl.-Thol. Lex.*; Thayer, *N.T. Lex.*; Berry, *New Lex. to N.T.* § 52; Ellicott, Lightfoot, and Meyer on Col 3<sup>10</sup>; Plummer on Lk 5<sup>38</sup>; Westcott on He 8<sup>8</sup> 12<sup>24</sup>; Alexander, *The Great Question*, 284 ff.

### iii. DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT—

#### A. Novelty is not Newness—

1. The Athenians had leisure for nothing but the latest news—Ac 17<sup>21</sup>.

2. New friends are not so good as old—Sir 9<sup>10</sup>.

3. Nor new gods—Dt 32<sup>17</sup> (but not Jg 5<sup>8</sup>, where 'gods' should be 'judges'—see Cooke and Moore *in loc.*, and Bladon in *Expos. Times*, v. 476.)

#### B. New (unused) Things are necessary for the highest holiest purposes—

1. A new Cart for the Ark—1 S 6<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>3</sup>, 1 Ch 13<sup>7</sup>.

2. A new Tomb for the Saviour's Body—Mt 27<sup>60</sup>, Jn 19<sup>41</sup>.

3. New Bottles for the new Wine—Mt 9<sup>17</sup> = Mk 2<sup>22</sup> = Lk 5<sup>37.38</sup>.

#### C. It is the Doings of God that are Newest and most interesting—

1. The worldling says: 'There is nothing new under the sun'—Ec 1<sup>9.10</sup>.

2. But God's doings are new and surprising—Is 42<sup>9</sup> 43<sup>19</sup> 48<sup>6</sup>, Jer 31<sup>22</sup>. Cf. Nu 16<sup>30</sup>.

3. He even creates new Heavens and a new Earth—Is 65<sup>17</sup> 66<sup>22</sup>, 2 P 3<sup>13</sup>, Rev 21<sup>1</sup>.

4. And His Mercies are new every Morning—La 3<sup>23</sup>.

#### D. The Newest Thing of all is the New Covenant—

1. It was promised—Jer 31<sup>31-34</sup>, He 8<sup>8-13</sup>.

2. Its Announcement is new Teaching—Mk 1<sup>27</sup>, Ac 17<sup>19</sup>.

3. It needs a new Mediator—He 9<sup>15</sup> 12<sup>24</sup>.

4. And new Ministers—2 Co 3<sup>6</sup>.

5. It is established in (a new) Sacrifice—Mt 26<sup>28</sup> = Mk 14<sup>24</sup> = [Lk 22<sup>20</sup>] 1 Co 11<sup>25</sup>.

6. It opens a new Way—He 10<sup>20</sup>.

7. Makes new Creatures—2 Co 5<sup>17</sup>, Gal 6<sup>15</sup>.

8. Who are newborn (1 P 2<sup>2</sup>) into Newness of Life—Ro 6<sup>4</sup>.

9. They receive a new Spirit—Ezk 11<sup>19</sup> 18<sup>31</sup> 36<sup>26</sup>, Ro 7<sup>6</sup>.

10. A new Name—Is 62<sup>2</sup>, Rev 2<sup>17</sup> 3<sup>12</sup>.

11. A New Commandment—Jn 13<sup>34</sup>, 1 Jn 2<sup>7.8</sup>, 2 Jn 5.

12. And a new Manhood—Eph 2<sup>15</sup> 4<sup>24</sup>, Col 3<sup>10</sup>.

13. They live in a new Jerusalem—Rev 3<sup>12</sup> 21<sup>2</sup>.

14. Sing a new Song—Rev 5<sup>9</sup> 14<sup>3</sup> (cf. Ps 33<sup>3</sup> 40<sup>3</sup> 96<sup>1</sup> 98<sup>1</sup> 144<sup>9</sup> 149<sup>1</sup>, Is 42<sup>10</sup>).

15. Drink new Wine—Mt 26<sup>29</sup> = Mk 14<sup>25</sup>.

16. And find All Things New—2 Co 5<sup>17</sup>, Rev 21<sup>5</sup> (cf. Wis 7<sup>27</sup>).

## Contributions and Comments.

Dr. Schürer and the Nicolaitans.<sup>1</sup>

THE views of Dr. Schürer always command respectful consideration; and it would be uncandid to deny that his acceptance of 'Nicolaitan' as a symbolical designation (Νικόλαος being regarded as a Greek equivalent of בַּלְעַם, Balaam) has in its favour some considerations which have secured for it the favour of other distinguished scholars, including Vitranga, Michaelis, Hengstenberg, Holtzmann, etc. (see *Dict. of B.* iii. 547 n.).

The position, however, of Dr. Schürer and others does not appear to be materially strengthened, much less proved to be correct ('als (richtig) erwiesen') by his reference to Josephus iv. 6. 6. For in that passage, (1) *νίκη* is not ascribed to Balaam himself directly as if 'characteristic' of him, but is merely promised by him to Balak and the Midianites as the outcome of the seduction which the prophet suggested. (2) The *νίκη* is expressly described by Balaam as of little account, more apparent than real, and short in duration. 'No entire ruin would overtake the Hebrew race . . . for there is a Providence of God over them, to preserve them from all evil, and to permit no such calamity to come upon them as would involve their total destruction. But there might befall them a few (or some minor) misfortunes, and these for a short time, whereby they will appear to be humbled (ὀλίγα τε καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ὑφ' ὧν ταπεινοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες); but thereafter they will flourish to the dread of those who have injured them. Now, if you desire to gain some (sort of) victory over them for a short season (νίκην τινὰ πρὸς βραχὺν καιρόν) you might obtain that by the following means.'

On the whole, while a symbolic designation of heretics is consistent with the usage of the Book of Revelation, on the other hand, in this particular case (apart from the fact that the names Nicolas and Balaam are not quite equivalent),<sup>2</sup> any such consideration appears to be outweighed by the various early testimonies<sup>3</sup> to the connexion of

the Nicolaitans with a real Nicolas, whether the so-called 'deacon' of Acts 6 or another of the same name (*Dict. of B.* iii. 547b, 548a).

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## Amos vi. 9 and 10.

THE difficulties that beset v.<sup>10</sup> in the M.T. are obvious. For the sake of clearness we append the Masoretic Text and the LXX:—

M.T. וְנִשְׂאוֹ דֹדוֹ וּמִסְרָפוֹ לְהוֹצִיא עֲצָמִים מִן־הַבֵּית וְאָמַר  
לְאִשְׁרֵי בִירְכָתִי הַבֵּית הָעוֹדֵר עִמָּךְ וְאָמַר אִפֶּס וְאָמַר  
הֵם כִּי לֹא לְהוֹכִיר בִּשְׁם יְהוָה:

LXX καὶ ὑπολειφθήσονται οἱ κατάλοιποι, καὶ λήψονται οἱ οἰκέοι οἱ αὐτῶν καὶ παραβιώνται τοῦ ἐξενέγκα κ.τ.λ.

1. So far as we are aware attention has not been called to the interesting fact that the LXX here has a doublet. What is the Hebrew text underlying this? It may, we think, be restored thus:—

וְנִשְׂאָר שְׂאָר }  
וְנִשְׂאוֹ שְׂאָר }

It may be assumed that in the Hebrew MS used by the Greek translators the first two words were obscure, and might be read in either of the two ways given above. The combination of the two alternative readings produced the double clause now found in the LXX text, which may be rendered, *And a remnant shall be left behind, and their relations shall take them.* οἰκέος constantly represents the Hebrew word שְׂאָר in the Pentateuch (e.g. Nu 27<sup>11</sup> and elsewhere).

The M.T. evidently represents the second of these alternatives; only the rare word שְׂאָר seems to have been displaced by the more widely known word דֹּדוֹ, which may have been originally a marginal gloss. The word standing next in the M.T., viz. וּמִסְרָפוֹ, can hardly be right. The assumed meaning, 'his burner,' at once excites suspicion, because it implies that the custom of

<sup>1</sup> See THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, January 1901, p. 169; and *Theolog. Literaturz.*, 24th November.

<sup>2</sup> Balaam is interpreted either as 'lord of the people,' from בַּל (contr. from בַּעַל) and עַם; or as 'destroyer of the people,' from בָּלַע and עַם.

<sup>3</sup> *Iren.* i. 26; *Hipp. Ref. H.* vii. 24; *Pseudo-Ign. Trall.*

II, Phil. 6; *Clem. Str.* iii. 4. Against the symbolic view are De Wette, Ebrard, Kliefoth, Sieffert, Alf., Wordsw., etc.

burning the dead was a common one and well understood. Such an expression could hardly have been used otherwise. But on any theory this was not the case. The LXX rendering here again is noteworthy. If we may assume that וּמִסְרָפוֹ represents an inversion of the original word, we obtain וּפְרָסְמוֹ. This may easily be a corruption of וּפְרָצוֹ = καὶ παραβιῶνται.

2. In the latter part of the verse we are confronted with another doublet, this time in the M.T. itself. We had already arrived at the conclusion that the clause וְאָמַר אֶפֶס וְאָמַר הֵם represents a double reading of an original single pair of words, when we discovered, on reference to Nowack,<sup>1</sup> that a similar explanation had already been advanced by Oort ('Oort vermuthet dass וְאָמַר הֵם durch Dittographie aus dem vorhergehenden אֶפֶס וְאָמַר entstanden ist'). Undoubtedly אֶפֶס וְאָמַר represents the original reading. The last clause of all, בִּי לֹא לְהוֹכִיר בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, seems to us to be an explanatory gloss on הֵם וְאָמַר. Purged of glosses and doublets the whole verse may thus be restored:

וְנִשְׁאַר יֶשְׁעָר וּפְרָצוֹ לְהוֹצִיא עַצְמִים מִן־הַבַּיִת

וְאָמַר לְאִשֶּׁר בִּירְכָתִי הַבַּיִת הַעוֹד עִמָּךְ וְאָמַר אֶפֶס:

*But a remnant shall be left (i.e. in the plague-stricken house); and when people break through to bring out the bones from the house, it shall be said to him who is in the recesses of the house, Is there yet any with thee? And he shall say, None!*

The connexion of vv.<sup>9</sup> and <sup>10</sup> with the context might certainly be improved. But in its revised form we venture to think it is easier than before to suppose that v.<sup>10</sup> is genuine. At any rate its coherence with v.<sup>9</sup> seems to us to be made clearer by these corrections. Possibly there is a lacuna between vv.<sup>8</sup> and <sup>9</sup>. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a verse specifically mentioning plague and famine has fallen out. In that case there would seem to be no adequate cause for rejecting vv.<sup>9</sup> and <sup>10</sup> as the work of an editor.

G. H. Box.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

London, 28th November 1900.

## ‘Church.’

ONE of the features of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, which are especially welcome to the foreigner, is

<sup>1</sup> *Die Kleinen Propheten*, p. 146.

the explanation and elucidation of the meaning and history of important words in the English Bible. As not all natives will appreciate their value quite as much as a foreigner, one of the latter class of readers will be pardoned if he begs to express his special thanks for these contributions to the editor of the *Dictionary*, to whom they are due. As a solitary student abroad, who cannot have a ‘Murray’ at his disposal, I am especially thankful for them. But the other day I was disappointed. I had occasion to look after the important word ‘Church.’ The article (i. 425) begins: ‘For the history of the word ἐκκλησία, etc., see art. *Congregation*,’ but there is nothing said at all on the word ‘Church’ itself and its interesting history. It is not only the etymology of the word, which is still disputed, but its history is so strange, and the special point on which I wished elucidation was whether it reigned in the English Bible versions from their beginning. In the useful book of A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubenslehren der alten Kirche* (Breslau, 1897, 3rd ed.), there is a chapter on the ‘Symbols of the British Churches’ (§ 75–89), followed by a chapter on the ‘Symbols of the German Churches’ (§ 90–119).

In § 78 Hahn gives (after Heurtly, *Harmonia symbolica*, from MS. 427 of the Lambeth Library, ninth century) an Anglo-Saxonic text: ‘Tha halgan *gelathunge* right gelyfdan; Halgana *gemaenysses*.’

§ 79 (from a MS. of the year 1030, in the University Library at Cambridge): ‘Tha halgan . . . *gelathunge* and halgena *gemaenysses*.’

§ 80 (from a MS. of the year 1125, in Trinity College of Cambridge): ‘On halig *gesomnunge* fulfremede; halegan hiniennesse.’

§ 81 (from a MS. in British Museum, Nero A. xiv. of the thirteenth century): ‘And on holi . . . *Chirche*; iniennesse of haluwen.’

In all following documents, ‘the Church’ appears:—

§ 82 (Brit. Mus., Cleop. B. vi., thirteenth century): ‘And hely . . . *kirke*; the samninge of halges.’

§ 83 (Harleian MS. 3724, thirteenth century): ‘Al holy *chirche*; mone of alle halwen.’

§ 84 (Harleian 2343, fourteenth century): ‘Al holi *chirche*; comunynge of saints.’

Here for the first time ‘communion’ and ‘saints,’ which soon become almost alone-ruling.

§ 85 (fourteenth century): ‘Holy church general; the comunyng of halewes.’



§ 86 (c. 1400): 'Feith of hooli *chirche*, comunynge of seyntis,' etc. (§ 87, fifteenth century; § 88, 1538; § 89, 1543).

On German soil we have almost a parallel history; but 'church' appears in an isolated instance at the very outset, but after that, in the Creed, not before the later Middle Ages.

§ 93 (St. Gallen, eight century): 'Wiha *khirikhun* catholica, wihero gemeinitha.'

§ 95 (Wolfenbüttel, ninth century): 'Wiha *ladhunga* allicha, Heilegero gimeinidha.'

§ 100 (St. Gallen, c. tenth century): 'Ein *christinheit* alliche unt poteliche (=apostolical) . . . gemeinsamede der heiligon.'

§ 101 (Catechism of Notker, beginning of eleventh century): 'Heiliga dia allichun *samenunga*, diu christianitas heizet . . . deno heiligon gemeinsami.'

§ 102 (Low-German): 'Thie hêlge *cerstenhid*, mênship ther hêlgene.'

§ 103 (Wessobrunn (?), now in Vienna, eleventh century): 'Die heiligin allichun *christenheit* . . . deren heiligen gimeinsame.'

§ 105 (Vienna, probably from same place and time): 'Eina *christenheit* heiliga poteliche unde alliche . . . gemeinsama allero gotes heiligoni.'

§ 106 (very similar from Bamberg, eleventh century).

§ 108 (Wessobrunn, twelfth century, now at Munich): 'Ain *christinhaith* . . . die gemainde aller gotes heiligin, *ubi isse garne*' (here for the first time the strange addition after 'communion of saints,' 'if I shall earn it,' *si eam promeruero*, which is found in several other instances,—§ 111 from Benedictbeuren, § 114, Vienna, thirteenth century; § 117, Linz, fifteenth century, 'ob iches verdienen').

It is not necessary to quote the following forms of the 'Creed' up to the fifteenth century; it suffices to say that in none of all those which are gathered by HAHN, is the word '*Kirche*,' 'church,' found, which is now exclusively used in Protestant as well as Roman Catholic Churches.

How did it come about that both in the British and German Churches the native expressions ('*lathunge*' and '*somnunge*') were replaced by a word the meaning of which must have been obscure from the beginning? Luther was, in consequence of the abuses of the mediæval 'church,' so opposed to the word that he used it in his Bible only for heathenish and idolatrous buildings and gather-

ings (compare in the English Bible the parallel usage in 'robbers of *churches*,' Ac 19<sup>37</sup>), and only in a few places (Gn 49<sup>6</sup>, Ez 7<sup>24</sup>, Hos 8<sup>14</sup> 10<sup>1</sup>, Am 8<sup>3</sup>); from the Revised editions of his Bible the word disappeared altogether, except in the composition '*Kirchweihe*' (2 Mac 1<sup>9</sup>, Jn 10<sup>22</sup>). How is the history of the word in the English Bible? And what does the editor of the *Dictionary* and THE EXPOSITORY TIMES think about its etymology? In Greek literature there are passages which show that Greek ears were inclined to connect *ἐκκλησία* with *ἐκλεκτός*, though both are of different origin; is it not possible that Teutonic Christians were reminded by the word of the root, to 'choose,' *küren*?

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

[We hope to make an attempt to answer Professor Nestle's questions very soon.—EDITOR.]

## The Greek Words in Daniel.

THE occurrence in the list of instruments in Daniel of the words פסנתרין and סומפונייה (3<sup>5</sup>, etc.), which are evidently the Greek ψαλτήριον and συμφωνία, has counted as an argument against the genuineness of the book ever since criticism began to exercise itself thereupon. Of the arguments whereby this objection has been answered, several bear a resemblance to those by which Professors Schechter and Nöldeke dealt in this journal with the word כרנא in the Talmud. Daniel being evidently of the early Persian period, the words could not be Greek; or, their resemblance to the Greek words was purely accidental, and nothing could be built upon it. The former is precisely parallel to Professor Schechter's argument, the latter to Professor Nöldeke's. Let us try some method that bears a closer resemblance to *science*.

1. At what time did Greek words get into Aramaic? Many excellent authorities (e.g. Kohut and Payne Smith) regard the Syriac מנצח as borrowed from the Greek μέσων. If there be connexion between the two, it must be of that sort: for μέσος is from *madhyas*: i.e. the σ is produced by Greek changes: and צ stands for Greek σ elsewhere, e.g. פרצון for πρόσωπον. Now מנצח occurs in almost the earliest Aramaic known to us, viz. the Panammu Inscription, l. 10, and the 'Bauinschrift,' l. 9 (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*,

pp. 443, 444). These are of the eighth century B.C. Therefore Greek words were borrowed by Aramaic as early as the eighth century B.C., or two hundred years before the supposed Daniel's time. But perhaps Kohut, etc., are mistaken in identifying those words:—Then we go to Isaiah 40, a chapter ordinary supposed to belong to the period of the Exile, *i.e.* the time of Daniel. We are there told that (v.<sup>19</sup>) gold and silver images are *beaten out* (רִקְעָנוּ, *tundendo diduxit*: or *lamina obduxit*) for those who can afford them; but תְּרוּמָה *terūmah* 'chooses a kind of wood that will not rot.' The Hebrew words must mean 'whoso is too poor for a metal image.' Of these two words תְּרוּמָה means 'whoso is too poor for': and the construction is curiously like the phrase רִל מְקַנְאָמִם רִל צַפֵּר in the Marseilles Inscription, 'one too poor to offer beasts or birds.' Therefore the word תְּרוּמָה must mean *metal image*: and in that sense it is Greek *τόρευμα*. *τορεύω* means (Liddell and Scott) 'to work figures by beating the metal into rounded prominences,' and *τόρευμα* is equivalent to 'a figure of metal' (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 56).<sup>1</sup> Hence *τόρευμα* is a very suitable word for what the author of Is 40 wishes to express. But if he can borrow a Greek word, his contemporary might do the same. If, however, it be accidental that *terūmah* in Hebrew is the equivalent of *toreuma* in Greek, surely we may admit the likelihood of accident in the case of *Symphony* and *Psalttery*.

2. Is either the word *Psalttery* or the word *Symphony* dated? Athenæus (183 c.) records that the *Psalttery* was invented (literally 'given its complement of strings') by Alexander of Cythera, who hung up his invention in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The date of Alexander of Cythera appears to be unknown: the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was of great antiquity. There is nothing about *συμφωνία* that points to a late date; the word *σύμφωνος* occurs in Pindar. What therefore we learn from these words is the antiquity of Greek inventiveness. Where Greek history begins, in the sixth century B.C., the flourishing states of Asia Minor are dying: therefore their prosperity must have preceded the sixth century. Music certainly flourished in those states, and so

did the other arts: it is therefore natural that the names of some of their inventions should have found their way into Hebrew and Aramaic.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Oxford.

## The Attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to Historical Criticism.

ONE of the clearest indications that the historical criticism of the Old Testament is gaining a permanent footing is to be found in recent pronouncements of scholars and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. We need scarcely remind our readers of the significant articles on Pentateuchal criticism and kindred subjects contributed from time to time to the *Revue Biblique* by Père Lagrange and others. And now we have before us the seventh of a series of letters addressed to the clergy of his diocese by Mgr. Mignot, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Albi. The writer takes for the subject of his present letter the conditions to be satisfied by contemporary Apologetics. This branch of Christian science must accommodate itself, he points out, to the circumstances and the needs of the age. Arguments which once seemed perfectly conclusive carry no conviction to-day. This is illustrated by what has happened with Miracles and Prophecy, the evidences from which can no longer be stated in the way that was usual a generation or two ago. Allowance has also to be made for differences of temperament in estimating the value of particular kinds of evidence. 'Men come to God by different roads. . . . It might be said that there are almost as many ways of reaching God as there are souls.' A very instructive sketch is given of the course of Christian Apologetics from early times, when Christian endurance was more convincing than written apologies, down to the present day, when the difficulty of believing is increasingly felt by many in view of the results that have been reached by geology, anthropology, archæology, historical criticism, and other sciences. This difficulty our author readily concedes is *quite honestly* felt, felt not merely by those who are prejudiced against Christian teaching, but by those who are anxious to believe and yet feel constrained to test all things and hold fast that which is good. The Archbishop is neither scandalized by such doubts

<sup>1</sup> Compare the definition in Meyer, *Conv. Lex.* (1897): 'Toreutik, die Bildnerei in Metallen, zur Unterscheidung von Skulptur, der Arbeit in Stein, Thon und Holz.' Similarly, *Pauly* (ii. 41, 1842): 'Toreutik bezeichnet die Sculptur in Metall.'



nor disposed to complain of them. 'The doubt of St. Thomas has been no less useful to the Church than the Magdalene's cry of faith, "Rabboni."'

Passing on to speak more especially of the attitude which he considers the Church ought to assume towards literary and historical criticism of the Bible, Mgr. Mignot brings out admirably the difference between Scripture itself and the traditional teaching *about* Scripture, the latter being largely the outcome of *a priori* notions and an imperfect acquaintance with, or ignorance of facts that have since come to light. While maintaining an uncompromising hostility to any hyper-critics who may assume as an axiom the impossibility of the supernatural, our author would have Christian apologists change their point of view and accommodate their arguments to the facts that are accepted by believing critics. Above all, '*Inspiration*, the work of God, must not be confounded with *interpretation*, the work of man; the Bible, the word of God, must not be confused with man's innumerable commentaries on it.' It is pointed out that in criticism of the text and style, in judgments as to unity or multiplicity of authorship, in questions of interpolation, duplicate narratives, contradictions, etc., scholars are not only within their rights but are exercising a duty. 'These methods are perfectly legitimate, and there are few Catholic critics who hesitate to make use of them.' It is very gratifying to find the Archbishop quoting, with approval, these words of Dr. Driver (*L.O.T.*<sup>6</sup> xiii.):

'Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the O.T.; it *presupposes* it; it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself; and it thus helps us to frame truer conceptions of the methods which it has pleased God to employ in revealing Himself to His ancient people of Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of Himself in Christ Jesus.'

While disposed to reserve his judgment on many points of detail, Mgr. Mignot is convinced that the critics are gaining ground (even conservative works like Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire Biblique* making many concessions to them), and he thinks it a misfortune that any apologist should ignore their conscientious work or deny the scientific value and the high probability of many of their conclusions. 'One has no right to reject their theories *en bloc*

in the name of preconceived theories, for it is not by means of syllogisms or deductions *a priori* that the date of Isaiah, of Daniel, of the Psalms, of Job, or of Ecclesiastes can be fixed. . . . In place of condemning every notion that is strange to us, would it not be better to imitate the wise reserve of Gamaliel? . . . Let us not run the risk, by undeserved and unjustified attacks, of opposing the truth and the light. . . . Let us beware lest we are actuated by spiritual sloth and obstinate attachment to our own notions more than by true zeal for the glory of God. . . . Let us not sit still while the world moves on.'

J. A. SELBIE.

*Maryculter, Aberdeen.*

### The Word הָבֵרוּ in Isaiah xlvii. 13.

It is clear that the Bab. word *šabrû*, 'magician,' is connected with *šarû*, 'magician,' although at first one should have expected a pure Bab. *šubrû*. But the word is probably derived from the originally W. Semitic dialect of the Chaldeans of Ur, where it will have been pronounced *habriu*, contracted *habrû*.<sup>1</sup> The Bab. *šabrû* is a compromise-form between this inferential *habrû* and the genuine Bab. *šubrû*. That *habrû* actually existed, however, is shown by Is 47<sup>13</sup>, where הָבֵרוּ בְּנִימִים is an original marginal gloss to הָבֵרוּ שְׂמִים (οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). That the root הָבֵר, 'behold,' was known also in W. Semitic, is proved by the Sabæan בְּרִי אֲדָנִים, 'wisdom,' an expression which, as I have shown (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* p. 154) is identical with the Assyr. *birit uzni*, 'acuteness.' On the other hand, the Heb. בְּרִית, 'covenant,' is connected with the Bab.-Assyr. *ina biri, ina birit*, 'between' (Heb. בֵּין, Arab.  *байна*, 'between'), as is clearly shown by Gn 15<sup>17</sup>, and not with the Bab. *biritu*, 'oracle.' In like manner the Ethiopic word *ebret*, 'alternating service or function' (*Anc. Heb. Trad.* xv. note 2) is also to be compared, both as to form and sense, with the Heb. בְּרִית, since alternating service goes back to the notion of reciprocity or mediation.

FRITZ HOMMEL.

*Munich.*

<sup>1</sup> To the Bab. Shaph'el there corresponds uniformly a W. Semitic Haph'el (Heb. Hiph'il), or, what is simply a weakened form of it, an Aph'el.



## Entre Nous.

'THERE is but one pseudonymous book in all the New Testament.' So says Harnack, and most writers now agree, including Dr. Chase in his learned and careful article on 2 Peter in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. Dr. Selwyn does not. He translates the above sentence into his own words: 'There is only one forgery, in the shape of 2 Peter, which pretends in its first verse to be the work of Peter and is not.' And he argues in his *Christian Prophets* that even 2 Peter is not pseudonymous. Still he does not contend that it was written by St. Peter. It was written 'by St. Luke under St. Peter's hand.' The proof demands more space than he could afford in the *Christian Prophets*, so in the *Guardian* for 2nd January he promises a volume on the subject immediately.

There was an unlucky slip in the last issue in the Notes on Dr. Peters's *New World* article. Dr. Driver was quoted as holding that between the narratives of J and E in the Pentateuch and the parts assigned to the redactor 'we can seldom claim more than a relative improbability.' Need we say that it should have been a relative probability?

But this gives occasion to notice that possibly the Notes on Dr. Driver's own address may have been misunderstood in one respect. Dr. Driver would not advise that *children* should have the results of critical study of the Old Testament brought before them. He would not begin such teaching till boys and girls had reached the upper classes in public schools. The address should be read throughout. It is published in the *Expositor* for January, with footnotes.

On Christmas Eve in Edinburgh there passed to his rest one of the noblest men as well as one of the greatest publishers of our time—Sir Thomas Clark, Bart., once head of the firm of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, the publishers of this magazine. It is nearly twelve years since THE EXPOSITORY TIMES began, but before then Sir Thomas Clark had retired from active business in favour of his

eldest son, John Maurice, now Sir John Maurice Clark, Bart. In 1894 the younger son, Mr. Thomas George Clark, entered the firm, and from that time the two brothers have been the sole partners, each devoting himself to his own department with untiring energy, and both working together with singular unanimity.

It is with the brothers that we have had to do; and it is a very great pleasure to be able to say that not once has there been the slightest approach to misunderstanding between us. We have found, in spite of all that is said against modern trade, and especially the publishing trade, that there are men who can and do conduct their business as 'always in the great Taskmaster's eye.'

But although Sir Thomas Clark had already retired, we knew that he not only continued to take the deepest interest in all the work of the House, but that his advice was until quite recently an important factor in all the great decisions. He rejoiced continually in the prosperity of this magazine, and he did not hesitate to encourage his sons to undertake so great a work as the new *Dictionary of the Bible*. Of his earlier life we need not speak. Scotland probably owes him more than can ever be acknowledged. For Scotland has passed through a great theological crisis with extraordinary ease and benefit, and the steady, evangelical, yet never intolerant hand that more than any other guided the theological reading of Scotland those trying years had not a little to do with it. And not Scotland only. England and America claim the firm of T. & T. Clark as their own, while many a foreign scholar has owed more than his introduction to English readers to the generous and wise enterprise of this publisher. And yet, says one who knew him intimately, and with the estimate we cordially agree: 'In thinking of our departed friend, one thinks mostly of his saintly character; he was above everything a man of God.'

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

AMONG the books published last month there are at least two of the highest importance. One is the second volume of Dr. Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The other is Mr. Moffatt's *Historical New Testament*.

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The second volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* covers the letters E to K. It is larger than the first volume by two hundred pages. This is not surprising. It was remarked on the issue of the first volume that the editors would have to increase either the size or the number of their volumes. This volume is numbered from col. 1145 to col. 2688; that is to say, it contains 772 pages.

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It is probable that almost everyone who receives the volume will turn first of all to the article JESUS CHRIST. There is no such article. There is an article under the name JESUS, but it covers only ten pages, and it is occupied with a criticism of the sources for the life of our Lord. There is no article on JESUS CHRIST.

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And that enables us for the first time to see clearly what is the purpose and character of this Dictionary. It does not use the name (except as a sub-title), and it does not profess to serve the purpose, of a Dictionary of the Bible. It does not

describe, and it does not profess to describe, the contents of the Bible. It criticises the Bible and its contents. It is not a Dictionary of the Bible, it is a Dictionary of the Higher Criticism of the Bible.

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We ought to have seen that before. For it stands plainly stated on the title page, not of this volume only but of the first also. But we were misled by the Preface to the first volume. It spoke as if the *Encyclopædia Biblica* did aim at being a Dictionary of the Bible, and gave it as the reason why there was no Biblical Theology in it that the time had not come for dealing satisfactorily with Biblical Theology. It did not say that the character of the book excluded it.

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But now that we see what the character of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is, we can appreciate it better and profit by it more. It is a storehouse of the Criticism of the Old Testament and the New, or at least of the materials for that Criticism. Accordingly, only ten pages are given to JESUS and sixty-eight to GOSPELS. For the article GOSPELS is the place for the discussion of the most perplexing and most momentous problem in Higher Criticism, while JESUS (the book having nothing to do with His life, character, or teaching) offers only a limited part of that very problem for

discussion. To spend even ten pages on JESUS was unnecessary. They simply overlap the larger and far more important article.

Now, as affording materials for the Criticism of the Old and New Testament, the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is of great value. It could not be otherwise, with a mind of such fertility of invention as Dr. Cheyne's controlling it. Dr. Cheyne's own articles are again very numerous, and he has a hand in many that are not wholly his. Nor does he ever fail to contribute something original, though he has all the literature worth mentioning at his command, and is generous to a degree in acknowledging the work of other men. This is the constant surprise of all his contributions,—every possible theory may seem to have been advanced in the explanation of a problem in criticism, but Dr. Cheyne has another. And that other, coming from a mind keenly conscious of every turn of the labyrinth, is sometimes its most likely solution.

Dr. Cheyne does not confine himself to the Old Testament. His is the article on John the Baptist. It is characteristic and not without a quaint appropriateness that he should never call him John but always Johanan. It is also characteristic, but not so commendable, that he should write such a sentence about John as this: 'Primitive tradition rightly accentuates the inferiority of Johanan to Jesus.'

It is a Dictionary of the Higher Criticism, then. That is now quite unmistakable. But even yet there occur things that puzzle. Why, for example, should a Dictionary of Criticism contain an article on FAITH? Searching the article itself (which is by Dr. Cheyne), we find no explanation. It is simply an article in Biblical Theology. Why it has strayed into this book we cannot tell. But we can say how welcome it is. If it had been five times its length, it had been five times more welcome. But it is a very pretty bit of theological dissection, everything, except what we count the

essence of faith, being there and in its proper place.

'Except what we count the essence.' For the essence of faith, as we understand it, is apprehension of a living Christ, and it is clear that neither by Dr. Cheyne nor throughout this book, is a living Christ acknowledged. In the article GOSPELS, the most conspicuous article in the volume, the very existence of a human Jesus is grudgingly admitted, that (if He did exist) He was merely human is most distinctly stated.

The other book is Mr. Moffatt's *Historical New Testament*.

'The Historical New Testament; being the Literature of the New Testament arranged in the Order of its Literary Growth and according to the Dates of the Documents: A New Translation, edited with Prolegomena, Historical Tables, Critical Notes, and an Appendix, by James Moffatt, B.D.' That is the title in full.

Now the first thing that arrests the eye is that extraordinary announcement, *A New Translation*. Can any single man, we ask, provide us with a new translation of the New Testament? Mr. Moffatt answers our question himself. No single man can provide it. Perhaps he knew that several single men had tried it and had failed. Perhaps he had tried it himself and had failed. We cannot tell. But he has not made this translation single-handed. He has had the co-operation of Professor Denney and Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, of the Rev. David Smith, M.A., and Professor Marcus Dods, of Canon Gregory Smith, the Rev. E. F. Scott, B.A., Principal Bebb, Dr. George Reith, and Professor Walter Lock.

Well, that combination of scholarship ought to give us something of interest. We shall look at its product in a moment. But why was a new translation attempted? We must postpone the



answer to that also for a moment. Let us come to the purpose of the book.

Mr. Moffatt tells us what is the purpose of his book with admirable clearness. As they lie at present the books of the New Testament are often unrelated to one another. They are also unrelated to the time and circumstances of their writing. Recent study has not tended to remove but rather to accentuate that isolation. We have become familiar with 'the doctrine of God in the Synoptists' and 'the doctrine of God in St. John,' with 'the idea of Faith in the Hebrews' and 'the idea of Faith in St. James.' The books of the New Testament, unconnected before, have almost become antagonistic.

Now there is not a word to be said here against the science of Biblical Theology. It had to come, and its fruits have been good and lasting. But we are not going to let the science of Biblical Theology run away with us. The Faith of St. James is the Faith of St. John. It is Faith in a Saviour Jesus Christ who died and behold He is alive for evermore. And when we begin seriously to combine, where lately we have been separating, the views of the writers of the New Testament, we shall find that we must get the books of the New Testament in the right relation to one another, in order that our conception of the organic unity of the whole New Testament may be right. And then shall we come to Mr. Moffatt.

For Mr. Moffatt's design is 'to arrange that selection of early Christian literature which is known as the New Testament in the order of its literary growth, and at the same time to indicate the chief grounds upon which such an order may be determined or disputed.'

Now this is not the kind of 'interference with the New Testament' that will trouble any of us. We are accustomed to find St. Matthew first and the Apocalypse last; but we are also wont to take

any book and read it by itself. We have never supposed that even verbal inspiration was dependent on the order of the books which contained it. So we are not shocked when we find 1 Thessalonians before us as we open our *Historical New Testament*; we are only slightly hesitant when we close it with 2 Peter.

There is a great opportunity before us, however. We are accustomed to take the books of the New Testament singly. We are even accustomed, alas, to take scraps of chapters out of them. But to get the full benefit of the *Historical New Testament* we must read it right through. We must begin with 1 Thessalonians. We may dispute, of course, Mr. Moffatt's order; but if we let that go, we must begin with 1 Thessalonians and find the Pauline doctrine in its simplest primal form. We must pass to 2 Thessalonians and find it slightly but perceptibly advanced. We must go on to Galatians and discover a man more tried, wrestling with more vital problems. We shall have reached the last of the Epistles of St. Paul, and caught the atmosphere that surrounds both the Epistle to the Philippians and the First Epistle of Peter before we come to the earliest of the Gospels. And we may not pause there. We must proceed through St. Mark and St. Matthew, through the Epistle to the Hebrews and St. Luke, through the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of St. John (taking with Mr. Moffatt, if we will, the Apocalypse before the Gospel and the Epistles), through the Pastoral Epistles, St. James and St. Jude, and through the Second Epistle of Peter. And only then shall we have got our good of this volume, and seen how rich is the interest that comes from the mere placing aright of the writings of the New Testament.

But Mr. Moffatt is not content with placing the New Testament books in their order. He also introduces and annotates them. And as he does so he reveals a most extensive knowledge of modern literature and a most refreshing capacity for sifting it. This is the feature of the book

that will first arrest attention and win men's confidence. But the feature that has cost Mr. Moffatt most is the new translation.

In all our commentaries the space that is spent on improving the translation is very great. Can it not be saved? If we use the Authorized Version it cannot. It cannot wholly be saved even if we use the Revised, and we have not all the right to the Revised Version. The only way is to make a new translation. Mr. Moffatt has done that.

Now there is only one thing that can test the value of a new translation. It is time. For in translations the true has little chance when it is accompanied by the new. When the Revised Version came out there was a wide wild outcry. The clink of some familiar passages, like 'Charity suffereth long, and is kind,' was gone. We are getting used to the statelier and more poetical form of the new version. But it is still too new for many of us. Mr. Moffatt's is newer still. And although he and his fellow-translators stood on the Revisers' shoulders and saw beyond them, although many passages at once please the ear better and satisfy the mind, Mr. Moffatt must be content to wait.

Meantime it can be said that he has given us a book which will be the daily companion of every student of the New Testament, and of those who would not call themselves students, but who wish to read the New Testament religiously.

Why is it that the Jews do not embrace Christianity? For the most part, let us say, because they do not know what Christianity is. But some do. There is a select number of modern Jews who make a study of Christianity and do know what it is. Why is it that they do not embrace Christianity? In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January Miss Nina Davis answers, 'Because Judaism is better.'

By Judaism, however, Miss Davis means the religion of the Old Testament. It may be that the modern Jew has departed from the religion of the Old Testament. If he has, says Miss Davis, let him return again. Judaism is the religion of the Old Testament, and in comparison with the pure and spiritual religion of the Old Testament Christianity is mixed and sensuous.

There is but one fault in Judaism. It is too exclusive. And dearly has it paid for that fault. There was need for exclusiveness once. It was a great spiritual power once. It was the nation's response to the call of an exclusive God. There is an old story, says Miss Davis, that at the time when the Torah was given, many other nations were offered the choice of close relationship to God, but only Israel would accept the burden which that relationship involved. But having accepted it, Israel ought to have seen that it was not only a relationship to God but a charge on behalf of the world.

Israel did not see that. And so when the great opportunity came, Israel did not take it. It was at the birth of Christianity. The world had become weary of its gods of wood and stone. Israel alone had the true God to offer. And in the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the chosen people among the nations, God seemed to say, 'It is that ye may fulfil your high calling and give them a spiritual religion, the knowledge of a God whose worship is in spirit and in truth.' But Israel did not seize the opportunity.

The Christian religion was allowed to step in. A disastrous compromise was made. The gods of wood and stone were only replaced by gods of flesh and blood. And the world, Miss Davis thinks, has not recovered from that disaster yet.

So this is the one fault of historic Judaism, it has been too exclusive. In all other respects it has the advantage over Christianity, and even

in that respect it has learned to be more wise. And at whose feet has it sat to learn this wisdom? At the feet of the Apostle Paul.

Miss Davis does not say so, but Mr. Montefiore does. In an earlier place in the same number of the *Jewish Quarterly* Mr. Montefiore has an article on 'Rabbinic Judaism and the Epistles of St. Paul.' Now Mr. Montefiore has no love for St. Paul, and it was surely a generous thing for the 'St. Paul Association' of London to invite him to deliver this address. He has no love for St. Paul. And it is not simply because he is a Christian. He loves Jesus more. He actually seems to love Jesus. And He also is a Christian.

In this very article Mr. Montefiore contrasts the attitude of Jesus and of St. Paul to the Judaism of their day, much to the disadvantage of the latter. Jesus, he says, did touch some sore places in the practice of the scribes and Pharisees; Paul was a harmless beater of the air. There were three real evils in the religion of His time, and Jesus laid His finger on them all. There was first the putting of ritual in the place of morality, next self-righteousness or pride, and then a certain ill-directed intellectualism. But St. Paul 'sets up imaginary evils, and then with superb eloquence and admirable rhetoric he brushes them away.'

Still, Mr. Montefiore will not refrain from adding his 'grain of admiration and gratitude' for him who wrote, 'There is no distinction between Jew and Greek,' 'there is no respect of persons with God.' He says it was not until St. Paul had so written that the prophetic universalism attained its goal. And 'it can be appropriated, and I am glad to think it *has* been appropriated, by Jew as well as by Christian.'

According to an anonymous (probably editorial) note in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' (Gn 4<sup>9</sup>) is 'a much over-worked text.'

When Jehovah asked Cain, 'Where is thy brother?' Cain was not ready to make confession, and resorted to a shrewd evasive question. Its shrewdness is due to the fact that it implies a negative answer. The fallacy lies in the suggestion that there are only two relations possible—a brother's murderer or a brother's keeper. Whereas between these two are found by far the greater number of our human relations.

We must not be our brother's murderer. Must we be our brother's keeper, then? We are told so sometimes. The words are raised to a universal application and sent forth as a command of the Lord. But this writer says that their application depends upon circumstances. Helpless infancy and infirm old age need 'keeping.' The captain of a vessel undertakes to pilot his passengers to their desired haven. He is for the time their keeper, and he dare not forsake his responsibility even to save his own life. As the vessel proceeds on its journey, the captain may discover on the sea a helpless company of shipwrecked men. He is their keeper also. He must change his course, if need be, and delay his voyage to save them.

But the captain of this ship passes other ships on the wide ocean. All *they* need of him is sea room. He is their well-wisher, but not their keeper. Let him take the freest passage he can find; he will leave the larger room for them.

The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the present quarter opens with an article by Professor Foster of the Pacific Theological Seminary on 'The Minister of the Twentieth Century.' What the minister of the twentieth century will be depends on what he believes. And if he is to be what he ought to be, there are three things which he will believe.

He will believe in the 'soundness and intellectual value of normal Christian experience.' Now that means first of all a personal experience



of the pressure of sin and of the immeasurable relief that comes when its burden is let fall at the foot of the Cross. But it will not do for him to rely upon his own experience solely, however sound his conviction of its reality. He must face the demands of science. And science demands that in his own experience he should carefully distinguish what is immediate consciousness from what is inference, and that he should lay his experience alongside the religious experience of others, again distinguishing that which is peculiar to the 'converted' man from that which is common to the race.

Take an example. Take the sense of sin. According to 'the popular evolutionary philosophy of things' sin is an incident in the evolutionary process, perhaps the necessary condition of progress, at the worst undesirable, defective, preparatory. How does experience accord with that? Experience does not in the least accord with it. Even in the unregenerate man conscience is awake to moral issues, and affirms moral obligation. Sin is the rupture of that obligation, and it is felt as guilt. And this feeling is so common, is expressed in so many ways over so many lands, that it meets all arguments drawn from the nature of the evolutionary process with a sad 'It cannot be.' Sin is not misfortune, it is sin. The burden of personal guilt accompanies it. And when the regenerate man lays his own experience beside this world-wide confession, it is the same experience. He only finds that the sense of sin has been intensified by the nearness of the Cross and an apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ.

But the minister of the new century must also 'have a firm grasp of the idea of the supernatural in religion.' For at the end of the nineteenth century this is the claim of science and its crowning victory, that it has proved the absolute and universal reign of natural law. Its proof is not, of course, scientific demonstration. A few claim even that. But the greater part perceive that

there is a region into which the demonstrations of natural science cannot penetrate. Still the claim is made that where science can go the supernatural flees before it, and so wide is now the sweep of natural law, that the probability of its undisputed sway in the impenetrable region also, is reckoned a workable certainty.

What hinders the Christian minister from acquiescing? Why does he not fall in line? It is his personal experience of a personal Christ. The central fact of Christianity is faith. Faith is personal communion with a Christ who lived, was dead, and is alive for evermore. That demands the miracle of the Incarnation and the miracle of the Resurrection. He cannot do with less. For in analysing his own experience, and in checking it by the experience of other believers, he finds these two elements always present. Firstly, in all that he has passed through God has been personally operative; and secondly, God has thus been operative through His divine Son Jesus Christ. Other miraculous elements may fall into their places afterwards or they may not. But the divine personal touch in the world, and the divine object of faith in Jesus Christ,—these things the minister must know.

And last of all, the minister of the twentieth century 'will believe firmly in biblical revelation.' The extreme position of naturalism that there is no God is rarely insisted upon now. Nor is it so often urged that if there is a God we can know nothing about Him. The naturalism of the end of the century has found itself on safer ground in admitting both the existence and the discovery of God, but insisting that it *is* discovery. Who can by searching find out God? 'We can,' say the modern naturalists; 'all that can be found out about Him we can find.'

It is the conclusion of natural science. Has not all discovery been by slow and painful process? Mark the stages in the discovery of electricity. And the science of Comparative Religion has opportunely come to support it. The idea of

revelation, says the science of Comparative Religion, is not peculiar to the Bible. All the sacred books have their prophets, and all the prophets lay claim to immediate inspiration from the Most High.

But here science corrects itself. A narrower attention to details discovers an essential difference. The religion of Israel is found not to be a direct descendant of an Arabian tribal faith. It starts with new elements whose origin science cannot detect. Its history is unique. All the things were arrayed against the religion of Israel which swept over and obliterated the religions of

Babylonia and Egypt. Yet, when the fulness of time came, Israel was able to produce 'the greatest religious genius of the world.' Its present position also is unique.

But the Christian minister has an assurance which natural science can neither give nor take away. 'It is beyond the power of man to lift himself: he can only prevent himself from sinking.' Who says that? Dr. James Martineau. And he says it even while he is arguing that man has by searching found out God. The minister of the twentieth century will be content with that.

## St. Paul the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. JOHN KELMAN, JUN., M.A., EDINBURGH.

### I.

#### St. Paul the Hebrew.

THE first century of the Christian era was notably a time when various streams of thought and life met. It has been pointed out by a famous historian that all the high-water marks of history are reached at moments of the confluence of different streams of idea. Certainly, never was there so high a water mark as then; and certainly never did three such large streams fall into one as the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman elements that united in these days for the formation of the coming ages.

At such times most men drift helplessly along the currents of their time—children of circumstance rather than masters of the situation. At any time it requires a large personality to rise above personal prejudices and local interests, and take a statesmanlike view of current movements

<sup>1</sup> These sketches make little or no claim to originality. Much of the thought, and in some cases the language also, is gathered from the books of Professors Ramsay and Butcher, the well-known *Lives and Commentaries*, and other literature. This has been done without the constant citation of references, which would break up the continuity. The treatment is fragmentary, and the writer's only endeavour has been by selection and emphasis to suggest an interesting point of view.

and tendencies; to see the drift and meaning of the past, and to forecast the future with something like accuracy. At such a time as the first century, he who could do that must have been a man of gigantic intellectual and spiritual stature. In Paul we unquestionably find such a man. I do not know of any contemporary Greek or Roman man—certainly not any contemporary Hebrew—who had anything like so wide an outlook or so accurate a sense of the world's life then as his. The great Emperor Augustus himself, with all his cosmopolitanism, had not a more imperial soul. These articles aim at showing this—only indeed in the merest outline—in relation to the three great streams that have been mentioned. The present is a study of St. Paul as Hebrew; the second as Greek; the third as Roman.

Few characters in history have been more unjustly and inadequately conceived. Everything seems to have conspired to belittle him. First of all—and truly he would willingly have consented to this—the incomparable figure of Christ has eclipsed him. None can stand comparison with that figure, and all such comparison is unfair.

That there has been such is due largely to the unwise though well-meant exaggeration of a theology which has too often confined itself to Paul's Epistles, and has not drawn with anything like sufficient fulness from the Gospels. Again, parts of his teaching which were meant particularly for local and temporary situations—his words about women, about marriage, and other teachings of his—have been forced into prominence, and made to apply to totally different times and circumstances from those for which they were intended. This also has been against his memory.

But besides all this, there are elements in his own biography which have been too much remembered and thrust into undue prominence. From first to last he was a fighting man. And not only the unwelcome doctrines, but the aggressive and vehement way in which he advocated them, brought upon him not a little hatred and contempt from many quarters. Professor Bruce has contrasted him with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (who is 'contemplative, leisurely') as 'impetuous, passionate, vehement.' His greatness is often lost sight of in detail as we see him disputing with lesser men; now with apostles, now with his own converts, now with Jewish proselytizers, now with the heathen mob. His worst enemies and least faithful friends spoke of him as low, selfish, unreliable. Nothing in the Bible is sadder reading, more painful and humiliating, than Paul's many defences of himself against these. Reading such passages one feels ashamed of these small adversaries with their impertinent ignorance, who did not see that here was one born to judge and criticise, not to be criticised; one born to put the world on its defence, not to stand on his defence before the world.

And, finally, there is a great mass of painful detail which has the same effect. His cloak and parchments left at Troas, his frequent sicknesses and bodily weakness, his many tears—these are all distracting; and we find ourselves pitying this man, who has so much better reason to pity us. And also there was a mysterious trouble that he had—a thorn in the flesh, that no one has been able to explain. It seems to have been connected with his person in some way. His bodily presence was counted weak, we are told, and his speech contemptible. Anything of this sort is peculiarly trying to a sensitive nature like his.

All readers of the New Testament must have noted that 'wailing, pleading, appealing tone' which is so often discernible,—the tone of one self-conscious and somehow wounded.

It was the habit of some of his contemporaries to account him inferior and subordinate to the eleven apostles. These critics judged from his position and were biassed by such trifles as we have mentioned. They were not competent to judge by the size of his manhood, to take his measure and to gauge the magnitude of his ideas and his plans. Of the whole eleven only John is worthy to be mentioned alongside of him, and John's greatness is the onesided greatness of the student, thinker, and man of feeling. Peter, with all his winsomeness, was a man of no very unusual type. In any age Christ might have had such a man for a disciple. The rest, so far as we know, were men of very average—some of them of quite commonplace—value. Paul finds his match only now and then in the whole history of the world.

He himself, probably, never knew how great he was, though he often enough feels and protests that he is greater than he is being taken for. Time has shed light upon him and his work, and to-day we understand it better than it has been understood before. But even in his own time there were unmistakable signs of it. Think, *e.g.*, of the strength and the diplomacy he showed in facing situations which he suddenly found himself confronting. Think of his presence of mind and mastery of circumstances. Whether it were in the theatre when the mob howled at him, in the prison when the earthquake melted the jailer's heart with fear, or in the shipwreck where he, the landsman, alone was competent to take command; whether it was confronting devils or sorcerers or priests or Roman governors,—he was ever ready with word and deed. Again and again we read of him 'fixing his eyes' on so and so—and to this day we are thankful that we had not to face these eyes. We seem to know what that must have meant. Again, that splendid inconsistency of his—that vivid impressionist way of seeing in a flash of strong light, now this side, now its opposite—that was the characteristic of no small soul. Ay, and even that 'melancholy through which his enthusiasm burned its way—that deep despondency which sounds so often like an undertone below his writing and his speech'—that, too, is part of the same greatness. Ask your Carlyle, your



Goethe, your Milton, Dante, Aeschylus what it means. It is only such men that can tell.

These personal traits, however, are not the direction in which we shall look for the greatness of this apostle. They are only preliminary hints of it. It is in his work—the thing he set himself to do and actually did—that that appears. There is only one word that seems to suit him—*Titanism*. There are some few men to whom this word applies—not many. They are men who seek tasks on a larger scale than the ordinary human tasks occupying men around them. They go back, as it were, to the older days when the Titans sought to storm the heavens. Many of them fail and end in bitterness. Some few succeed. In the Autobiography of William Bell Scott he tells us how he always felt impelled to choose ambitious poetic subjects, such as 'The Year of the World,' a mystic poem of the life of humanity. He reminds us how his brother, David Scott, the famous painter, would only paint in the same fashion—life-size, and with large proud stretch. This Titanism is indeed present in all really great minds. You may have much popularity upon small work, but not permanence.

This is what Paul was—Titanic. Literally, and not by poetic exaggeration. He found the world, in all three sides of it, out-worn, weary, and decaying. He undertook (and he carried out his undertaking) to take it up in his great hands and remake it, and give it new life—Hebrew, Greek, and Roman, and set it on to the end of time working out Jesus Christ's gospel along the lines of his great conceptions. His inspiration he owed to Christ, and to the inspiring Spirit whom Christ promised. But that Spirit found in him such a mind as is rare among men. When Paul fell to the earth near Damascus, one of the mighty fell; when he rose, it was the rising of a mightier still.

Let us now look at what this means for Paul as a Hebrew. For a Hebrew he was, and continued to the end. The old pictures and descriptions of him are unreliable enough, but they concur in giving him strongly Jewish features—aquiline nose, meeting eyebrows, and so on. It is true that his city Tarsus was one where Greek and Roman elements must have been at work upon the nature of the Hebrew boy. It is true also that Gamaliel, his teacher in Jerusalem, was one of those few

Rabbis who were broad-minded enough to recognize the good that there was in heathen civilization and culture. Yet the fact is certain that this pupil at least took on little of it. In his early years there is trace neither of the large Roman tolerance and good-natured permission of liberty of thought; nor yet of the broad and sunny smile of Greece, that happy acceptance of the world and appreciation of it which makes the memory of Greece so sweet. On the contrary, you have him persecuting every un-Jewish thing he could persecute, with a narrow obstinacy, an ignorant wilfulness, that shows the worst side of Hebrew thought and feeling. And instead of the Greek smile and sympathy with nature, you find him entirely unobservant of her beauties; silent absolutely as to her trees and flowers, her winds and sea and sky. He was more familiar with crowds and assemblies, more easily delighted with cities and bazaars, than with any of the sights or sounds of Nature. So you find him in early days, and even to the end, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; using the Hebrew calendar, speaking and writing a foreign style of Greek, choosing Hebrew metaphors, and even arguing in the style of the Rabbinical schools with ease and naturalness, as in the argument about Hagar.

But while characteristic traits of Hebraism thus clung to him from first to last, as a Christian he shook himself free from Hebrew narrowness, seized upon the essential features of his nation's life, and gave Hebraism a new meaning. In fact, he remade Hebraism, and so conserved it. Hebrew religion was indeed a tremendous weapon, a veritable sword of the Spirit, for the conquering of the nations. But he found it lying resting—too heavy for any living hand to wield. He took it up and wielded it to purpose. This was one of the Titanic things Paul did. It was his Titanic handling of his own nation which set it on a level where it could see and tell upon the world.

To illustrate this we shall take the three great facts of the Hebrew heritage of Paul. They were (1) a race, (2) a law, (3) a crime. Here was the man who more than any other perpetuated the race, established the law, and atoned for the crime.

1. *The Race—the Hebrew Nationality.*—The two notes of Hebrew national thought were the descent from Abraham and the sense of being the elect of God. It would be impossible to exagger-

ate the influence that those two ideas had exercised for good on the nation. By their descent they were bound into a brotherhood the most tenacious that the world has known, and to-day the Jews of Sydney, of Berlin, of Rome, of London are still the aloof and peculiar people. Yet singular and persistent as this national solidarity is, if it had been the only outcome of the descent from Abraham it would have been but a survival. In early days this intense sense of brotherhood kept Israel in existence, and gave her the chance of being the religious factor in the world that she was. Long before Christ this had ceased to have more than a commercial or a purely historical value.

Paul rescued it by the boldest sort of stroke. He told them plainly that this nationality was not a matter of descent, nor even of circumcision. 'They are not all Israel that are of Israel.' It was a matter of spirit, and every one who is of the true spirit of Abraham, he is in the only permanent sense a descendant of Abraham.—The children by faith are the real children, not the children by blood. It was this supremely daring doctrine—how daring we cannot now realize—that saved the Jewish heritage and sent the Jewish religion forth as a gospel to the ends of the earth.

Again, the doctrine of election had become the most selfish and barbarous of egotisms. Elect for their own sake, as a token of God's arbitrary favouritism, the Jews of Paul's day stood safe, as they thought, on this rock, and watched all round them with compassionless indifference, the heathen perishing. This kind of doctrine was the accepted religious principle of Pharisaism, by which you kept your privileges to yourself. Paul fiercely opposed this; and the whole of that sorely misunderstood teaching about election in the Romans amounts in brief to this: That election is not primarily for the sake of the elect, but for the sake of the others. A nation is elected to religious knowledge and privilege for this very end, that it may be the salt of the earth, the light of the world—a light to them that sit in darkness. If it take its election selfishly, it will soon find that some other nation is elected to do the work it has neglected, while itself is cast away.

Here, surely, was great work. The Jews in every city where he founded a church dogged his steps and did all they could to oppose him. They thought he was the enemy of their nation, the

denier of their election. Really it was *for*, not *against*, his nation that he fought. He saw that for them at least such doctrine as theirs—the idea of each nation sitting alone keeping and enjoying its own peculiar gains—meant utter and irretrievable failure. He took these two central aspects of nationality, and by giving them a generous and a spiritual meaning sent them abroad in the world, to be to the end of time the guides of all patriotism. It was the greatness of statemanship.

2. *The Law*.—The conspicuous fact in his national inheritance to the eyes of every Jew was the Law. His imagination still heard rolling the thunder of Sinai, still saw towering above every other monument of time the great stone tables of the Law, held in the hands of a colossal figure of Moses. To remove the Law was to destroy the nation and blaspheme against its past. This was what the Judaizers thought Paul was doing. And there was something to be said for that view. Did he not speak of the Law as 'weak and beggarly elements'? did he not deny that circumcision and the keeping of Jewish ordinances were any longer binding? Yes, and he did that in the interests of the Law itself. Here again we see his Titanism facing a superhuman task. To attack Hebraism here, at its very centre, was a work of the direst danger. Once shake men's abject reverence for the moral law, and what barrier is there between them and utter lawlessness and licence? To tamper with popular convictions here was a risk that needed supreme management. It was what Paul did.

The current way of regarding the Law was to take it as God's final word to man as to Salvation. The Jewish Christians took it so. To its last letter it must be obeyed or there was no hope. To neglect circumcision was to put oneself outside the pale of grace. And Christ might indeed be accepted as a later revelation of God, but yet must be accepted on the basis that after all Salvation lay in rigid and detailed obedience to the old system.

Paul saw that if that were so, then the world was lost. He saw that that complicated Hebrew legislation was no more fit to be the universal salvation of the world than the heathen sacrifices were. As a vitalizing force, the Law was as dead as Moses was, and no Pharisaic zeal could galvanize it into life. But looked at in another way the Law was not dead but terribly alive.



Taken spiritually, as an account of the true way to live, it was alive with a vengeance. To the end of time he who read that old Law seriously would find one thing—despair—as he came upon the part of it that struck home to him. For Paul that part was ‘Thou shalt not covet!’ He could keep the Law, and be blameless, as a Pharisee. He could outwardly conform to its precepts with the best of them. But when he seriously took home to himself that God’s demand from him was that he should not merely refrain from doing evil things but refrain from coveting—from *wanting* to do them—then, he says, ‘sin revived, and I died.’ It flashed like a great light upon him that this was just what the Law was there for. It was to kill him—to strike dead his self-satisfaction, his mere respectability, his hope or salvation through being a consistent Pharisee—it was to do that that the Law existed. That was the very meaning and end of the Law. And when, in his despair, he looked around the world and saw Christ, full of grace and hope and forgiveness—then he thanked God for the cruel Law that had driven him to that kind Saviour. The Law was but a slave, he said, the slave (schoolmaster) that dragged reluctant children to school. The Law, rough, cruel, harsh, not amenable to reason, had dragged this great school child along till it left him at the feet of Christ.

You can see how tremendous a change of view this was to bring to his nation, and how Titanic was the soul that did it. It was the great conscience of Paul that did it. His conscience was of the sort we have seen later in Luther and in the Puritan divines. To the Pharisees the Law was a great machine, to Paul it was a great condemnation. It was the only way in which the Law could last. As a complicated machine for grinding out righteousness its day was done; but to the end of time it was God’s hammer for smiting on man’s conscience and breaking man’s heart, and so showing him the value of Christ. Truly might Paul say in his defence, ‘Do we then make void the Law? Yea, we establish the Law?’

3. *The Crime.*—The third part of the Jewish heritage Paul dealt with was its crime. For of late years every Jew born was heir to a tremendous crime—the crucifixion of Christ. It is quite impossible for us to imagine how fearful to a Jew was the idea that by any chance Messiah had come and had been crucified. Nothing that could by any possi-

bility happen to any nation now can give an idea of it. To every patriotic Jew the future meant one thing, the coming of Messiah; and all the past history of the land took its meaning from the same thing. Their law, their prophets, and their psalms had breathed expectation of Him. Their kings had in all their glory only held a temporary and interim throne, ready to vacate it on a moment’s notice when He came. Their defeats had been borne solely in the strength of a faith that all would be put right when He came.

Now there were great and increasing bands of men and women proclaiming in every market place, sending the news by every ship, discussing it by every fireside, that Messiah had come unawares, had been insulted, spat upon, bound, scourged, howled at, crucified. The nation that had waited and prayed for Him all these centuries had sought out carefully all that was cruellest and shamefullest to do to Him when they had Him. It was no wonder if Jews, and Paul among them, were bitter against the early Christians. If these Christians were right, then it meant all this—and in truth it could not have meant worse. Either the Cross of Christ was the just punishment of an unspeakably blasphemous man, or it was the blackest shame and most ruinously wicked mistake that ever befell a people.

Here was the awful dilemma which this Hebrew of the Hebrews had to face. Either he must go on persecuting Christianity, or he must accept this hideous fact of his nation’s shame and crime. Once more the Titanic man finds a greater thing to do than either. He confesses the shame and feels it to the very innermost heart of him. But having confessed it—his nation’s and his own disgrace,—having been driven to despair by it deeper than any to which the Law could drive him,—he takes that Cross and sets it in the very forefront of his faith and memory. Wherever he goes he will know nothing among them but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. He sees in it not only shame deep as hell, but also love high as heaven. The love had been there before,—God’s love to the world which that Cross revealed as it never had been dreamed of before,—but it is to Paul more than to any other man that we owe the understanding of that love. It was he who faced his nation’s shame and transformed it into the world’s hope and light. In this way St. Paul set the Cross before the eyes of all coming centuries—



the point where shame was deepest and where love was mightiest—the point at which man finds at once his lowest station and his highest truth—the meeting point of the sin of the world and the Love of God.

Such was Paul the Hebrew, and this is the effect of him upon his nation. He found them

cowering over the dying fires of ancient Race, nursing a dead Law, shuddering at and yet vehemently refusing to confess to a patent Crime. He left them sending on the true racial glory of Israel to all faithful souls, retaining the Law as the quickener of conscience to the end of time, glorying in that shame wherein he had discovered for them the eternal Love.

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Winckler's 'History of Israel.'

THE motto of this book should be 'Thorough.' Its secondary title, 'Die Legende,' warns us what we are to expect, and the expectation is not belied. The Biblical narratives, from Abraham to Solomon inclusive, are treated in the same manner as Mücke and Stucken follow with ancient history in general. As a matter of fact, Winckler holds that most of these Hebrew stories come from the same source as Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Romulus and Remus, and the fictions concerning Alexander the Great. They are myths, derived ultimately from cosmical phenomena. In like manner as men believed that they could read the future in the stars, so, when they would fain fill up the blanks in their knowledge, they read the past there. There is no sufficient reason for believing that such men as the patriarchs of Israel were real, living persons: the incidents related of them are legends which, in the first instance, had been told of one or other of the gods. Abraham is the moon-hero, heading the list of the forefathers of the race, as the moon (*Bab. Sin*) is the first of the gods. 'In Abraham, as in so many mythical characters, two figures have been blended, and we can clearly distinguish between two parts which have been assigned to him. In the one case, where he is mentioned along with his brother Dioscurus, Lot, he is one of the two Dioscuri. His other part . . . is that of brother and husband to his sister and wife, Sarah or Sarai, whose nature is clearly defined; she is the Istar of the Babylonian mythology. In this rôle Abraham is her brother and spouse, Tammuz-Adonis. Their

father is the moon-god Sin. . . . The deity, therefore, whom Abraham represents is, substantially, the moon-god.'<sup>2</sup> Hence he is closely connected with Kirjath-Arba and Beer-Sheba, the city of the Four and the well of the god Seven, the four phases of the moon and the seven days of the week. Isaac is simply a reduplication of him. Jacob, as beginning a series, is also the representative of the moon-god. He 'is the father of twelve sons, the twelve months. And to prevent any misunderstanding as to his nature, the legend not only has the division of the year into twelve months, but also that into seventy-two units of five days each, of which evidence is found in Mesopotamian sources from Asia Minor dating earlier than 1000 B.C. It is also to be seen in the legend of the translation of the Septuagint by five translators in seventy-two days. The number of Jacob's descendants by five wives—Joseph's included, she being the mother of two sons—is seventy-two (*Gn* 46). The year consists of  $5 \times 72$  days.'<sup>3</sup> Moses stands for Tammuz. When he dies his eyes are not dim, whereas Jacob, the moon-hero, is blind in his old age. The Israelites mourned for Moses thirty days, the days of mourning for Tammuz, whereas Jacob, the moon-hero, is bewailed seven days. The twelve judges correspond to the signs of the Zodiac. When we reach the period of the Kingdom we come into contact with historic personages. Saul and David and Solomon are names that refer to actual human beings. But the little residuum of fact has been enlarged and distorted almost beyond recognition. The three kings have been tricked out with all kinds of mythological embellishments. Much of what we read about Saul points to a moon-hero, for the very

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen.* Von Hugo Winckler. Teil ii., *Die Legende.* Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> P. 22.

<sup>3</sup> P. 57.

name contains a reference to the worship of that luminary. Winckler's argument in proof of this is not easy to follow: 'A word derived from sh'l must refer to the cult of the moon, as is shown by the way in which that apostle's conversion is narrated who bore two names, of which Saul was one. The narrative is in the form of a moon-legend. And the name of the town where Saul's body was buried is Beth-Sha'ul, not Beth-Shean. Its coins bear evidence of moon-worship.'<sup>1</sup> We do not know what the second king was called: *David* is another form of *Dôd*, one of the designations of Tammuz, and many things recorded of this king belong to the myths of the sun-god. Of Solomon we know even less than of David. His name has some connexion with that of the god Shalman or Shelem. David has to do with the sun in the first half, Solomon in the second half of the year.

The majority of English readers will agree with one of Winckler's German critics who speaks of him as taking a pleasure in daring hypotheses. Having formed or adopted a hypothesis it seems to us that he adjusts his facts to it. Greater arbitrariness it would be difficult to imagine. Here are a few specimens. The 318 servants of Abraham are the 318 days of the year during which the moon is visible. The slaughter of the five kings (Gn 14) is a myth relating to the five supplementary days at the end of the year, the five kings who are buried in the pit (although Gn 14<sup>10</sup> only speaks of *two* kings as falling there). Beer-Sheba is the well of the god Sheba, the Seven-god. He is the father of the hostile brothers, Jacob and Esau—the Eteocles and Polynikes of Greek legend. He appears, too, in the 'Seven against Thebes': for is there not the well-*motif* in both stories? The dim-eyed Leah is the new-moon: the beautiful Rachel the full-moon. Joseph is evidently the sun-god, for his brethren make ready their present 'against Joseph came at noon.' His two sons are the two halves of the year, and Jacob's preference of the younger to the elder is the substitution of the custom of beginning the year in spring for the older method of commencing it in autumn. The grapes which the spies bring back from Eshcol are another form of the inexhaustible vine from which Alexander fed his army. The left-handedness of Ehud and of the 700 Benjamites is explained by a reference to the Tyr-Ziu of German mythology,

<sup>1</sup> P. 224.

whose right hand was bitten off by the Fenrir-wolf, and to the Roman legend of Mutius Scævola. Is not Benjamin called a wolf (Gn 49<sup>27</sup>)? Rizpah corresponds to the Niobe of the Greeks.

It may, of course, be thought that Winckler is not quite fairly treated when instances such as the above are cited barely and apart from their context. This should be fully allowed for. He has a right to claim that his system should be judged as a whole. But, on the other hand, we are bound to examine the details. And in the handling of those details he is too fanciful, too ingenious. He lays himself open to the same kind of remark as Lord Rosebery makes concerning Sir Hudson Lowe, who suspected in Montholon's *haricots verts* and *haricots blancs* an allusion to the green uniform which Napoleon wore and the white flag of the Bourbons.<sup>2</sup>

The following particulars will give an idea of the line along which Winckler would reconstruct the history. The story of Ehud indicates the pretensions advanced in early times by Benjamin to the hegemony of the tribes. Gideon, Jephthah, and Abimelech show the claims which Manasseh put forward. They are, therefore, the forerunners of Saul, who came originally from the east of the Jordan and established his authority over Benjamin. The fact of his belonging to Gilead explains his relief of Jabesh-Gilead, the rescue and burial of his body by the Jabeshites, and the maintenance for two years of Ish-bosheth's (or Abner's) authority in Gilead. David began his career as chief of the Krêti, a small tribe in Mutsri, south of Judah.<sup>3</sup> In the accounts of his campaigns we should always read Aram in place of Edom. The mistaken reading arose from the similarity of the names, and from the exaggerated ideas concerning the extent of his dominion which prevailed in post-exilic times. He never got as far as Damascus. The extreme point he reached in that direction was Zobah, south of that city. And the northern boundary of his kingdom was not the Syrian Hamath, but a town of that name south of Hermon. Solomon was a mere kinglet, a vassal of the king of Tyre. He may have married a daughter of the prince of *Mutsri*, but was much too insignificant a personage for a daughter of the royal house of Egypt (*Mitsraim*). His original name was Jedidiah, and he was the son of Abigail.

<sup>2</sup> *Napoleon*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> The Krêti and Palti (Cherethites and Pelethites) are located in the Negeb.

The Bathsheba episode belongs to the region of pure legend.

However little likely this reconstruction is to win favour amongst us, it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the extraordinary acuteness and skill with which it is worked out. In the darkest catacomb Winckler would find a clue. And once found it is never lost. The manner in which he puts together the notices concerning Shechem, *e.g.*, and compels us to realise the significance of that place,<sup>1</sup> is admirable. The same may be said of the connexion which he traces between Bethel and Dan.<sup>2</sup> Some of his suggestions for the emendation of the text are excellent, and all are worthy of attention. At 1 S 13<sup>17</sup> he reads מַחֲמֵשׁ, מִשְׁחִית, and explains it according to the Sabæan inscriptions as meaning *army* (cf. *Oxford Lexicon*, *sub* חֲמֵשׁ, iv.). By altering וּבִלְקוֹט וּקְלָעוּ, 1 S 17<sup>40</sup>, into וּלְקָט קְלָעוּ, he obtains an excellent text. For תַּחַת הַחֲרָמוֹן, 2 S 24<sup>6</sup>, read תַּחַת חֲרָשִׁי, and clearness replaces confusion (cf. Jos 13<sup>5</sup>). He is, perhaps, a little too apt to follow the lead of cognate Assyrian words, but in some passages they prove distinctly helpful. וִירָק (Assyr. *diku*) may well be substituted for וִירָק and rendered, 'and he summoned,' Gn 14<sup>14</sup>. In the 15th verse of that chapter everyone feels the awkwardness of 'and he divided himself' (A.V. and R.V.): Winckler connects the Heb. חָלַק with Assyr. *halâku*, *to fly*, takes it as Piel, and renders 'and he attacked.' In the 17th verse he prefers *Share* to *Shaveh*, Assyr. *Sharru*, Heb. שָׂר.

Winchcombe.

J. TAYLOR.

## Dr. Loofs' Outlines of Church History.<sup>3</sup>

In the preface to this work Dr. Loofs states that for more than ten years he has been in the habit of furnishing 'Outlines' to the students who have attended his lectures on Church History at the University of Halle. At first these outlines were as brief as the contents-index of a book, but gradually they have become more extensive and detailed, as

<sup>1</sup> P. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 63-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte* in der Form von Dispositionen für seine Vorlesungen. Von Dr. Friedrich Loofs, ord. Prof. der Kirchengeschichte in Halle. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer. Pp. 320. M. 3.

it seemed desirable to make them more complete. So many requests for copies of these enlarged synopses have reached Professor Loofs that he has been induced to publish them. Many will be grateful to him for this decision, for the result is a volume which will be of great service to students of Church History. The author anticipates that his readers will sometimes differ from him in judgment; but such readers will be glad to have in their hands at so small a cost a clue to the labyrinth which none but an expert could have furnished.

Dr. Loofs deals with an enormous mass of material, and it is no light task to summarize the facts and tendencies of the various periods. He says truly that he could have written in less time a book four times as large, but the inevitable drawback would have been to make it four times as costly. It is not intended to compete with the standard text-books, but to be used alongside of them; and the laudable hope is expressed that it may do something to banish from the hands of German students synopses of Kurtz, which are too much in evidence as examinations draw near.

As a manual of Church History in its entirety, Dr. Loofs thinks that Kurtz is indispensable. For the several periods the books he recommends are: Part 1, to 600 A.D., the edition of Möller, revised by von Schubert; Part 2, 600-1450 A.D., Karl Müller; Part 3, 1451-1688 A.D., Kaweran; Part 4, since 1689, Koffmane's supplement to Herzog.

Section 370 is headed 'Protestantism in Germany since 1879,' and contains much that is of general interest, in spite of the condensed form in which the information is conveyed. The following characteristics of this period are mentioned: Increase of interest in ecclesiastical affairs amongst national liberals; diminution of anti-Christian influence in the press; changed attitude of the Government to the social question; development of scientific theology; influential theologians of the 'Right,' such as Cremer and Kähler, approach more nearly to the position of the more conservative of the 'Moderns,' such as Häring, Kattenbusch, and in some respects Herrmann. Harnack's new book, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, is regarded as fixing his position between the old Ritschlians and their modern followers.

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## Among the Periodicals.

### The 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

ONE of the fullest and most favourable of all the foreign reviews of the above work is that which appeared in the *Bulletin critique* of 5th November last. It is written by the Abbé Loisy, occupies some ten pages, and deals with all the three volumes of the Dictionary which have been published. 'The whole work,' says the reviewer, 'will form a veritable encyclopædia of biblical science, and, judging from the parts already published, probably *the most complete and the best balanced of all that are at present in existence*. . . . The preparation of the articles has been entrusted to competent hands, and it may be said that the names of those who exercise a general control over the work are universally known. That *inequality of value in different articles*, which is a common fault in works of the kind, *is scarcely to be met with in this Dictionary*.' He finds that the scholarship leaves little or nothing to be desired; the Geographical articles by Conder, Warren, and Ramsay are specially noteworthy, while the articles on Biblical Archæology (e.g. 'Food' and 'Medicine' by Macalister, 'Money' by A. R. S. Kennedy, 'Dress' by Mackie) are very careful and informing. The 'excellent' articles of Margoliouth on 'Language of the O.T.,' Thayer on 'Language of N.T.,' and H. A. A. Kennedy on 'Old Latin Versions' are selected for special mention, as well as Hommel's 'Assyria' and 'Babylonia,' Crum's 'Egypt,' Barnes' 'Israel,' Curtis' 'Chronology of O.T.,' and Turner's 'Chronology of N.T.' A word of praise is given to the treatment of the Canon of the O.T. (Woods) and N.T. (Stanton), and likewise to the general article on the O.T. by Curtis. Passing on to the articles dealing with particular books or collections of such, honourable mention is made of 'Hexateuch' (Woods), 'Genesis' and 'Deuteronomy' (Ryle), 'Exodus,' 'Leviticus,' and 'Numbers' (Harford-Battersby), 'Joshua' (G. A. Smith), 'Acts' (Headlam), 'Paul' (Findlay), 'Peter' (Chase). In the domain of Biblical Theology, the reviewer selects the articles 'God' (A. B. Davidson [for O.T.], and Sanday [for N.T.]), 'Eschatology' (Davidson, Charles, and Salmond).

The method that dominates the whole work is pronounced to be the properly scientific one.

'The critical labours of the past have all been drawn upon. The writers do not regard criticism as satanic or silly, they have taken pains to study it, and have retained all its conclusions which appear to be certain or probable. At the same time a *spirit of Christian faith penetrates the whole, and this, so far from hurting the scientific character of the work, rather tends to increase it*.' A more detailed criticism is bestowed upon Wood's 'Hexateuch,' G. A. Smith's 'Isaiah,' A. B. Davidson's 'Jeremiah,' Curtis' 'Daniel,' W. T. Davison's 'Job,' Ed. König's 'Jonah,' Ryle's 'Abraham' and 'Isaac,' Driver's 'Jacob' and 'Joseph,' Peake's 'Judah,' Salmond's 'Mark' ('un article remarquable'), Bartlett's 'Matthew' ('less satisfactory'), Bebb's 'Luke,' Reynolds' 'John' (marred by being too much a piece of special pleading in favour of the apostolic authorship), Sanday's 'Jesus Christ' ('ce bel article').

The reviewer closes his most discriminating notice by the remark that none of his criticisms are meant to depreciate the value of the Dictionary, 'which is very great and undeniable. We hail it as a monument of true and real science, a repertory of solid learning and criticism, which deserves to be consulted by every one who desires to study the Bible and biblical questions with thoroughness.'

### Sheshbazzar—Zerubbabel.

Dr. A. van Hoonacker, so well known for the numerous works he has published on the Jews' Return from Exile and the history of the following period, contributes to the current number of the *Revue Biblique* an article entitled 'Notes sur l'histoire de la restauration juive.' Amongst other points of interest, he returns to the much debated question whether Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel are to be identified or not. He himself has contended elsewhere, and he maintains in the article before us, that these two names designate one and the same man. He insists upon such points as that Zerubbabel, like Sheshbazzar, is 'prince of Judah,' that both bear the official title *pehah* ('governor'), that both have the founding of the temple attributed to them: Zerubbabel, in Ezr 3-4<sup>6</sup> and Zechariah; Sheshbazzar, in Ezr 5<sup>16</sup>. In Ezr 2, again, Zerubbabel appears at the head of the emigrants, but there is no mention of Sheshbazzar. How, asks Dr. van Hoonacker, is his absence to be explained, if he is not

Zerubbabel himself? The non-mention of Sheshbazzar in chap. 3 in connexion with the founding of the temple, appears to our author equally inexplicable if two different men are in view.

But how are we to explain the use of *two* names for one and the same man? Dr. van Hoonacker's reply is as follows. If it is the case, as he believes, that *Sheshbazzar* or (the Gr. form) *Sanabassaros* represents the Bab. *Shamash-bal* [or *bil*]-*usur* or *Sin-bal* [or *bil*]-*usur* = 'O sun-god [or moon-god] protect the son [or the lord],' it is certain that no such pagan name would have been given to a Jewish prince by his co-religionists. It must have been the name used by the Babylonians, whereas he would be known in Jewish circles by the name *Zerubbabel* (whether we take that name, as is frequently done, as = 'seed of Babylon,' or, as Dr. van Hoonacker suggests *elsewhere* [has he now abandoned this derivation?], as = 'crush Babylon'). In confirmation of this, our author insists that the name *Sheshbazzar* occurs only in those passages in which the Jewish prince who bears it is presented in *official* relations with the Persian government (Ezr 1<sup>8.11</sup> 5<sup>14.16</sup>), while outside these relations he is called *Zerubbabel*. The *Sheshbazzar* of Ezra he is inclined (following Imbert, Renan, Kisters, Meyer, *et al.*) to identify with the *Shenazzar* of 1 Ch 3<sup>18</sup>, and holds that the textual corruption of the latter passage prevents our attaching any importance to the circumstance that in it *Shenazzar* and *Zerubbabel* appear as two distinct persons.

### Jesus' Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead.

At the Congress of the History of Religions held at Paris last September, Dr. S. A. Fries of Stockholm read a paper on the above subject, which attracted a good deal of attention favourable and otherwise. The paper is now published in the *Zeitschr. f. N.T. Wissenschaft* (1900, Heft 4), and we propose giving a summary of its contents without any criticism, for which this is not the place.

Fries sets out with remarking that Jewish theology in our Lord's time was anything but a uniform system. He illustrates this by the conflicting views that were held as to Sabbath observance and the Messianic hope, and then passes on to exemplify the similar variety of opinion that prevailed about the Resurrection.

Not to speak of the Sadducees and the Samaritans, who denied the Resurrection altogether, even those who occupied the more conservative standpoint were divided on such questions as who were to participate in the Resurrection, when the event would take place, and what was really implied in it. According to Josephus (*B.J.* ii. 8. 14) the Pharisees believed in a transmigration of souls, which they identified with a resurrection of the dead (cf. the idea of Herod Antipas that Jesus was John the Baptist risen again, Mk 6<sup>14</sup>). The Essenes believed merely in the immortality of the soul, and denied the resurrection of the body. Hence there is nothing remarkable in the statement in Mk 9<sup>10</sup> that the disciples of Jesus discussed amongst themselves what the resurrection from the dead meant.

One of the views current amongst the Jews in the time of Christ is expressed by Martha of Bethany in the words, 'I know that he (Lazarus) shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day,' Jn 11<sup>24</sup>. The question is, Does Jesus share this view? Not so, thinks Fries. He proceeds to examine in detail the following two verses: 'I am the Resurrection and the Life; he that believeth on Me, even if he die, shall live, and whosoever liveth and believeth on Me shall never die.' The latter of these verses gives expression, he maintains, to the thought that bodily death shall be abolished in the Messianic kingdom in the case of all believers (cf. Jn 6<sup>47ff.</sup> 8<sup>51ff.</sup>, Mk 9<sup>1</sup>). But what about those, say amongst the disciples even, who should be cut off by death prior to the full establishment of that kingdom? These persons are in view, according to Fries, in v.<sup>25</sup>. Even if (καὶν) death overtake them, they shall still live after and in spite of death. This implies, he holds, not that a resurrection such as Martha anticipated, should take place, but that Jesus identified 'life' and 'resurrection.' The καὶ in ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ would thus be that of *identification* or *explanation*, a sense all the more readily to be accepted if, as must be assumed, Jesus spoke in Aramaic and not in Greek. This interpretation compels our author to reject the words attributed to Jesus in Jn 6<sup>39f.</sup> 44. 54, 'and I will raise Him up at the last day,' as well as those in 5<sup>25. 28. 29</sup>, 'The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God,' etc.

Fries turns next to Mk 12<sup>18-27</sup>, where Jesus answers the difficulty of the Sadducees about the



Resurrection. From the words of Ex 3<sup>6, 16</sup>, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,' it would have been impossible, our author argues, for Jesus to draw any such inference as is implied in Martha's words about a resurrection at the last day. The interpretation He gives to this O.T. passage simply implies, that for Jesus the resurrection from the dead is identical with that eternal life with God upon which the righteous enter immediately after death. This does not mean, indeed, that Jesus did not think of that life as connected with a bodily form. Fries notes it, further, as remarkable that Jesus in His eschatological discourse in Mk 13 says not a word to indicate that He shares in the later Jewish notions about the Resurrection.

But what about those raisings from the dead which are attributed to Jesus, what about His own Resurrection? First of all, says Fries, much depends on what we mean by 'dead.' From Mk 9<sup>26</sup> and Ac 20<sup>9ff.</sup> (cf. Ac 9<sup>36ff.</sup>) we see how imperfectly the real marks of death were understood; the word 'death' must have been applied by the Jews to conditions where we should not use it. They themselves betray a consciousness of this in their doctrine that after death the soul remains for three days in the neighbourhood of the body, in order to see whether it may not find entrance once more into its old tabernacle (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 349). When one had been dead four days, unmistakable signs of death were supposed to show themselves (Jn 11<sup>39</sup>). It is the condition of things during this period of three days which Fries supposes to be indicated by the word 'sleep' used by Jesus, both of Jairus' daughter (Mk 5<sup>39</sup>) and of Lazarus (Jn 11<sup>4, 11</sup>).<sup>1</sup> In the person of Jairus' daughter, Jesus no doubt awakened one who was in popular language 'dead,' yet she was not positively dead but only 'asleep.' Our author compares the case of Eutychus, of whom it is said in Ac 20<sup>9</sup> that he was taken up 'dead,' and yet St. Paul exclaims in the following verse, 'Make ye no ado, for *his life is in him*.' It is not otherwise, he holds, with the raising of Lazarus. Jesus came to Bethany with the intention of awakening one who was 'asleep' in the above sense. The words of Martha about the

*fourth day* seem, however, to have given him a shock of surprise, yet He feels confident either that Lazarus is not positively dead after all, or, if he be [Fries is not very clear on this point], that His Heavenly Father will make an exception in this case, and so He calls Lazarus from the tomb. In any case, Fries is convinced that there is nothing in the story of Lazarus inconsistent in any way with the clear expressions of Jesus elsewhere as to the meaning of the Resurrection.

As to our Lord's own Resurrection, Fries has no doubt that Jesus predicted this as well as His sufferings and His death. The authentic form of this prediction he finds in Mk 8<sup>11</sup> (cf. 9<sup>31</sup> 10<sup>34</sup>), for this reason, amongst others, that we still find here the formula 'after three days,' instead of 'on the third day' of the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke. The latter expression he believes to have been adopted after the disciples had come to believe, partly on the ground of the sepulchre having been found empty on the third day, in the bodily resurrection of Jesus. The three days which Jesus indicates as elapsing between His death and His resurrection would correspond, according to Fries, to the period during which the soul was supposed to watch by the body. His resurrection itself Jesus will have thought of as analogous to that of the patriarchs (see above), and if, as the women and others believed, a resurrection of His body took place [here again we wish Fries were more explicit], this difference between His anticipations and the actual event would merely illustrate the limitations of His eschatological knowledge (cf. Mk 13<sup>32</sup>). In view of the results of his analysis of Jesus' doctrine of the Resurrection, then, Fries holds that the mere fact that He predicted that He would rise again neither strengthens nor weakens the traditional interpretation of His Resurrection.

The closest N.T. analogy to the doctrine of Jesus is discovered by Fries in St. Paul's *final* doctrine in Ph 1<sup>21ff.</sup> 3<sup>11</sup>, which is reached only after he has passed through the various stages signalized by 1 Th 4<sup>13ff.</sup>, 1 Co 15<sup>35ff.</sup>, 2 Co 4<sup>16-510</sup>. The doctrine is not without analogies in the Judaism of our Lord's time. Fries compares the description of the direct passing of the godly after death into eternal happiness, which seems to be implied in the Book of Jubilees (23<sup>27-31</sup>), although he admits that their condition is not described as a resurrection from the dead by this writer, who appears, however, to be a stranger to the later Jewish doc-

<sup>1</sup> Fries leaves out of account the story of the raising of the widow's son at Nain, as not resting upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. But if it actually occurred, he would deal with it on the analogy of the other two cases.



trine of the Resurrection. But above all he directs attention to 4 Maccabees, whose description of the immediate passage to heaven (5<sup>87</sup> 13<sup>17</sup> 18<sup>28</sup>) of the seven martyrs, their enjoyment of God's presence (9<sup>8</sup>), and especially the comparison between the lot of these martyrs and that of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (16<sup>25</sup>, etc.), all bear a striking resemblance

to the teaching of Jesus. Our author claims, however, for Jesus absolute originality for the profound thought that this life with God is 'the Resurrection from the Dead,' a doctrine which Fries holds to have been afterwards displaced by a theory of the Resurrection which Jesus meant to combat.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

J. A. SELBIE.

## Pauline Anthropology and Christian Doctrine.

BY THE REV. A. S. LAIDLAW, M.A., B.D., HUNTLY.

### I.

#### Christ and Adam.

"NOT as the trespass, so also is the free gift."—  
Rom. v. 15.

THE term Anthropology is not free from ambiguity. Theologians and scientific men use it in different senses. The former have been accustomed to employ it where the reference was purely psychological. Thus Lüdemann's *Anthropology of the Apostle Paul* is a treatise upon biblical psychology, wherein are discussed the terms, flesh, spirit, body, heart, mind, and so forth. In the hands of recent science, however, anthropology has become the 'doctrine of Man' in a much wider sense: it is the Science of Man.

It is easy to understand how anthropology came to be so narrowed theologically. Some of the most important and most fascinating problems of anthropology, such as cluster round the origin of man, have appeared to be closed questions to the theologian. The garden of Eden seemed to say all that required to be said about man's origin; and the names of Noah's sons to tell us nearly all there is to tell about the classification of races. Accordingly, what was left but some obscure questions of psychology? The phrase *Biblical Psychology* tends to suggest that the Bible, while no longer regarded as authoritative in such sciences as geology and astronomy, is still so regarded in psychology, and in the wider science of anthropology. But who is to say that science may be allowed to speak about the material universe, but must hold her peace when man is involved? Are we to suppose that there is one exception to be remembered when we liberally concede that the Bible

does not anticipate modern science? Must we hold that the Bible does anticipate one science, the science of anthropology?

Certainly this is 'different,' as some may be ready to object, but it is not really so within the limits which science must observe. The essential value of the Genesis narratives of the origin of man lies in the clearness with which they teach that man is a spiritual being, and has spiritual relations with God his Creator. Apart from that, man has a bodily existence, and has had a history. Into these science must investigate and report.

The Pauline anthropology properly understood is chiefly to be found in the Epistle to the Romans, in the discussion which occurs under the head of 'Adam and Christ.' The apostle's statements concerning Christ's redeeming work are there expressed in terms of the Pentateuchal narratives of the Fall and the Dispensation of the Mosaic Law. This bearing upon his doctrine of the Atonement intensifies the interest with which we inquire whether the growing competence and authority of the modern Science of Man do not necessitate reinterpretation or even restatement of St. Paul's doctrine of man, and whether it is possible adequately to present the Work of Christ in terms prescribed by Jewish anthropology. Types and shadows are useful before the event, but may be so used after the event as to obscure the truth. Types when 'fulfilled' ought to 'withdraw,' and allow the truth to shine in its own light. It is obvious why

the apostle argues as he does. A Jew himself, he was writing for Jews or for Gentiles who were, or would be, indoctrinated in Jewish ideas. Jewish anthropology finds its principles in Genesis. St. Paul built, as he must, on the foundation already laid. He explains Christ in terms of Adam. This was useful, but is perhaps not quite so useful in the twentieth century as it was in the first. Our science is not that of Genesis. In so far as they are different, is not revision of the Pauline argumentation indicated?

The grand consideration is that in formulating the most central and vital Christian doctrines, we ought to make Christ Himself our point of departure instead of obscure and doubtful analogies. It is obvious that Mosaic narratives colour the Pauline statement of the farthest reaching Christian doctrines. Accordingly, it is a needful and inviting task to disentangle these and see what the result promises to be. There is no cause for alarm. The Bible was not destroyed by the vindication of the Copernican astronomy. Should one interpose, 'Yes, but that was a small and remote consideration, whereas now you are touching the central doctrine of the Christian faith,' I reply, 'That is certainly a reason for proceeding reverently and humbly; but is not the call to go forward the louder and clearer precisely because what is most central is alleged to suffer obscuration by artificialities and unrealities?' There misconception is most fatal. Such hidden rocks have been largely responsible for heresy and schism in the history of the Church.

At this stage it will be advantageous temporarily to alter our point of view somewhat. The assumption which, it may be supposed, underlies my remarks hitherto is that there is the closest possible connexion between Pauline doctrine and the Adamic narratives, and that the latter is of the very essence of the former. The validity of this assumption is, however, an interesting previous question.

Does St. Paul then substantially build his doctrine of the Work of Christ on the Mosaic accounts of the first man, the appearance of sin, and the giving of the Law? Is it absolutely necessary in order to appreciate his doctrine of Christ to look at it in the light of these? Is the Adamic side of his equation as important as the Christian, indeed in a sense more important, because coming first it determines the issue? It delimits the ground. It sets the problem. It

prescribes the reference in which alone the Christian factor is to be considered. But this reference may be limited, temporary, accidental. A logical fallacy must be guarded against. The antecedent of a conditional proposition does not so limit the consequent. Granted that 'If A is, B is,' B is not dependent on A only. There may be other preconditions as valid as A. It does not follow that, 'If A is not, B is not.' I wish to suggest that the Christian side of St. Paul's equation may not be inseparably limited to the Adamic, but has an independent value, and may be dwarfed by the narrow issue presented to it.

I venture to think that the Adamic element is by no means an unquestionably essential factor in St. Paul's doctrine of Christ, being rather used for the purpose of illustration and, so far as it is an argument, applied *ad hominem*, with the implication that its force could only be local and temporary. If this can be shown, it is another welcome evidence that what is of eternal moment in the Word of God is not finally and inextricably bound up with elements of pre-scientific knowledge which were foredoomed to wax old and vanish away.

In order to examine this question as to the dependence of the Pauline doctrine, it is proper to take the strongest and most explicit statements of the apostle. The classical passage is Ro 5<sup>12,21</sup>. The first thing we notice is that sin is said to have entered the world as an act of transgression, the penal consequence of which was death. St. Paul says, 'Death passed unto all men, for that all sinned,' implying, I suppose, that Adam's descendants died either like Adam himself for their actual transgressions, or by reason of imputed guilt, or both together. The apostle remarks upon the fact that 'until the law, sin was in the world,' and immediately interjects an argument to which I attach importance for my present purpose. He adds: 'But sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression.' Mark that 'nevertheless.' Clearly it is meant to bring into sharp contrast two statements apparently irreconcilable. If sin was not imputed 'until' Moses, we should have expected that death would not 'reign' between Adam and Moses. But it did: that is the point. Now, why is this *crux* introduced into the middle of the argument, which is even injured thereby? The



fact which the apostle wishes to emphasize is that sin and universal death entered through Adam, and yet he immediately makes the damaging admission that sin could not be imputed prior to the Law. Why is this thrown in? It seems to me that we have not here a serious logical argument at all. The well-known passage in Galatians about 'seed' and 'seeds' may be compared with it. It is rather a very loose piece of dialectic, the object of which is, not to ground Christ upon Adam, but using Adam as an offset and contrast, to make manifest the superiority of the Christian Dispensation to the Adamic. The ruling ideas are, 'Sin and universal death by Adam: forgiveness and life to all by Christ.' The key to the curious twist in the argument is to be found in the words, 'But not as the trespass, so also is the free gift.' The method of argument, if argument it can be called, is this: St. Paul welcomes the very worst that can be said about the Adamic Dispensation, in order, by contrast, to magnify the grace of Christ. He aggravates the case as much as he can. He points out how hardly the old *régime* bore upon men, more hardly even than seems reasonable, inasmuch as, although sin was not imputed prior to the Law, nevertheless death, the punishment of sin, fell. Why was this? Well, the apostle is not concerned about the justice of it. He confesses to not seeing the *rationale*. The fact was enough for him, and the more oppressive it was, the better for his purpose, which is to blacken the old Dispensation and make his readers glad to pass out from under it. So he parades the fact that men died although they had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression, and even although sin was not imputed prior to the Law. This is quite in St. Paul's manner. He is piling up a case against the Covenant of Works, and leaves no stone unturned or unhurled. Hence the unction with which he says, 'But not as the trespass, so also the free gift.' White shows well against black. The darker the black, the fairer the white. Adam wrought death, which devastated even beyond the bounds which reason and justice seem to set. Christ came that all might have life, and have it abundantly. What is urged to the disparagement of the first Adam, redounds to the greater glory of the Second.

If this representation is just, if the Adamic references are illustrative matter rather than of the substance of St. Paul's Christian doctrine,

clearly there is the less of hazard in proceeding to consider the question with which we set out, and to which we now return, namely, how far our Christian doctrine, being Pauline, is intertwined with these Adamic representations, and stands in need of disentanglement. Take the doctrine of imputed sin and guilt by reason of Adam's transgression. There is a corresponding Christian doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, which is undoubtedly modelled upon it. Christ's Work is expounded in terms of Adam's. Now, in any case, is not this to commit the fault of explaining *obscurum per obscurius*? And if the representation now given of the slight connexion between Pauline doctrine and the Adamic and Legal matter is correct, this procedure is as unnecessary as it is perilous. It may lead us to be more Pauline than Paul. It is a remarkable fact that 'the apostle nowhere speaks of the righteousness of Christ being imputed, nor does he anywhere identify the righteousness of God given to faith with the righteousness of Christ.'<sup>1</sup> It has been pointed out that he even seems to avoid this way of speaking, when naturally he would use it if it expressed his thought. Thus: 'Not having a righteousness of mine own, even that which is of the law, but'—and here, where he might be expected to say, 'the righteousness of Christ,' what he actually says is, 'that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.' St. Paul's phrase is not 'the righteousness of Christ,' but 'the righteousness of God,' a righteousness which God gives to those who 'believe in Jesus.' Bruce avers that the Pauline idea of justification is best expressed 'as a judicial act whereby God regards as righteous those who trust His grace as manifested in the atoning death of Christ'; and he cites Weiss as maintaining that the idea of God imputing to men the righteousness of Christ does not belong to the Pauline system of thought. Professor Stevens appends the following note to his chapter on Justification in his recent *Theology of the New Testament*: 'That the old theological formula, "the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer," does not correctly render Paul's thought of justification is now so generally recognized by exegetes that I have not thought it necessary to refer to it in the text.'

This short discussion has been introduced in

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Bruce, *Expositor*, August 1893, p. 86; republished under the title of *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*.



support of my general contention that St. Paul's statements of Christian doctrine are not really limited and conditioned by his illustrative references to Adam. These are rather dialectical expedients, embroideries which effectively set off a theme which is independent. The Christian side of the equation is separable from the Adamic, and its signification will be obscured unless it is read apart, as thus: 'The grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ (did), abound unto the many.'<sup>1</sup> 'They that receive the

<sup>1</sup> Ro 5<sup>15</sup>.

abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness (shall) reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ,'<sup>2</sup> and so on. Danger enters when the 'How?' of this is sought by means of such expressions, as 'through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners.' If these are made the starting-point, divers strange doctrines of imputation result. If the independence of the Christian side of the equation is recognized, a more spiritual reading of Christ's Work becomes possible.

<sup>2</sup> Ro 5<sup>17</sup>.

## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

EVENING THOUGHTS. BY THE REV. PATON J. GLOAG, D.D., LL.D. (*T. & T. Clark*. Crown 8vo, pp. 294. 4s.)

Dr. Paton Gloag has been a preacher of the gospel for fifty years. He would have been a poor preacher indeed if at the end of that time he could not have found thirty sermons worth publishing. For most of us, perhaps, thirty is enough. Some men are inspired to new purpose and surpassing power every time they preach. Most men are inspired and powerful once a year. As for Dr. Paton Gloag we judge by these thirty, and this is what we find: He knew the gospel early, and he never swerved from it; he preached what he believed; and he kept learning right on till the end. So the clearest note in these thirty is conviction of the truth as it is in Jesus; but that note is presented out of the variety of a broad, sympathetic, spiritual mind.

TRUTH AND REALITY. BY JOHN SMYTH, M.A., D.PHIL. (*T. & T. Clark*. Crown 8vo, pp. 261. 4s.)

The title is not attractive. But the book is. There is something new in it. Professor Flint says it is not new to him, but it will be new to most of us. And it is true. Professor Flint himself says it is true, and deserves beyond most truths great emphasis to-day. And we see that it is true when we have caught it. What is it? That is another matter. What it is has taken Dr. Smyth two hundred and fifty pages to tell. We have read the book and re-read some of it (having

taken it, on Professor Flint's recommendation, for a railway journey, and found the book done before the journey), but we cannot put it into a sentence. It shows quite conclusively how incapable is every form of naturalism of explaining the things we see and know; it shows quite restfully how inevitable is the entrance of the spiritual and how universal its application.

ERAS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. THE REFORMATION. BY WILLISTON WALKER. (*T. & T. Clark*. Crown 8vo, pp. 488. 6s.)

With this volume the series of 'Eras' ends. It has been discovered by not a few, no doubt; but it may be suspected that the unfamiliar names (for most of the writers are Americans) have blinded some to the literary value of the series. One volume—Mr. Bartlet's *Apostolic Age*—by a most accomplished English scholar, was at once recognized as having passed all competitors on that much travelled road. But we are still too insular in our theology. And we are still too monarchical. A great name, if it is the name of an Englishman, is necessary to catch our eye even yet.

And so it may be that this stately, masterly history of the Reformation, in which the whole extent of the greatest period in the Christian centuries is described, may pass unnoticed by those by whom its blessing is most needed. It contains no offence. For history speaks and not the author. It is an almost faultless example of descriptive narrative.

A MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY. BY ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D. (*American Baptist Pub. Soc.* Vol. I. Crown 8vo, pp. 654. \$2.25.)

The Professor of Church History in M<sup>c</sup>Master University has already become known in this country through his *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*. But this new volume will carry his name into new places. It is a student's book. The whole ground is to be covered from the days of the Maccabees to our own. And even before the Maccabees enter there are two chapters, the one on the study of Church History, the other on the Græco-Roman Civilization. The ground is covered in short sketches. The sketches are well packed with information, and yet well arranged so that the leading matters are seen in immediate prominence. The judgments are always well informed, and nearly always just. Of bias there is little evidence. Finally, each chapter is headed by a well-sifted bibliography, in which both German and English books have a reasonable share of attention.

It is, we say, a student's book. Perhaps at present it is *the* student's book. It is such a book as an energetic teacher could use with good results. And it is time that we had some good results from the teaching of Church History.

TYPES OF CHRISTIAN LIFE. BY E. GRIFFITH-JONES, B.A. (*Clarke*. Pott 8vo, pp. 141. 1s. 6d.)

There is the intellectual man, there is the devotional, and the practical. They are found in the Bible and out of it. They give parts of the Christian character, they do not give the whole. The whole is found in Christ. Let Christ be formed in our hearts by faith, and all the types of the Christian life will be found in us, and in most attractive harmony.

An Introduction to the Syntax of the New Testament—a clever book though badly printed—has been published in paper by Mr. Dearing of Louisville (50 cents net). Its author is Professor A. T. Robertson of the same city. We hope Mr. Robertson will get it issued in better form, for it is needed.

STUDIES OF ARIANISM. BY HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A., D.D. (*Deighton Bell*. 8vo, pp. 339. 10s. net.)

Professor Gwatkin, with his unconquerable modesty, tells us that this second edition is in the

main a reprint of the first. Even if that were so, few would grudge, Professor Gwatkin's first editions being better than most men's last. For his sensitiveness to truth is only equalled by the terse exactitude of his language. Into a page he will put more thought and more impulse to thought than other men into ten pages, and yet it is all easy reading. No writer in the *Dictionary of the Bible* has put out the ordinary reviewer so completely. The ordinary reviewer says, 'We should have expected a fuller treatment of such and such a subject.' But the student of the subject does not say that. He finds every problem considered, every writing read, all that can be said said, and the rest left open.

So even if this edition were a reprint of the first we should have great treasure. We should still have the only treatment of Arianism that combines utmost judgment with utmost scholarship in lucid language. But Professor Gwatkin has wrought over the book and taken account of all the literature on the subject published since his first edition appeared in 1882.

ALFRED THE WEST SAXON. BY DUGALD MACFADYEN, M.A. (*Dent*. Crown 8vo, pp. 388.)

Dr. R. F. Horton has undertaken to edit a series of biographies. For he holds the saying of the late Master of Balliol true, that more good may be done in the future by writing the lives of men and women than by set treatises in theology and morals. The biographies will be of saints. But Dr. Horton does not mean those whom Rome has canonized. His saints he hopes to find in sects and denominations which Rome would shudder to associate with. He will not scrutinise the sect, he will scrutinise the saint. And he will get the biography written whenever he finds one wearing 'the white flower of a blameless life.'

The first is Alfred the Great. The choice is perfect—the saint was nearly so. The choice is perfect because we all agree that Alfred was great in goodness as in arms. In Alfred as in Victoria it was the union of head and heart that made the greatness so surpassing. And, moreover, we have just had Alfred's millenary.

The book is nearly as good as the choice. Gossipy in style,—for it is our Alfred, and we may be familiar with him without the risk of contempt,—the book catches the flavour of the old gossipy chronicler. We have his charm without

the labour of translating him. But there is more in the book than that. There is a history of Alfred and there is a steady flow of ethical impulse, the writer never being afraid to say that Alfred served God and was not forsaken.

There are some good illustrations. The whole appearance of the book indeed is attractive. Will Dr. Horton do always as well with his series as this? We doubt if he will. We doubt if he can.

Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, keeping close to the Book of books with which they are so honourably associated, have just issued three volumes. The first is *The Child's Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*, by Ernest Esdaile (1s. 6d.)—a beautiful little volume with a frontispiece showing a sturdy curly-headed fellow in the throes of childish prayer. The second is *The Crimson Letter Testament*, with all the words spoken by our Lord printed in red. It is published at prices from 2s. 3d. upwards. The third is a *New Illustrated Bible*, containing fifty illustrations in colour based on photographs of places in Egypt and Palestine. Each picture is explained by an experienced writer on the lands of the Bible. The prices begin so low as 3s. 6d.

*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* have this year taken a new start in two respects. First, in appearing like the Cambridge 'Texts and Studies' in paper parts, and next, in giving a translation pure and simple of an ancient ecclesiastical writing. The writing is the *Life of St. Nino* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 88, 3s. 6d.). It tells the story of the conversion to Christianity of Georgia. The text is taken from the standard collection of Lives of Georgian Saints. The translation is by Marjory Wardrop and J. O. Wardrop. We could have welcomed a longer introduction, but the essentials are in it, and we are not kept from the story itself, which is full of interest.

#### THE CHURCH AND NEW CENTURY PROBLEMS.

EDITED BY W. J. HOCKING. (*Wells Gardner*. Crown 8vo, pp. 190. 2s. 6d.)

The Christian Social Union has great possibilities in it. The men it has are great—the Bishop of Durham at their head. Their ideas are great, and so is their determination. And above all, they build upon a rock, and that rock is Christ. In the

end of the century Mr. Hocking brought some of the members of the Christian Social Union to All Saints' Church, Tufnell Park, and bade them speak on the Empire, the State, the Municipality, Overcrowding and Housing, Temperance, the Rural Problem, Trade Unionism, and the Christian Social Union itself. What they said he has now published. And he has done well; for the men have personality, and even on the printed page their words glow with conviction.

*The Ascent through Christ*, a study of evolution in its bearing on religion, by Mr. Griffith-Jones, has had so good a reception that the publishers are able to issue it in a cheaper form (Hodder & Stoughton, crown 8vo, pp. 495, 3s. 6d.). Its rapid circulation proves two things—the interest in the religious aspects of evolution and the fitness of this book to meet it.

WITH CHRIST AT SEA. BY FRANK T. BULLEN. *Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 322. 6s.)

This is not the most affecting of Mr. Bullen's books, but it is affecting enough. We speak of things that make angels weep. It is only the angels who see such things as are related here, and how could they help but weep? Man's inhumanity to man—yes, but man's inhumanity to children—for he was but a child when they sought to destroy him, body and soul, at first—is surely more maddening still. But the angels never weep in vain. Christ was found at sea, and Christ at sea made all suffering to be counted as dung. Thereafter, what a thrilling narrative it becomes of witness for Christ. This is the use of it. Not that we should waste idle tears now when they can do no good,—the angels have done the weeping for us,—but that we should see how halting a thing our witness is; and especially discover that the sole secret of Christian joy is conscious hourly enjoyment of Christ.

Continuing his 'Sermon Seed' Series, Mr. Tinling has issued *Sermons on the Psalms* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1s. 6d.) They are 'skeletons' (do not shudder, there is a little flesh and blood, and even a little clothing) of famous men's sermons. For the best sermons may be boiled down, and the residue served up without asking leave of their authors. Mr. Tinling is a master of the whole art and manufacture.



The eleventh volume of *The Preacher's Magazine* has been published (Kelly, 8vo, pp. 580, 5s.). Since its commencement the Preacher's Magazine has been edited by Mr. A. E. Gregory (having Mr. Mark Guy Pearse as senior and sleeping partner) with rare clearness of purpose. The 'local preacher' is ever in his eye, and if the 'local preacher' cannot make good sermons having this magazine to work upon, he should step down.

Mr. Kelly has published a new and cheap edition of the *Memoir of William F. Moulton* (3s. 6d.), the distinguished Principal of the Leys School in Cambridge. It is not necessary to review it fully now. Perhaps the chapter of widest interest is the one on Dr. Moulton's biblical work. It contains information about the Revision of the New Testament and Apocrypha, as well as about the new marginal references to the Bible, which cannot be got elsewhere, besides revealing a most earnest, unselfish devotion to the sacred science. But the whole book may be read by anybody, and with deep interest.

Messrs. Longmans have issued a fourth edition, revised, of Canon Gore's *The Church and the Ministry* (crown 8vo, pp. 416, 6s. net). It contains a new preface, and the whole book has been worked over and brought up to date. The new material discovered since the issue of the first edition has received its place and been allowed its influence. And there are modifications of the earlier positions that are not all due to discovery. For Canon Gore is one of the most open-minded of modern ecclesiastics. In truth, there is not a great deal in this book that a well-instructed Presbyterian, for example, would reject. Even the doctrine of Apostolic Succession he would not wholly deny. Certainly he would not cut off Canon Gore from the benefit of it. But when he finds that Canon Gore cuts him off, he bears no grudge, for he sees how sorrowfully he does it. In its new edition the book will be yet more widely read and fondly cherished. Its wonderful combination of candour, fetter, and scholarship give it a place in our interest that only the rarest books attain to.

Dr. Hort is dead, but through his *Village Sermons* he preaches still. He preaches to congregations in India and elsewhere. One of the Indian

congregations, having found some of the sermons in that volume especially applicable, have desired their separate publication. It has been granted. So now we have a small cheap volume of discourses picked out of the larger one, covering the whole Bible, and making it very intelligible. Their title is *Sermons on the Books of the Bible* (Macmillan, crown 8vo, pp. 151, 4s. 6d.).

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have issued the new volume of *The King's Highway*. The general editor is the Rev. John Brash, of the Bible Christian Church, and he is associated with editors from all the rest of the Wesleyan Churches. The magazine is more popular and more devotional than the *Preacher's Magazine*. It contains many good, quiet, practical papers.

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have also published a volume of encouragements to and examples of Faith-healing (1s.). It is written by Dr. Thomas Payne. Its title is *Ministry of Divine Helpfulness*.

MANUAL OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY ON THE INDUCTIVE METHOD. BY NATHANAEL BURWASH, S.T.D., LL.D. (*Hgrace Marshall*. Crown 8vo, Two Vols., pp. 553, 411. 12s.)

'On the Inductive Method'—what is that? Canon Moberly tells us that we have been working too long on the inductive method. He would have us get back to the deductive method and predispositions. Dr. Burwash, the President of Victoria College, Toronto, believes that in theology at least the inductive method has never had a chance. We have found God in the fulness of His perfections (never mind where we found Him), and then we have worked off all His necessary attributes, acts, and affections. He does so and so, not because we see or feel that He does so and so, but because He must do so and so, being what He is. That is the deductive method.

Let us have done with the deductive method, says President Burwash. Let us begin with the things we have actually seen and heard, and as we gather them together, let us find both God and man.

But where do we find these things? Ultimately, says Dr. Burwash, from God Himself; for he believes right heartily in revelation. Yes, but how do we touch God and get to know them? By faith, says Dr. Burwash. And that is the whole matter. That is the secret of the novelty

and ability of this book. An unbeliever may write on theology, but only a believer can write a theological manual on the inductive method. By the touch of faith he has tasted and seen. By faith his hands have handled. The Son of God has been revealed in him. He writes of the things he knows.

Now, it cannot be denied that, in the name of faith, great moral and intellectual absurdities have been produced. Dr. Burwash enlarges the sphere of faith. The faith that builds up a theology has many things to do. It yields personal communion with God; it secures the harmony of the holy, the beautiful, and the good; it is rational, the faith of a being who is rational; and it is built on historic fact.

So Dr. Burwash has written an original, powerful, moving, saving book. It looks as if, in the Queen of the Sciences, America were again to take the lead.

Messrs. Horace Marshall have published the second part of the *Twentieth Century New Testament*. It is a translation into modern English of Westcott and Hort's text. This part contains the Pauline Epistles (1s.). A little (sometimes more than a little) liberty has to be taken with the text to make the translation quite modern. A little exposition has also to be done. But after that all goes well. And the result is not only less offensive than was feared, but altogether inoffensive and very helpful. The outward form is not attractive. That may be of purpose, to make it look as like a modern book as possible. If so, it was not necessary and it is not wise.

Mr. Melrose has published the fourth edition of *Field-Marshal Lord Roberts* (1s. net). We had almost forgotten him. For the war is not over, and the Queen is dead. But he will come again. And this is the loving record of a great good man.

HOW WE GOT OUR PRAYER-BOOK. By T. W. DRURY, B.D. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 136. 2s.)

This is a very valuable little book, the work of a most conscientious scholar, without prejudice, but with much reverential feeling. Whatever your position is, this book will do you good. Get books with this accuracy of information and inner truthfulness into our schools.

Another volume of *The Biblical Illustrator* has been issued (*Nisbet*, 8vo, pp. 641, 7s. 6d.). It contains 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, and each book is paged separately. The books it covers are among the least useful for homiletical purposes of all the books of the Bible. But they are certainly neglected far too much. This book will help to remove the reproach. It is prepared with great skill and patience.

CHINA'S ONLY HOPE. BY CHANG CHIH-TUNG. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 151. 3s. 6d.)

This remarkable volume will do more than a hundred English books to impress us with the greatness of the Chinese problem. And it will reveal more of the resources that lie in China itself for its solution.

This man's ideas are great and workable. If only he could gather out of the millions of China a sufficient number round him to form a public sentiment, China would save herself.

A volume of *Short Studies* in the Gospels has been published by the Rev. John Smith, B.D., minister of Partick, through Messrs. Oliphant (crown 8vo, pp. 254, 3s. 6d.). The volume contains forty sermons, carefully divided into heads, and earnestly ending in applications.

The Open Court Publishing Company of Chicago have issued the fourth edition of Cornill's *Prophets of Israel* in English (25 cents). It is perhaps the most convenient summary of modern criticism of the prophets in our tongue. In any case, Cornill is so outstanding that he has to be known by every Old Testament student.

The forty-sixth yearly volume of the *Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit* has been published (Passmore & Alabaster, 8vo, pp. 624, 7s.). It is not one whit behind the great array that have gone before it in pith or persuasiveness. Just as if he were alive, just as if he had preached these sermons yesterday, Spurgeon speaks in them still. For the evangelical sermon, if it is not falsely so-called, is bound by no chains of time or circumstance.

The late Dr. William Landels was preparing a volume of comfortable words for mourners when death came. The words comforted those who

mourned himself, and out of them they have made a selection for other mourners. It is called *Until the Day Break* (R.T.S., pp. 160). There is more thought in it than there is in most books of this kind. There is preparation for the day of mourning as well as comfort in it. There is also the communication of a spirit of childlike trust.

Canon Newbolt has issued an edition of *S. Matthew's Gospel* for schools (Rivingtons, 2s. 6d.). It is more elementary and more 'teachy' (if the terrible word will be forgiven) than the Cambridge series. There is an occasional touch of something other than the exegete, as when fasting is enforced from the words, 'When the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, then shall they fast.' Does Canon Newbolt not have the Bridegroom with him? There is, among other good things for the teacher, an excellent table of the events of the Passion Week.

The compiler of *The Tool-Basket*, and other effective aids to pulpit and platform preparation, has thrown us all under another debt of gratitude by the issue of *The Evangelist's Wallet* (Simpkin, 1s.). Its contents are 'Outline Sermons for Adults, Children's Addresses, Bible Talks, and Temperance Chats.'

The Rev. David Davies has published through Messrs. Simpkin an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* 'retold for the young.' The book consists of a series of 'Talks with Children' on the Pilgrim, in which not only is the story retold but its lessons are made plain and applicable. The illustrations by D. R. Warry are new, and not unworthy of a place in so great a succession.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE. By GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D., LL.D. (*Smith, Elder, & Co.* Crown 8vo, pp. 353. 6s.)

The 'Historical Series for Bible Students,' edited by Professor Kent and Professor Sanders, has all along been on fairly conservative lines, but this volume is conservative in the superlative degree. Dr. Purves accepts nothing new. He considers the work that has been done on the Apostolic Age in our time only to reject it. In actual knowledge we stand just where our fathers did, and Professor Ramsay need never have been born.

Why should it seem a thing incredible to Dr. Purves that his own generation could add to our knowledge of the early Church? If he had lived in his father's day, he would, no doubt, in like manner, have rejected the discoveries that were made then. Carry him back far enough and scatter him widely enough, and we should find the world standing still since the Creation. No doubt Dr. Purves is entitled to his opinion. But there is bias when a man rejects everything new. Sometimes it is difficult to say if Dr. Purves knows, he has such a way of ignoring things. On the whole, it is probable that he does. But that does not make him less a transgressor.

OLD AND NEW CERTAINTY OF THE GOSPEL. By ALEXANDER ROBINSON, M.A., B.D. (*Williams & Norgate*. Crown 8vo, pp. 165. 2s. 6d.)

This book by Mr. Robinson deserves to be carefully read. It goes right against some of our most cherished evangelical beliefs, but it is not offensive in the same way as was the earlier book for which he lost his place in the ministry of the Church of Scotland. It is quiet and it is earnest. What troubles Mr. Robinson most is the doctrine of total depravity. Its existence is due, he believes, to a method of interpreting Scripture, which he calls Literalism—a method to which are due most of the doctrines he disbelieves; and of total depravity he says, 'Where Literalism guides, this conclusion may be logically reached; but it is neither Pauline nor properly Biblical, and it is not true.' In place of Literalism, Mr. Robinson wishes to use the light that lighteth every man who still comes into the world.

### Nestle's 'Introduction.'<sup>1</sup>

It is an extraordinary thing that no one has arisen to supersede Scrivener till now. Scrivener alone has been an adequate Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. But his position, with all his learning and candour, has been antiquated since the issue of Westcott and Hort. And it is amazing, we say, that though many arose to give us small beginners' books, no one has spent himself on the great and fascinating task of

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*. By Eberhard Nestle, Ph. and Th.D. Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi, 351, with 9 plates. 10s. 6d.



preparing a complete Introduction on the new and acknowledged principles.

The task has been left to Professor Nestlé of Maulbronn. We have no living scholar more capable of accomplishing it. The two requisites, minute verbal accuracy and vivid perception of law and order, are exceptionally united in him. His delight in far-stretching principles is unbounded, but it never tempts him to eschew laborious days. How often has he charmed the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES with his luminous discoveries in New Testament study! Every discovery has been made in the course of a strictly scientific research. And in this special department of New Testament study he has proved himself a prince by his edition of the Greek New Testament, which we believe to be the best working edition in existence.

This book will stand the most rigorous scrutiny; it will surpass the highest expectation. No point seems forgotten, none undervalued or overdone. The arrangement is lucid. Detail never impedes progress. The only adverse criticism that can come to the book is from those who value this or that manuscript more or less than Professor Nestlé does.

The volume is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the History of the Printed Text since 1514; the second with the Materials for the Textual Criticism of the New Testament; and the third with the Theory and Praxis of Textual Criticism. Then follow Critical Notes on various passages, a most valuable portion of the volume, extending from p. 247 to p. 335 in the translation. Two appendixes, an Index of Subjects, and an Index of Texts close the book.

The translation is by the Rev. William Edie, B.D., King Edward. It is edited by Professor Menzies of St. Andrews, whose information about Professor Nestlé and his published works will be welcome to English readers.

### Dr. Russel Wallace's 'Studies.'<sup>1</sup>

INTO these two volumes Dr. Wallace has gathered his periodical articles of the last thirty-five years.

<sup>1</sup> *Studies: Scientific and Social.* By Alfred Russel Wallace, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S. Macmillan. Crown 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 547, 543. 18s.

The range of their subjects is apparently pretty wide, but a little consideration gives unity to the mass. Perhaps it would be nearest the mark to say that the word 'evolution' stands in the centre. On the one side are studies that seem to belong purely to natural science, on the other studies that are social and ethical. The theory of evolution embraces both.

Of the studies that belong more strictly to natural science there may be named as particularly valuable (1) 'The Ice Age and its Work,' originally contributed to the *Fortnightly*; (2) 'The Disguises of Insects,' from *Science Gossip*; (3) 'The Beetles of Madeira and their Teachings,' a paper read before the Entomological Society of London. Next in the theory of evolution itself may be specially noted the articles on the 'Origin of Species and Genera,' from the *Nineteenth Century*; 'Are acquired Characters inherited?' from the *Fortnightly*, and 'The Method of Organic Evolution,' from the same magazine. Then the land opens out. There are seven articles described as 'Educational' (but it is always education as an evolutionist regards it—'How to civilize Savages,' for example); eight called 'Political,' in which the farthest limit from evolution is reached, as in the paper on 'A Representative House of Lords'; four on the 'Land Problem'; three 'Ethical'; and seven 'Sociological.'

The articles in Natural Science are illustrated. Dr. Wallace has ranged the world and tormented his friends to furnish us with the best illustrations possible. And they are the best. The first paper of all is on 'Inaccessible Valleys.' It appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for March 1893. But here it is illuminated by seven most delicate and appropriate engravings, making it (apart from the careful revision it has received) as different from the original article as a man is from a monkey. The long article on 'Monkeys' (from the *Contemporary* for December 1881) is less beautifully but yet more fully illustrated, and the illustrations are chosen with perfect knowledge.

Ethical and social subjects do not admit of pictorial illustration. But Dr. Wallace counts it simply waste of paper to publish writing that is difficult to read. His articles were more intelligible than most men's before. But he has gone over every one of them again and added incidents and examples wherever the least obscurity or dullness seemed to remain. The result is that in

these volumes, be the subject what it may, the most exact scientific knowledge is obtained with the least possible effort or annoyance.

It need not be said that we do not agree with Dr. Wallace on every point. Who do we agree with on every point? We do not agree wholly

with his notions on Sabbath observance; we do not agree at all with his notions on Spiritualism. But we know now that it is the books we do not wholly agree with that we learn most from. We reckon these volumes none the less profitable and none the less pleasurable on that account.

## What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., HON. PHIL. DR. (HALLE-WITTENBERG), LL.D. (ST. AND.).

### III.

#### The Gospel of Luke.

15<sup>13</sup>.—‘and there squandered his substance, because he was living wastefully *with harlots*’ (with the Curetonian). This is perhaps an addition from v.<sup>30</sup>.

15<sup>25</sup>.—‘piping and symphony,’ instead of ‘music and dancing.’ The Curetonian version is here deficient; but we observe with some interest that the Peshitta and the Palestinian Syriac also omit ‘dancing.’ Greek and Roman ideas on the subject are to this day very different from Arab ones. Nothing can be more beautiful than the open air dances of maidens which we have witnessed on the sward of Parnassus or of the Peloponnesus. The men of the village look on, listening to the song which accompanies the gliding movements of the girls, choosing mayhap their brides as they watch. Modern Oriental ideas of dancing are confined to the performances of the nautch-girl and the ‘alimah.’

\*16<sup>6</sup>.—Instead of ‘Take thy bond, and sit down quickly, and write fifty,’ we have ‘And he (*i.e.* the steward) sat down quickly, and wrote them fifty.’ Also in v.<sup>8</sup>, ‘and he sat down immediately [and] wrote them fourscore.’ At a period of the world’s history when ordinary folk could not read, it seems more natural that the steward should do the writing himself.

16<sup>11</sup>.—‘who will commit to you *the truth*?’ τὴν ἀλήθειαν (with the Peshitta).

16<sup>16</sup>.—‘and every man *presseth* into it.’ The Syriac word does not imply violence. This clause is omitted in Codex Sinaiticus. Codex Vercellensis has ‘all hasten into it.’

\*16<sup>19</sup>.—‘A fine robe’ for ‘fine linen.’

16<sup>20</sup>.—Lazarus is ‘a certain poor man,’ instead of ‘a certain beggar.’ And as such he seems more entitled to our respect. We begin to entertain a faint hope that the Charity Organization Society would not have improved him away. It is the same in v.<sup>22</sup>. The Greek πτωχός may mean a beggar, but I have heard the Arabic equivalent of the Syriac *meskin* (Fr. *mesquin*) applied to a person who was simply unhappy. The Peshitta, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic have the equivalent of *pauper*, the Curetonian being deficient. Some Old Latin MSS have *pauper* and some *mendicus*.

\*16<sup>25</sup>.—‘Son,’ is omitted in the reply of Abraham. This may perhaps be significant.

\*17<sup>10</sup>.—‘So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say ye, We are servants: what was our duty to do we have done.’ The word ‘unprofitable’ is here omitted. (Note in connexion with Mt 6<sup>7</sup> that the Syriac word for it in the Peshitta is *battila*). Good servants are very far from being unprofitable. So we suspect that the word has crept into the Greek codices through the excessive humility of some ancient scribe. God surely does not despise our obedience.

\*17<sup>21</sup>.—‘for behold the kingdom of God is *amongst* you,’ not ‘within you.’

\*17<sup>24</sup>.—‘For as the lightning lighteneth from end to end of heaven, so shall be the day of the Son of Man.’ This is a little more concise than the usual ending.

\*17<sup>28</sup>.—‘they planted, they builded,’ is omitted.

17<sup>36</sup> disagrees with our English Revisers,

and with Westcott and Hort, by retaining 'and two shall be in the field; one (masculine gender) shall be taken, and one shall be left.' Our codex must be added to the 'some ancient authorities' of the margin. But this is an exceptional instance (with Codex Bezae, the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and some Old Latin MSS).

\*18<sup>5</sup>.—'I will avenge her, lest at the last she should come and *take hold of me*.' We cannot attempt to explain this, unless the unjust judge was haunted by a dread of what the widow could do, the more fearsome because it was vague.

18<sup>16</sup>.—'kingdom of *heaven*,' instead of 'kingdom of God' (with the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and some Old Latin MSS).

\*18<sup>17</sup>.—'kingdom of heaven.'

18<sup>20</sup>.—The sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments are placed in their proper order. Thus, 'Thou shalt not kill, and thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal,' etc. (with the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and some Old Latin MSS).

18<sup>24</sup>.—'When Jesus saw that he was sorrowful, he said' (with Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Bezae, and other ancient Greek MSS, the Old Latin version, the Curetonian, and the Peshitta).

\*19<sup>15</sup>.—'Having received the kingdom,' is omitted.

\*19<sup>22</sup>.—'*faithless* servant,' instead of 'thou wicked servant.'

19<sup>25</sup>.—'And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds,' is omitted (with Codd. Bezae and Veronensis).

19<sup>33</sup>.—'the owners thereof said unto them, Why loose ye the colt?' is omitted (with Codex Bezae and the Curetonian).

19<sup>39</sup>.—'*Good* teacher, rebuke thy disciples, *that they shout not*' (almost with the Curetonian).

19<sup>43</sup>.—'shall cast up a bank about thee,' is omitted (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

20<sup>9</sup>.—'and surrounded it with a hedge,' is added. It has probably come here from Mt 21<sup>33</sup>.

20<sup>11</sup>.—'and handled him shamefully,' is omitted (with Codex Vercellensis).

\*20<sup>16, 17</sup>.—Instead of 'And when they heard it, they said, God forbid. But he looked upon them, and said, What then is this that is written,' etc., we have, 'When they heard these things, they knew certainly that he spake this parable about them. But he beheld them and said, What is this then

that is written,' etc. This seems to be an echo of Mk 12<sup>12</sup>.

20<sup>24</sup>.—'*Why tempt ye me?* Show me a penny' (with Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Bezae, the Curetonian, and the Peshitta).

20<sup>34</sup>.—'The children of this world *beget and go on begetting*, and marry and are given in marriage' (a reading somewhat like this is found in Codex Bezae, some of the Old Latin MSS, and the Curetonian).

\*20<sup>36</sup>.—'and are sons of God,' is omitted.

20<sup>37</sup>.—Instead of 'in the bush, when he calleth,' we have 'when God spake with him from the bush, and said' (with the Curetonian).

20<sup>46</sup>.—'which desire to walk in *the porches*,' instead of 'in long robes,' *i.e.* *στοαῖς* for *στολαῖς* (with the Curetonian).

We here observe that v.<sup>9</sup> and v.<sup>17</sup> of this chapter have, contrary to the habit of this codex, borrowed phrases from the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. If we are right in our conjecture, we have only an additional proof that the correct text is not to be ascertained from any one manuscript at present known to us.

\*21<sup>6</sup>.—Instead of 'As for these things which ye behold,' we have the more concise and forcible exclamation, 'See ye these stones?'

21<sup>21</sup>.—For 'country' we have 'villages,' which is probably only a more definite translation of *χώραις* (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

\*21<sup>28</sup>.—'upon the land' (or 'earth'), is omitted. It has possibly been carried back from v.<sup>25</sup>.

21<sup>25, 26</sup>.—'And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and distress upon the earth, and weakness of the hands of the nations; and the voice of the sea, and shaking; and men's souls shall go out for fear of what is about to come over the earth; and the powers of the heavens shall shake' (almost like the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

21<sup>29</sup>.—'When they begin to shoot forth *and yield their fruit*' (with Codex Bezae and the Old Latin Friuli Lectionary, which, however, omit 'shoot forth,' and the Curetonian).

22<sup>6</sup>.—'and he consented,' is omitted (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Ephraemi, Vercellensis, and several other Old Latin MSS).

22<sup>7</sup>.—'And the day of *the passover* arrived,' instead of 'And the day of unleavened bread came' (with Codex Bezae, some Old Latin MSS, and the Curetonian).



\*22<sup>14</sup>.—‘and his disciples’ (instead of ‘apostles’) ‘with him.’

22<sup>20</sup>.—‘that which is poured out for you,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian).

The story is differently arranged from what it is in our English Revised Version. The sequence of the verses being 16, 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18, 21. The repetition of our Lord’s giving the cup is therefore non-existent. I give the passage from my own translation.

V.<sup>15</sup>.—‘He said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat the passover with you before I suffer: 16 for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until the kingdom of God be perfected. 19 And he took bread, and gave thanks over it, and brake, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body, which I give for you: thus do in remembrance of me. 20 And after they had supped, he took the cup, 17 and gave thanks over it, and said, Take this, share it among yourselves. 20 This is my blood, the new testament. 18 For I say unto you, that henceforth I will not drink of this fruit, until the kingdom of God shall come. 21 But nevertheless, behold, the hand of my betrayer is with me on the table.’

We leave it to the judgment of our readers as to whether this does not appear to be an approach to the original form of the passage. Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS omit v.<sup>20</sup> altogether, with part of v.<sup>19</sup>, thus avoiding the repetition, but making the taking of the cup precede that of the bread. The order in Codex Veronensis is a remarkable one. It is vv.<sup>16, 19, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23</sup>, etc. Here the taking of the bread precedes that of the cup, and there is no repetition.

The Curetonian, being the sister manuscript to the Sinaitic, or as we may now more properly call it, the Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, has the narrative in a precisely similar order; only it omits two phrases: ‘after they had supped,’ and ‘This is my blood, the new testament.’ The latter may perhaps more properly belong to Mt 26<sup>28</sup> or to Mk 14<sup>24</sup>, and the former to 1 Co 11<sup>25</sup>. This is exactly the kind of narrative which was likely to suffer from the hand of a harmonizer. As it was so frequently read in the Communion service, the early Christians would naturally desire to have it as complete as possible; and they would not heed the fact, that they were obscuring the characteristic touches of the four evangelists, and of our Lord’s own revelation to St. Paul.

22<sup>43, 44</sup>.—‘And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground,’ is omitted (with Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus, and the Old Latin Codex Brixianus; see margin of Revised Version).

22<sup>68</sup>.—‘and if I ask you, ye will not give me an answer, *nor even let me go*’ (with Codd. Alexandrinus and Bezae, the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and some Old Latin MSS).

\*23<sup>6, 7</sup>.—‘But when Pilate heard them say that he was of Galilee,’ instead of ‘But when Pilate heard it, he asked whether the man were a Galilean.’

23<sup>9</sup>.—‘Then he questioned with him in *cunning words*’ (with the Curetonian).

\*23<sup>10, 11, 12</sup>.—‘And the chief priests and the scribes stood, vehemently accusing him. And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in gorgeous apparel, sent him back to Pilate. And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day: for before they were at enmity between themselves,’ is omitted.

23<sup>15</sup>.—‘No, nor yet Herod, *for I sent him to him*.’ This seems more natural than the reading of the Revised Version, ‘for he sent him back unto us’ (with the Curetonian, the Peshitta, almost with Codex Bezae, and some Old Latin MSS).

23<sup>16</sup>.—‘nothing that is worthy of death did he find against him, nor has anything worthy of death been done by him’ (with the Curetonian).

\*23<sup>18</sup>.—‘Take away this man, and release Bar-Abba; he who because of wicked deeds and murder was cast into prison.’ Neither here nor in Mk 15<sup>7</sup> does our codex make any mention of an insurrection.

23<sup>17</sup>.—‘And Pilate was wont to release one prisoner unto them at the feast,’ comes between v.<sup>19</sup> and v.<sup>20</sup> (with Codex Bezae and the Curetonian). Codd. Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and the Old Latin Vercellensis omit v.<sup>17</sup> altogether.

\*23<sup>20</sup>.—‘And again Pilate called them, and said unto them, because he was willing to release Jesus, *Whom will ye that I release unto you?*’ The question is found also in Mt 27<sup>17</sup>, and it seems also necessary for the sense.

23<sup>23</sup>.—‘And their voice prevailed, *and the chief*

*priests were with them*' (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta). Codd. Alexandrinus, Bezae, and Brixianus have 'their voices and those of the chief priests.'

\*23<sup>25</sup>.—'And he released unto them him who for murder and for wicked deeds was cast into prison.' There is still no mention of insurrection or sedition.

23<sup>84</sup>.—'And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do,' is omitted. Westcott and Hort have put this in brackets, and it is omitted in Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae, and several Old Latin MSS. But Codd. Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus, the Peshitta, and all the other Syriac versions retain it.

23<sup>86</sup>.—'offering him vinegar,' is omitted (with the Curetonian).

23<sup>87, 88</sup>.—'saying, *Hail to thee!* If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself' (with Codex Bezae and the Curetonian).

V.<sup>37</sup> adds, 'And they placed also on his head a crown of thorns,' *i.e.* whilst He was on the cross (with Codex Bezae and the Curetonian).

23<sup>42</sup>.—'And he said to Jesus, *Lord*, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom' (with the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and the Veronensis, and several other Old Latin MSS).

23<sup>48</sup>.—'And all those who had ventured there, and saw what happened, smote upon their breasts, saying, Woe to us, what hath befallen us! woe to us for our sins!' (with the Curetonian and partly with the apocryphal Gospel of Peter).

24<sup>1</sup>.—'and they brought what they had prepared, *and other women came with them*,' that is, in addition to the women who came with Him from Galilee; cf. 23<sup>55</sup> (with Codex Bezae, Codex Brixianus, the Curetonian, Peshitta, and the Palestinian Syriac).

24<sup>10</sup>.—'and Mary, the *daughter* of James' (with

the Curetonian and with A and B of the Palestinian Syriac, *i.e.* with two MSS which were found by Dr. Rendel Harris and myself in the same box with the palimpsest); see notes on Mt 27<sup>56</sup>, Mk 15<sup>47</sup> 16<sup>1</sup>.

24<sup>11</sup>.—'And they appeared in their eyes as *if they had spoken these words from their wonder*,' instead of 'as idle talk' (with the Curetonian). This is not the last time that a true story has been disbelieved because it was told by a woman.

24<sup>17</sup>.—'He said unto them, What are these words which ye talk of whilst ye are sad?' Here we have sixteen words instead of the twenty-four of the Revised Version (with the Curetonian and some Old Latin MSS).

24<sup>29</sup>.—'And they began to entreat him that he would be with them, because it was nearly dark. And he went in with them as if he would tarry with them' (with the Curetonian).

24<sup>31</sup>.—'and he was lifted away from them,' instead of 'and he vanished out of their sight' (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

24<sup>51</sup>.—'And while He blessed them, he was lifted up from them.'

24<sup>51</sup>.—'and was carried up into heaven,' is omitted (with Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS).

24<sup>52</sup>.—'and they worshipped him,' is omitted (with Codex Bezae and some Old Latin MSS). The Curetonian is here deficient.

It will be observed that there are more variations between the Revised Version and the text of the palimpsest in the Gospel of Luke than in the two preceding ones. We do not know if this lends any support to Dr. Blass' theory of two recensions of this Gospel having been made by Luke himself, one which he sent to Theophilus, and one for the Christians in Rome.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

### HEBREWS IV. 9.

'There remaineth therefore a Sabbath rest for the people of God' (R.V.).

#### EXPOSITION.

THE author's reasoning is based on two passages which he combines together—Gn 2<sup>d</sup>, and God rested, and Ps 95<sup>th</sup>, *they shall not enter into My Rest*. From the first, or from both, he infers that there is a Rest of God, which He Himself enjoys, and that He entered into it when the works of creation were finished (4<sup>th</sup>, 10). It is manifest that this Rest of God is no rest yet future to Him, but one into which He then entered. The term Rest does not imply that He was wearied with His work of creation, but merely that He ceased from it; nor does it imply that since then He has been inactive or quiescent, but only that His work of creation being finished, He enjoyed a blessed satisfaction and sense of repose in it. It embodied His thoughts and purposes, and was a stage adapted for the display of all that He is, as well as an arena large enough and containing materials varied enough for the work which man was designed to work upon it.

From the other passage, *they shall not enter into My Rest*, the Author infers that it was the desire of God that men should enter into His Rest and share it with Him. The words were spoken of Israel in the wilderness with an oath in wrath. The wrath was provoked by their unbelief (3<sup>rd</sup>, 16, 17, 4<sup>th</sup>) of what they 'heard' from God (3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>), the 'good tidings preached' to them (4<sup>th</sup>), in other words, the promise of entering into His Rest. When the apostle says of God, 'My Rest,' 'His Rest,' it is not his meaning that it was the purpose of God merely that men should enjoy a rest which should be to them what His Rest was to Him, but that God's design was that men should share His own rest.

—DAVIDSON.

'There remaineth.'—God spake of rest through 'David,' implying that up till that time the long promised rest had not come, at least in satisfying measure. Therefore a rest remains for Christians. Is the inference cogent? Because a certain promised good had not come up to a certain date, must it come now? Let us review the situation. The ancient Scriptures speak of a Divine rest which God enjoyed at the beginning of the world's history, and in which man seemed destined to share. But man's portion in this rest has never yet come in any satisfying degree. It came not at the creation, for after that came all too soon the Fall; it came not at the entrance into Canaan, for the people of Israel had to take possession sword in hand, and long after their settlement they continued exposed to annoyance from the Canaanitish tribes; it came not from Joshua till David, for even in his late time the Holy Spirit still spoke of another day. Extending our view, we observe that it came not under Solomon, for after him came Rehoboam and the revolt of the ten tribes; it came not with the return of the

tribes from Babylon, for envious neighbours kept them in a continual state of anxiety and fear, and they rebuilt their temple and their city walls in troublous times. Is not the natural inference from all this that the rest will never come, all actual rests being but imperfect approximations to the ideal? So reasons unbelief, which treats the *summum bonum* in every form as a mere ideal, a beautiful dream, a pleasure of hope, like that of the maniac to whom

Mercy gave, to charm the sense of woe,  
Ideal bliss that truth could never know.

Far otherwise thought the writer of our Epistle. He believed that all Divine promises, that the promise of rest in particular, shall be fulfilled with ideal completeness. 'Some must enter in'; and as none have yet entered in perfectly, this bliss must be reserved for those on whom the ends of the world are come, even those who believe in Jesus.

—BRUCE.

'A Sabbath rest.'—The word may contain a reference to the first *Sabbatical year*, which was kept by Joshua after his six years of war (Josh 14<sup>th</sup>); when the 'land had rest from war.'

The group of Psalms to which Ps 95 belongs (92–104), appears to have a Sabbatical character. The first of them is expressly headed 'A Song for the Sabbath Day'; and a Jewish treatise says of this title: 'The Sabbath pointed to is that which will give rest from the sin which now rules in the world, the world's Seventh Day [a Sabbatical Millennium], which shall be followed by the after-Sabbath of the world to come, wherein is no more death, nor sin, nor punishment of sin; but only enjoyment of the wisdom and knowledge of God.'—KAV.

A *Sabbatism* our author calls the rest, so at the conclusion of his argument introducing a new name for it, after using another all through. It is one of the significant thought-suggesting words which abound in the Epistle. It is not, we may be sure, employed merely for literary reasons, as if to vary the phraseology and avoid too frequent repetition of the word *kardnavois*. Neither is it enough to say that the term was suggested by the fact that God rested on the seventh day. It embodies an idea. It felicitously connects the end of the world with the beginning, the consummation of all things with the primal state of the creation. It denotes the *ideal rest*, and so teaches by implication that Christians not only have an interest in the gospel of rest, but for the first time enter into a rest which is worthy of the name, a rest corresponding to and fully realizing the Divine idea.—

BRUCE.

'For the people of God.'—The Epistle adheres to the Old Testament idea that believers form a People, and that Christ sanctified the people with His blood (13<sup>th</sup>). This people is the same that formed the Church of the Old Testament, viz. Israel. It is, however, Israel as believing, for within the camp of unbelieving Israel there is no sacrificial fellowship with God (13<sup>th</sup>). This people being the



same with Old Testament Israel, of course includes all Old Testament believers (9<sup>15</sup> 11<sup>40</sup>). The Author has not touched on the relations of Gentiles to the covenant. Israel, as the people of God, fell short of the Rest at the Exodus; they shall, as the people of God, with all that cleave to them (Is 14<sup>1</sup>), enter the true Rest and Sabbath keeping. It was a point with the Author to identify Christian Hebrews with the 'people of God.'—DAVIDSON.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### The Earthly Sabbath: A Type of the Heavenly.

*By the late Rev. John Cairns, D.D.*

Heaven is a perpetual Sabbath. The word translated 'rest' means 'the keeping of a Sabbath.' This is proved to remain to the people of God in this way. In the 95th Psalm God exhorts Israel to hear His voice lest they should be excluded from His rest. This could not be God's creation rest, which was long over; nor the rest of Israel in Canaan, for Joshua gave them this rest long before the Psalm was written. There was therefore a future rest which would be fully entered on when there was no longer any cause for God to 'swear, 'They shall not enter into My rest.' Though there may be anticipation of this by faith, the majority of interpreters agree that the apostle refers more to the rest of glory than of grace. And this future rest is a *Sabbath* rest. We may then consider the ideas associated with the Sabbath below, and transfer them to the heavenly Sabbath.

1. Rest is the fundamental idea of the Sabbath; not mere physical rest, but rest *in* God, and *from* all that would hinder rest in Him. It is partially attained by the believer even here, but the true Sabbatism will only be attained in Heaven, both in its negative and positive aspects. The negative aspects include rest from *sin*, from *sorrow and pain*, from *labour and fatigue*, and these hindrances are only removed that the soul may find its positive and satisfying rest in God. This is its true end, and every faculty here finds its centre. The mind rests in the knowledge of God, the heart in reconciliation with Him, the will in choice and possession of Him. There is nothing better to long for, but more of God, to all eternity, and as the object infinitely exceeds the faculty, there is room for an everlasting Sabbath of complete repose, and yet of constant progress in which God is all, and in all.

2. Commemoration.—The Sabbath has had

from the beginning a memorial character. The Paradisaic Sabbath was a memorial of creation, the Jewish Sabbath a memorial of deliverance out of Egypt, the Christian Sabbath a memorial of Christ's rising from the dead. The heavenly Sabbath will be a memorial of all the history, the deliverance, and the final exodus out of this world of the people of God. The rest of Canaan commemorated the gracious Providence of the old covenant, the rest of the heavenly Canaan will consummate and commemorate the Providence of the New.

3. Worship.—From the first the Sabbath has been associated with worship. In the heavenly Sabbath worship will be consummated. We cannot tell whether we should take literally the descriptions of the worship in the New Jerusalem, but we may be sure it will contain three elements: (1) Gratitude, (2) Sympathy, (3) Consecration.

But this rest is only for the people of God. They that believe enter into rest. Even God cannot bring them in by any other way. It was unfit that unbelieving Israel should enter Canaan; with regard to heaven it is unfit and impossible. There is no rest out of God, out of Christ, and the unbeliever is out of both.

### II.

#### God's Rest and Man's.

*By the Rev. Alexander Brown.*

The writer has in his mind the beautiful idea that God from the first was arranging to educate the human race into a state of rest. In the story of Creation, each day leads up to a higher day till man is created to enjoy all. Then follows the seventh—God's rest—and man's Sabbath as well, in which God and man dwell in harmony.

This idea is developed in history. First there is the weekly Sabbath, calling to worship and suggesting man's destiny of eternal communion with God. Secondly, after the deliverance from Egypt the Sabbath becomes a memorial of that. Canaan was described as a land of peace, plenty, and happiness, but few of the people saw this promised land, and those who did enter had not the rest they expected. The ideal rest was still in the future. Thirdly, comes the rest of which the author of Hebrews speaks—rest in Christ. It is the climax of restfulness—the last, richest, most permanent. Jesus invited men to this rest. 'Come unto Me, and I will give you rest.' Those in

Christ know a peace passing all understanding, a life without end, a joy the world can neither give nor take away.

But even this is not the final goal. There *remaineth* a rest. But it is only the continuation and climax of the present blessedness, the same in source and nature.

What do we learn from all these types and their order? God gives us the rest of Sabbath, toil was not intended to be burdensome or constant. God gives us rest in a goodly land. War and famine, plague and pestilence are disturbances of God's order, the fault of sin; and if God's ideal were realized, the earth would be free from every curse. But God's rest is not simply an earthly paradise. It is peace of heart, purity of conscience, communion with God. Finally, it transcends death itself; it is rest in the perfect realization of a nature becoming to the sons of God. This is the end of all God's working in history.

But this rest is not compulsory; it is a moral ideal which may be refused. Some will not enter into it, as many Jews did not enter Canaan, because of unbelief. Deceived and carried away by sin, they 'fall in the wilderness,'—they cannot enter into God's rest.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

**Life's Unrest.**—Often I think, as I go through the streets of London, that I am in that circle of the Inferno where the souls were driven round incessantly upon the eddy winds, in pauseless trouble and in bitter hell—save that love at least is here, and was there—and where there is any love there is no perfect hell. But our caged restlessness has only too little love to modify it. It is another mistress rather than love who most besets us with her cruel caressing. It is desire of the things which die with us—which, when they are grasped, have no permanent delight, and end in the fierceness of satiety—that drives us round upon the murky whirl.—S. A. BROOKE.

WHEN we go down into the city of our own heart, a city more real than Paris or London, we find ourselves in as great a crowd as that which surges up and down in the huge caldrons where men furiously seethe together. That crowd within is as restless and as driven, as varied and as passionate, as the crowd without. All the streets of our heart are full and whirling. There is the host of desires rushing to and fro; there the high-hearted nobles and great citizens of the soul. Others are there of lower and fiercer port, others base as criminals; and among them, like warriors, move the great passions, breathing fire and kindling the desires to their work. And there are the million thoughts and hopes and associations, feelings and fancies, which hurry through our hearts each day, and do their business for evil or for good.

And there are duties with their lawyers, and impulses from without with their train of vanities and self-reproaches, and faiths battling with despairs, and arguments clashing with arguments, and memories which waken tenderness or hate; and all the facts which knowledge has handed us to use, each a personage pushing his way through the crowd; and the children the senses have given to imagination; and the appetites with satisfied or hungry eyes; and driving his haughty path among them all, throned on his golden car, rich with barbaric instincts like gems, the mighty Lord of all evil moves on, dark self-will, grimly smiling. Pride, his coarse mistress, sits beside him, and the seven sins pull them through the hurly-burly—while flitting through dim streets, far away from the furious stir, four shadows, half-naked and starved, but in whose eyes is sunshine, appear and vanish, vanish and appear—Conscience and Beauty, Imagination and Love, seeking religion and finding her not; and with them, unseen and jostled in the hurry, the angel of the Spirit, hoping, but in vain as yet, that any one of the throng will look up and see the quiet stars and wish for peace. Oh, greater and more unquiet than the streets of London is the wonderful city within.—S. A. BROOKE.

**Rest Elsewhere.**—'Rest elsewhere' was the motto of Philip de Marnix, Lord Sainte-Aldegonde, one of the most efficient leaders in that great Netherlands revolt against despotism in the sixteenth century, which supplied material for perhaps the most momentous chapter in the civil and religious history of the world. For a man such as he, living in such a time, no motto could well mean more. A friend of freedom and of truth, in that age, could never hope to find rest in this world. A good motto also is it for the Christian worker. When there is so much to be done, who would be inactive here? 'Weary not in well-doing.' There is rest elsewhere.

IF souls be made of earthly mould,  
Let them love gold!—  
If born on high,  
Let them unto their kindred fly!—  
For they can never be at rest  
Till they regain their ancient nest.—HERBERT.

**Rest in God.**—The nearer a thing is to its centre, the less is the motion experienced. You do not feel the pitching and rolling of a steamer or a sailing-vessel amidsthips as you do elsewhere. Pin a bit of paper to the rim of a carriage-wheel, and how swiftly it is whirled round when the vehicle moves. Fasten it on the axle, and it revolves very slowly. God is the centre of the universe, especially the centre of all created beings. Live near Him, and you will feel less the shocks of trouble and the vibrations of sin.—T. R. STEVENSON.

IN proportion as we do our work well, the idea of what rest is grows a higher one; and with the development of the idea of rest, develops also our capacity for enjoying it. For as we go on steadily battling, steadily working, we get ease in doing our fighting and our labour; and with ease of doing comes enjoyment of doing, and sense of mastery; and the ease and the enjoyment and the mastery are things that increase also, till at last, beginning to see that we can put into

form all we want to do—at once, without much trouble, without much battle—we foresee clearly that the time may come when we shall have no trouble or no battle about faithful and true work for God; when the moment of temptation will be instantly followed by victory; the moment of duty's call to work by rushing acceptance of it; the moment of acceptance by instant conception of the way to do it; the moment of conception of the way to do work by immediate creation of the form in which the work will best embody itself; the moment of creation of the form by swift, life-giving, beautiful, glorious, joyous work; the moment that one work is completed by the desire of new work, because the unimaginable swiftness of doing has been so delightful, and the sense of creation so intense with life, and the joy in both so beautiful and buoyant. That is the heavenly rest—a very different idea from that to which we first looked forward, when we did no toil, but only complained; when we fought no battle, but lingered with the baggage in the rear. It is an idea which inspires the soul, as unlike the idea of rest with which the mockers at the faith reproach us as the swift softness with which the earth spins on its axis—so swift that it seems to sleep—is unlike the motionlessness of the same earth if we could fancy it stranded like a hulk on the seabeach of eternity. And that is an idea which only those can conceive, live, and long for, who have toiled and fought with ardour, courage, and faith for years. The condition of its conception,—and, therefore, the condition of its future enjoyment—is the habit of cheerful toil, the habit of eager battle, inspired and decided by the love of God.

—S. A. BROOKE.

BID me not look in heaven for only rest,  
Well-earned because the battle has been won.  
My fight has been a poor one at the best,  
And now I trust to have it better done  
Where never sets the sun.

What need of rest, except to be refreshed  
For further work, and carry on our task,  
No more with sin enfeebled and enmeshed?  
Eternal idleness I do not ask,  
Nor in such bliss could bask.

So many failures I have made on earth,  
So many hours have wasted of my day,  
So little gained of true abiding worth,  
So oft have erred, and gone so far astray  
From the one Living Way!

O to redeem the time that I have lost,  
To right whatever wrong I may have done,  
To publish peace unto the tempest-tossed,  
To bring back hope to some despairing one,  
Until there shall be none!

Who knows? The Father worketh hitherto,  
And Christ, whom I would serve with love and fear,  
Went not away to rest Him, but to do  
What could be better done in heaven than here,  
And bring to all good cheer.

At any rate, to sit with folded palms  
On listless thrones, with crowns of shining gold,  
Or touch the harp unto the voice of psalms,  
With hearts that are to sinners hard and cold,  
Is not the hope I hold.

W. C. SMITH.

GRANT to me above all things that I can desire, to desire  
to rest in Thee, and in Thee to have my heart at peace.

Thou art the true peace of the heart: Thou art its only  
rest; out of Thee all things are full of trouble and unrest.  
In this peace, that is, in Thee, the one chiefest eternal  
Good, I will lay me down and sleep.—A KEMPIS.

#### Sermons for Reference.

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Brooke (S. A.), *Gospel of Joy*, 125.  
    "    "    *Short Sermons*, 91.  
Brown (A.), *God's Great Salvation*, 133.  
Cairns (J.), *Christ the Morning Star*, 325.  
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## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D.C.L., LL.D., OXFORD.

THE first volume of one of the most useful works yet published on Assyriology has just appeared. This is Professor Rogers's *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (London : Luzac & Co., 1900). But its title does not at all adequately describe its contents. It is not only a history of Babylonia and Assyria, brought up to date, it is also a history of Assyrian and Babylonian excavation and of cuneiform decipherment. For the first time the reader has placed before him a full and interesting account of one of the romances of historical science—the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions.

The story is a long one, and Professor Rogers has wisely dwelt on its earlier stages. It is indeed a story of one of the most remarkable achievements of human genius and patience. Little by little the lost scripts and languages of the past have been recovered and re-read, and a whole world of forgotten civilization has been brought to light. The question is often asked how the cuneiform inscriptions came to be deciphered, and what grounds there are for accepting the decipherers' results. Professor Rogers has answered the question once for all, and the story which forms the answer is fascinating. We begin with the early travellers, with Pietro della Valle's first copies of the cuneiform characters in 1621, with the desire of the newly founded Royal Society for accurate accounts of the old Persian ruins, and with Hyde's invention of the term 'cuneiform,' and we come down to the age of Grotefend and Burnouf, of Rawlinson and Hincks. It is shown how, when once a correct method of investigation was adopted, one discovery led on to another, the Old Persian becoming the key to Assyrian and Elamite, and Assyrian in its turn to Sumerian and Vannic. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have revealed the fact that the cuneiform syllabary was once in use throughout the whole civilized world of Western Asia, and through the cuneiform syllabary accordingly our knowledge of that world will have to be obtained.

The last third of the volume, which deals with the early history of Babylonia, naturally does not possess the same general interest as the first part

of it. But it gives us the latest results of monumental research, and to the historian, therefore, will be very acceptable. Professor Rogers is cautious in his conclusions, and this makes me the more surprised at his accepting Professor Hilprecht's conjecture about the origin of the word Shinar, which is traced to a metathesis of Girsu, the name of one of the leading cities of Southern Babylonia. The conjecture, however, is disproved by the list of gods in *W.A.I.*, iii. 66, from which we learn that the Sumerian Nin-girsu was pronounced In-gurisa in Assyrian (*Obv. b 14, Rev. f. 3*). Moreover, one of the letters of the king of Alasia, in the Tel el-Amarna collection, has shown us that the cuneiform equivalent of Shinar was Sankhar, which also occurs, it may be added, in the long letter of the king of Mitanni.

Another interesting addition to recent Assyriological literature is Mr. King's *Letters and Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, vols. ii. and iii. (London : Luzac & Co., 1900). Here again the title of the book is not altogether adequate, for Mr. King has included in it some of the letters of Khammurabi's immediate successors. It is, however, an admirable piece of work. Mr. King may be congratulated on his copies of the cuneiform texts, and still more on his translations and notes. He has successfully overcome most of the difficulties presented by the vocabulary and construction of the letters. It is but seldom that we come across anything to which exception could be taken. In the fragmentary inscription of Samsu-iluna, however, given on p. 198, he has misunderstood the meaning of the *Reverse*, where it is not a river, but Arakhtu, the canal on which Babylon stood, that is referred to. *Adda*, moreover, is not a title, but the Sumerian word for 'father,' after which the possessive *mu*, 'my,' must be applied, so that the whole passage should read: 'The . . . on the bank of the Arakh[tu] which Khammurabi [my] father built.'

The fact that Khammurabi is now known to be the Amraphel of Genesis ought to lend a special interest to the letters which were written or dictated by him. What would not classical scholars give

for an autograph letter of Plato or Cicero? And yet here we have the actual letters of a contemporary of Abraham, the letters, too, of a king who marked an epoch in Babylonian history and made Babylon the capital of the kingdom.

They bear witness to an astonishing amount of energy and administrative power. All the business of the state, down to the minutest details, came before the king, and he seems to have found time to attend to it. In one of his letters he summons a money-lender to Babylon for punishment, in another he orders that a loan of corn be repaid with the interest upon it, in a third he gives the sizes of the pieces of wood required by the metal-workers in a neighbouring town. Other letters deal with finance or the arrest of defaulting officials, or with the repair of the canals and the *corvée* called out for the purpose. There was also a conscription for military service, a fact which has been overlooked by Mr. King, who has accordingly been landed in the impossible supposition that the sons of a *patesi*, or chief priest, had been handed over to a 'taskmaster of the public slaves.'

The *ridûti*, however, were simply recruiting sergeants, and Khammurabi merely intends to lay down that the sons of a high official were exempt from the conscription. From one of the letters we learn that Assyria was still part of the Babylonian empire, and had not yet become an independent state.

Mr. King has included in his work a very important document, the chronological annals of the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged, compiled in the reign of Ammi-zadok, his fourth successor. He has made a revised copy of the cuneiform text and supplemented it by another contemporaneous, but independent, document of the same class. The notes which accompany the translation contain very full references to the dates found in the legal documents of the period, by means of which several of the mutilated passages in the annals can be restored. The second copy of the annals ends with the tenth year of Ammi-zadok, which, according to Professor Rogers's chronology, would be 2192 B.C. The value of these annals can scarcely be over-estimated.

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## The Apostle of Unity.<sup>1</sup>

By THE REV. CANON J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., WESTMINSTER.

'The building of the body of the Christ, till we all come . . . to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of the Christ.'—Eph. iv. 12, 13.

AT this solemn moment of our national life, gathered on the spot where our monarchs are crowned, we cannot utter what is in our hearts.<sup>2</sup> We have lost our great Queen. She was the mother of her people, and we all loved her. In our childhood we were taught to associate her name with tenderness and purity and truth: as we grew to manhood we learned also her strength and her wisdom, and we gave her the unreserved homage of our loyalty and our love.

The occasion which has brought us together will remind us of the Church's debt to a sovereign

whose constant devotion has vindicated her historic claim to be the Defender of the Faith. It is a pathetic incident of our service to-day that the mandate which calls for the consecration of the bishop is the mandate of Queen Victoria, while the oath of allegiance has been taken to King Edward the Seventh. We accept the omen of continuity, and we pray in the King's own words that he may 'walk in the footsteps' of his beloved mother. In gratitude and confidence we lift our hearts to God.

But our present duty presses, and I must pass to my appointed task. In the fourth chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, in the twelfth and thirteenth verses, you will find these

<sup>1</sup> Preached at the Consecration of Dr. H. E. Ryle as Bishop of Exeter.

<sup>2</sup> This sermon was preached three days after the death of Queen Victoria.



words: '*The building of the body of the Christ, till we all come . . . to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of the Christ.*'

The conversion of St. Paul issued from the testimony and the prayer of the martyred Stephen. St. Stephen had died on behalf of the larger inclusiveness of the Christian message. He could not be content to see the Church remain a guild of Judaism, invigorated by the Messianic hope, but clinging to the temple worship and practically enclosed within the walls of Jerusalem. His proclamation of a wider ideal roused the enmity of the Pharisaic party, which under Gamaliel's leadership had suspended its verdict and waited to know whether the new movement might or might not be welcomed and used. Their hostile decision at length broke down the one barrier to open persecution: Pharisees combined with Sadducees to crush the disciple as they had crushed his Master: Gamaliel's foremost scholar was consenting to St. Stephen's death.

God's ways surprise us: the impossible is possible with Him. The young man Saul takes up Stephen's mantle and receives a double portion of his spirit. He lives to overthrow the wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, and to found churches in which the uncircumcised break bread with the sons of the ancient covenant. He proclaims by revelation the freedom of Gentile Christianity: but he is never the apostle of liberty only, but always and beyond all others the apostle of comprehension and of unity. The great struggle of his life was not to claim permission for Gentiles to form Gentile churches side by side with the Jewish churches, but to preserve the completest inter-communion between Jewish and Gentile believers in Christ. It was the refusal of Jews to eat with Gentiles—a refusal which must have necessitated separate eucharists—which he denounced as fundamentally unchristian, when even St. Peter and St. Barnabas for a moment lent it their sanction.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's whole career was shaped by his conviction and determination that comprehension and unity were and should be essential notes of the Christian Church. Not for an instant could he allow the position that the city of Antioch might contain two bodies of baptized persons, agreeing in their Christian faith, recipients of the same Holy Ghost, and yet separated from communion with one another

in the breaking of bread. Two bodies and one spirit was a thought unthinkable to him. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek,' he cries to the Galatians to whom he has repeated the story of that crisis, 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bondman nor freeman, there is no male and female; for ye are all one'—one man—'in Christ Jesus.'<sup>2</sup>

Presently at Corinth a like peril of disunion presented itself in an aggravated form. At least four possible denominations were already to be found in germ: 'I am of Paul, I am of Cephas, I of Apollos, and I of Christ.'<sup>3</sup> Unholy rivalries had invaded the holiest ministrations, grave moral delinquency had escaped correction in a community preoccupied with internal strifes, and the apostle's heart was torn by the tidings. Divinely taught by the discipline of disappointment following close upon a peculiarly successful mission, he sprang forward with the proclamation of an ideal which we owe under God entirely to him—the conception of the Church as the body of the Christ—a living organism of which individual Christians were but limbs, whose life was but a sharing in the life of the whole: the body of the Christ, in and through which the ascended Lord still lived and worked in the world, finding feet and hands and lips to carry as before His messages of mercy to men. 'For as the body is one and hath many members, but all the members of the body, many though they be, are one body; so also is the Christ: for by one Spirit have we all been baptized into one body.'<sup>4</sup>

Later in his life, after his supreme effort to bring the Jewish churches to a recognition of the loving sense of fellowship with which the Gentile churches regarded them, when he had succeeded in his mission of reconciliation at the cost of his personal freedom, and was in consequence the prisoner of Christ Jesus on behalf of the Gentiles,<sup>5</sup> he wrote from Rome, the centre and symbol of imperial unity, and proclaimed in yet higher strains than before his great ideal of the true human unity which had been constituted in the Christ. The vision is clearer than ever now; and in this crowning exposition of his gospel he declares at once the goal of human existence, and the path by which it is to be reached—the one

<sup>2</sup> Gal 3<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Co 1<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Co 12<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eph 3<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gal 2<sup>11-21</sup>.



body and the one Spirit—the one Church of Jew and Gentile, the two made one new man in Christ,—the one Church through which the divine purpose was being consummated whereby God would ‘gather up in one all things in Christ,’<sup>1</sup>—the body which should continually expand by the constant accession of baptized believers, and should, as its several members grew in the ‘sense and service of membership,’ offer an ever more and more complete embodiment of the life of the ascended Lord, till at length the Christ should be wholly fulfilled in His body, and we should all have come to a fully matured and perfect man, ‘to the measure of the stature of the fulness of the Christ.’<sup>2</sup>

Such was the ideal which inspired that apostolic career whose commencement we commemorate to-day—the embodiment of the Christ in His Church leading at last to the unity of mankind in ‘the Christ that is to be.’ It is not without significance that the first words addressed by the ascended Lord to His future apostle declared the intimate oneness of Christ with His Church—‘Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?’<sup>3</sup> From the first he was being prepared for the truth that the Church and Christ are ‘not twain, by one.’ In this respect, as in others, the apostle could truly say, ‘I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision.’<sup>4</sup>

Such, I say, was the ideal. Its progressive realization is the topic of our text—‘the building of the body.’ The phrase involves a second favourite figure by which St. Paul describes the divine purpose of unity. The bodies of individual Christians together form a holy temple in the Lord, which is not yet complete. Progress towards the fulfilment of the Church’s ideal involves the two elements of human activity and divine increase. The temple must be builded: the body must grow. And the apostle delights to combine his metaphors, and to speak at one time of the growth of the temple,<sup>5</sup> and at another of ‘the building of the body.’ In our text he is declaring that the various

gifts of the ascended Lord all make for unity. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are given to fit the parts of the body for the service of the whole, ‘for the building of the body, till we all come . . . to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of the Christ.’

The necessity of the Church’s unity is manifest, if we have learned and believed the central message of St. Paul. We cannot base our desire for it on the lower grounds of practical advantage, of economy of resources, or of a better front to be presented to the world. We go deeper and perceive that the very meaning of the Church’s existence is obscured and her primary purpose frustrated, where baptized Christians are not held in fellowship by the breaking of one bread.

In the generation after the apostles the bishop stands for unity. The monarchical episcopate quickly became the symbol and the safeguard of the Church’s fellowship.

The bishop was the centre of unity of the local church. The one bread by means of which its members realized that they were one body was broken to all by the bishop. The eucharist was the bishop’s eucharist. The prayer of the whole church was the intercession offered by the bishop. Besides this, he united the local church over which he presided with the churches of other localities. His eucharist was no isolated thing: it was the same body and blood of Christ which his fellow-bishops were distributing to their several flocks. They were all one bread, one body—however distant from one another—because they all partook of the one bread. To sever himself wilfully from his bishop’s eucharist was for a baptized man to sever himself—so far as an act of his will could effect the severance—from the body of the Christ, that is, from the Christ Himself.

Nor was the bishop only the centre of unity in the present; he was also the symbol of unity with the past and the promise of unity in the future. He was the recognized depositary of the true tradition of the apostolic teaching. This was the primary significance of the episcopal successions, which were first valued as the guarantee of doctrinal truth.

The conception of the bishop which is familiar to ourselves in England to-day differs largely in

<sup>1</sup> Eph 1<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> I gladly take this opportunity of recalling the notable sermon preached from the same pulpit by the late Dr. Hort at the consecration of Dr. Westcott as Bishop of Durham. The sermon is entitled ‘The Sense and Service of Membership the Measure of true Soundness in the Body’; it is reprinted in the volume containing the lectures on *The Christian Ecclesia*.

<sup>3</sup> Ac 9<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Ac 26<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eph 2<sup>21</sup>.

detail from the primitive idea. But fundamentally it is the same. The bishop still stands for unity. Whatever the difference in the extent of his diocese may be—and it is density of population that makes the chief difference—he bears rule over a certain geographical area. The Church of Christ within the area is a corporate whole, of which he is the head. His responsibility extends to all baptized persons within that area, and his main function is to preserve them in the completest fellowship of a corporate life, and to fit the whole thus realized for its place in the larger unities of the province, the national Church, and the universal Church throughout the world.

This is the ideal from which our faith and hope may never swerve. But the actual facts that face the English bishop of to-day are such as present a perpetual temptation to take refuge in what I cannot but call a practical sectarianism.

1. Happily, in relation to the clergy of their dioceses, the bishops were never less open to the charge of adopting a party attitude. They have taken their stand for the comprehensiveness of the English Church. And the result of this has been strikingly manifested. What can be more hopeful in the present outlook than the large readiness which has been shown by the clergy of both extremes in our Church to yield to the bishop when he has spoken as bishop, and has asked for obedience as his episcopal right? If there be one thing more hopeful still, it is the appeal of all the bishops to all their clergy to support them in their fixed determination to uphold the principle of episcopal authority. We thank God for the strong leadership which in this presence I may not praise.

2. But the temptation to acquiesce in a practical sectarianism still presses from another side. For a bishop on entering his diocese finds that half the baptized souls within it do not recognize his rule. They do not even claim their membership in the corporate life which it is his function to fashion into unity. Societies of baptized men and women exist to whom the bishop is nought. They contain devout souls, earnestly serving the Lord Christ, but separated from the unity which the bishop represents. One such society, more than a century old, is full of spiritual vigour to-day, and is spreading more widely than ever over our land. It is daily growing in the sense of membership, and at this moment is showing an astonishing power of

providing funds for its common purposes out of the liberality of its adherents—no mean test of a corporate vitality. It quarrels little now with the doctrine of a visible Church. It claims to be a Church, and a branch of the universal Church, taking its stand as such by the side of the mother Church from which it has sprung. It quarrels not at all with liturgical worship; it makes large use of our own Prayer-Book, and its doctrines in general are such as are held by an important section of English Churchmen. It claims that its ministry, though not episcopally ordained, is a true ministry attested by the highest of all evidence, the power of the Spirit of God for the conversion and shepherding of souls. It has no theoretical objection to episcopacy itself: on the contrary, it owns its value, and has recently adopted a quasi-episcopal organization in the appointment of chief pastors to preside over large geographical areas.

How long are we of the Church of England to content ourselves with shutting our eyes so far as we possibly can to facts like these? In our controversy with other branches of the Catholic Church we have appealed again and again to the vitality of the English Church as an unanswerable argument on our own behalf. Are we to be deaf to that argument when it is urged to prove that others who are separated from us at home are not without the grace of God in their corporate life, that their ministry, though we count it irregular, is a Christian ministry, that their sacraments are sacraments of Christ?

In the case of that great society of which I have spoken, the chief barrier to reconciliation with the old Church, for which many of them have a deep reverence and a sincere love, is the thought that such reconciliation could only be possible on terms which to them would be a denial of the grace of the ministry to which they owe their souls. Fathers and brethren, I take this solemn occasion to ask you, for the sake of the unity of Christ's Church, to consider afresh whether this must needs be so.

We have reached a stage at which we are beginning to show a cautious friendliness to those whose earnest labours in the cause of Christ are a noble challenge to our zeal. The bishop whose recent loss we deeply mourn will not only be remembered as one who laboured for peace within our own borders. His visit to the Russian Church



made to my knowledge an impression that will not be quickly lost. Was he less truly a wise and faithful father in God of the English Church, when he sent a message of welcome to a Nonconformist Conference gathered in his earlier diocese of Peterborough? Tributes to his memory have shown how much his sympathetic attitude on that and other occasions was welcomed and reciprocated.

It may be that this century will still be young when measures of practical reunion will claim the attention of our leaders. The thoughts of men are everywhere turning to unity. One of the gravest and most honoured of Methodist divines said to me a few days ago, that if our Church could get powers of internal reform many difficulties might disappear from the path of reunion. The words may help to brace us for one of our immediate tasks. For indeed until we have got such powers we can hardly think that communities accustomed to self-government will readily renounce altogether the liberty in which they rejoice.

I have ventured to say these things to-day, because the Festival of St. Paul reminds us at how great cost the unity of the Church was sought and secured in the earliest age. 'The care of all the churches' meant to the apostle their building up into the central unity in which Jew and Gentile were one in Christ. If he were among us now he would surely be leading the way to the restoration of our broken unity, crying to us in amazement,

'Is Christ divided?'—beseeching us 'if there be any fellowship of the Spirit,' to make it our first duty to bring all Christians back into it.

I am further emboldened so to speak by the knowledge that you, my brother, will gladly make it your aim to 'maintain and set forward (as much as shall lie in you) quietness, peace, and love among all men.' Twenty years of Cambridge friendship, including six years of common professorial work, justify me in declaring that you will not narrow your sympathies either to espouse a party within the Church or to ignore that wider work of God which goes forward beyond the limits of those who will readily own your control. You are given to us this day 'for the building of the body of the Christ.' You will go forward in humble faith and unconquerable hope to your great task. The vision of unity will not fade from your soul. It will inspire you in the exercise of your highest functions, it will support you in the weariness of harassing details. You will not be disobedient to the heavenly vision. You will perpetually proclaim with your lips and your life. You will find the promise of it everywhere: you will interpret every movement in the prophetic light which it casts. When the strife rages fiercest and men's hearts fail for fear, you will still be strong and full of hope. The music of the promise will ever be in your ears: 'Though the vision tarry, wait for it; for it will surely come, it will not tarry.'

## Contributions and Comments.

### The Old Testament Quotations in St. Matthew and St. Mark.

#### II. St. Matthew.

##### A. QUOTATIONS ALREADY IN ST. MARK.

##### a. Quotations ascribed to Christ.

(1) Mk 4<sup>12</sup> = Mt 13<sup>13-15</sup>. Matthew, who changes Mark's *ἵνα*, into *ὅτι*, is obliged to alter the mood of the following clauses. He stops short at

Mark's *συνῶσιν*, and then in vv. 14-15 introduces a formal quotation of the Isaiah passage. This is given in the language of the LXX without variation, with the result that *καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς* of the omitted clause in Mark is assimilated to the *καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτοῦς* of the LXX.

(2) Mk 7<sup>6,7</sup> = Mt 15<sup>8,9</sup>. Matthew copies Mark's abridged quotation with the single exception that in *ὁ λαὸς οὗτος* for *οὗτος ὁ λαὸς* he makes a further assimilation to the LXX text.

(3) Mk 7<sup>10a</sup> = Mt 15<sup>4a</sup>. Matthew omits *σου* twice.



- (4) Mk 7<sup>10b</sup> = Mt 15<sup>4b</sup>. No change.  
 (5) Mk 10<sup>6</sup> = Mt 19<sup>4</sup>. No change.  
 (6) Mk 10<sup>7,8</sup> = Mt 19<sup>5</sup>. Matthew omits αὐτοῦ, but adds clause of LXX omitted by Mark.  
 (7) Mk 10<sup>19</sup> = Mt 19<sup>18,19</sup>. Matthew assimilates moods to LXX, omits μὴ ἀποστερήσης, and omits σου.  
 (8) Mk 11<sup>9</sup> = Mt 21<sup>9</sup>. Matthew adds τῷ ὕμῳ Δαυὶδ, which, however, is not a part of the quotation from the Old Testament.  
 (9) Mk 11<sup>17a</sup> = Mt 21<sup>18a</sup>. Matthew omits πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.  
 (10) Mk 11<sup>17b</sup> = Mt 21<sup>18b</sup>. No change.  
 (11) Mk 12<sup>10,11</sup> = Mt 21<sup>42</sup>. No change.  
 (12) Mk 12<sup>26</sup> = Mt 22<sup>32</sup>. Matthew assimilates to LXX by adding εἰμί, but has ὁ before the second and third Θεός, in agreement with ἸΑΚΛΑ of Mark against B.  
 (13) Mk 12<sup>30</sup> = Mt 22<sup>37</sup>. Matthew omits Mark's last clause, and substitutes ἐν for ἐξ throughout. This is an agreement with the Hebrew against the LXX.  
 (14) Mk 12<sup>31</sup> = Mt 22<sup>39</sup>. No change.  
 (15) Mk 12<sup>36</sup> = Mt 22<sup>44</sup>. No change.  
 (16) Mk 14<sup>27</sup> = Mt 26<sup>31</sup>. Matthew adds τῆς ποίμνης, in agreement with A of the LXX.  
 (17) Mk 15<sup>34</sup> = Mt 27<sup>46</sup>. Matthew substitutes Θεέ μου Θεέ μου for ὁ Θεός μου ὁ Θεός μου, and assimilates to LXX in ἵνα τί for εἰς τί.

In these 17 quotations there is no change in 7, namely, (4), (5), (8), (10), (11), (14), (15). In 6 Mark's language is still further assimilated to the LXX, namely, (1) καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτούς, (2) ὁ λαὸς οὖτος, (6) clause added, (7) indicative moods, (12) εἰμί, (17) ἵνα τί; but in some of these there are slight changes made in divergence from both Mark and LXX. In (9) Matthew omits a phrase against Mark and LXX. In (16) he adds τῆς ποίμνης against Mark and B of LXX. The only important variation against Mark and LXX is the substitution of ἐν for ἐξ in (13), in agreement with the Hebrew. With the single exception of (13) no acquaintance is shown with the Hebrew Bible. On the other hand, 6 out of the 17 quotations betray acquaintance with the LXX.

#### b. Other Quotations or References to the Old Testament.

- (1) Mk 12<sup>1</sup> = Mt 21<sup>38</sup>. The language seems to be modelled upon that of the LXX of Is 5<sup>1,2</sup>.

(2) Mk 12<sup>19</sup> = Mt 22<sup>24</sup>. The passage referred to seems to be Dt 25<sup>5</sup>. It is noticeable that for Mark's λάβη Matthew substitutes the rare ἐπιγαμβρεύειν, which occurs in the LXX ten times.

(3) Mk 13<sup>14</sup> = Mt 24<sup>15</sup>, τὸ βδελύγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως. Mark had assimilated the phrase to the LXX of Dan 12<sup>11</sup>. Matthew copies the expression and gives the reference.

#### B. QUOTATIONS NOT IN MARK.

##### a. Quotations ascribed to Christ.

- (1) Mt 4<sup>4</sup> = Dt 8<sup>3</sup> in wording of AF of LXX. B adds τῷ.  
 (2) Mt 4<sup>7</sup> = Dt 6<sup>16</sup> in wording of LXX.  
 (3) Mt 4<sup>10</sup> = Dt 6<sup>18</sup> in wording of LXX, with the exception of προσκυνήσεις (= LXX A) for φοβηθήσῃ of B of the LXX.  
 (4) Mt 5<sup>21</sup> = Ex 20<sup>13</sup> or Dt 5<sup>17</sup> in language of LXX.  
 (5) Mt 5<sup>27</sup> = Ex 20<sup>14</sup> or Dt 5<sup>17</sup> in language of LXX.  
 (6) Mt 5<sup>38</sup> = Ex 21<sup>24</sup> or Lev 24<sup>20</sup> or Dt 19<sup>21</sup> in language of LXX.  
 (7) Mt 5<sup>43</sup> = Lev 19<sup>18</sup> in language of LXX.  
 (8) Mt 9<sup>13</sup> = 12<sup>7</sup> = Hos 6<sup>6</sup> in language of LXX, with exception of καὶ οὐ for ἧ of B of LXX. καὶ οὐ is an agreement with Hebrew and AQ of LXX.  
 (9) Mt 21<sup>16</sup> = Ps 8<sup>3</sup> in language of LXX.

In these 9 quotations the language is for the most part assimilated to that of the LXX. In (3) προσκυνήσεις may be due to assimilation to προσκυνήσης of the preceding verse. In (9) the Hebrew would not have suited the context. In only 1, namely, No. (8) is there agreement with the Hebrew against B of the LXX.

Besides these formal citations there are a number of adaptations of Old Testament language.

(1) Mt 5<sup>4</sup>: οἱ πενθοῦντες . . . παρακληθήσονται, from LXX, Is 61<sup>2</sup>: παρακαλέσαι . . . τοὺς πενθοῦντας.

(2) Mt 5<sup>6</sup>: οἱ πρᾶεῖς . . . κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν, from LXX, Ps 37<sup>11</sup>: οἱ δὲ πρᾶεῖς κληρονομήσουσιν γῆν.

(3) Mt 5<sup>8</sup>: καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, from LXX, Ps 24<sup>4</sup>: καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ.

(4) Mt 5<sup>31</sup> is a reference to Dt 24<sup>1</sup>, but the agreement in wording is not close.

(5) Mt 5<sup>33a</sup> seems to be a quotation of Lev 19<sup>12</sup>. Matthew differs from LXX.

(6) Mt 5<sup>38b</sup>: ἀποδώσεις; cf. Dt 23<sup>21</sup>: ἀποδοῦναι.

(7) Mt 5<sup>34, 35a</sup>, an adaptation of Is 66<sup>1-2</sup>. The LXX phraseology is adopted.

(8) Mt 7<sup>23</sup> = Ps 6<sup>9</sup> in language of LXX, with exception of ἀποχωρεῖτε for ἀπόστητε.

(9) Mt 10<sup>35, 36</sup>, an adaptation of Mic 7<sup>6</sup>. Matthew shows no sign of acquaintance with LXX. Cf. κατὰ for ἐπὶ, ἀνθρώπου for ἀνδρὸς, οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ for οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

(10) Mt 11<sup>10</sup> = Ex 23<sup>80</sup> + Mal 3<sup>1</sup>. This quotation occurs already in Mk 1<sup>2</sup> in a different context. Matthew gives it here in the same words as does Mark, with the exceptions that he adds ἐγὼ = LXX, Ex 23<sup>20</sup>, which is omitted in BD of Mark, and adds ἐμπροσθέν σου.

It is not necessary to suppose that Matthew borrowed these words from Mark in spite of the agreement in κατασκευάσει. The fact that Mark has them in one context and Matthew in another, added to the fact that Luke has them in the same context as Matthew and in the same form, suggests rather that the composite quotation was widely current in the Greek Churches for which the Gospels were written. We shall find reason to suppose that Matthew has incorporated in his Gospel several such well-known and commonly-used quotations from the Old Testament.

(11) Mt 12<sup>40</sup> = Jon 2<sup>1</sup> in language of LXX.

In 6 of these cases, namely, (1), (2), (3), (7), (8), (11), Matthew seems to have assimilated the language to that of the LXX. In (4) the use of the Old Testament is not close. In (5) we might have expected a use of the LXX. In (9) Matthew does not seem to have recognized any quotations of the Old Testament. In (10) the context precludes assimilation of κατασκευάσει to the LXX.

#### b. Other Quotations.

(1) Mt 1<sup>23</sup> = Is 7<sup>14</sup>. There are two variations from the LXX, ξέει for λήμψεται, but ξέει N<sup>AQ</sup>; and καλέσουσιν for καλέσεις B, καλέσει N, καλέσετε Q. Καλέσουσιν in Matthew is a modification of the LXX to suit the context. Καλέσεις or -ει would have been inaccurate in point of fact. The last clause looks like a reminiscence of the Hebrew of Ps 130<sup>8</sup>.

(2) Mt 2<sup>6</sup> = Mic 5<sup>1, 4</sup>, with an assimilation of the last clause to 2 S 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 Chr 11<sup>2</sup>. There are few traces of the LXX here. οὐδαμῶς . . . εἰ looks like a rendering of הִיָּחִי read as הָלָא . . . הִיָּחִי. ἡγεμόσιν is apparently a rendering of הָלָא

read as הָלָא. The passage seems to be an independent translation of the Hebrew.

(3) Mt 2<sup>15</sup> = Hos 11<sup>1</sup>. There is no trace here of the LXX, which would not give the meaning required. We seem to have a translation from the Hebrew.

(4) Mt 2<sup>18</sup> = Jer 31<sup>15</sup>. There is considerable divergence from the LXX.

(5) Mt 4<sup>6</sup> = Ps 91<sup>11, 12</sup>. The καὶ is probably not a part of the quotation. Both clauses agree with the LXX.

(6) Mt 4<sup>15-16</sup> = Is 8<sup>23</sup> 9<sup>1</sup>. We have here very little agreement with the LXX until we come to ἐν χώρα καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου. The passage seems to have been translated from the Hebrew.

(7) Mt 8<sup>17</sup> = Is 53<sup>4</sup>. Again no resemblance to the LXX, but probably a translation from the Hebrew.

(8) Mt 12<sup>18</sup> = Is 42<sup>1-4</sup>. The phraseology differs almost entirely from that of the LXX, with the remarkable exception of the last clause, where Matthew and LXX differ from the Hebrew. The passage looks like a translation from the Hebrew with an assimilation to the LXX in the last clause, and a possible reminiscence of the Hebrew of Hab 1<sup>4</sup> in εἰς ῥίκος.

(9) Mt 13<sup>35</sup> = Ps 77<sup>2</sup>. The first clause agrees with the LXX, the second diverges from it. Perhaps an independent translation of the Hebrew.

(10) Mt 21<sup>5</sup> = Is 62<sup>11</sup> and Zec 9<sup>9</sup>. Πρὸς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκώς agrees with the LXX. On the other hand, ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου seems to be a translation of the Hebrew.

(11) Mt 27<sup>9-10</sup>. This quotation presents great difficulties. The best attested reading is ἔδωκαν, but N<sup>\*</sup> and the Syriac versions read ἔδωκα, and the καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι Κύριος of the last clause seems to make the first person essential to the sense. The words καὶ λαβὼν τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετμημένου seem to be a translation of parts of Zec 11<sup>13</sup>. The words καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμῆως look like a reminiscence of the last clause of the same passage, or, better still, like a free adaptation of this clause to the context of Matthew. But why has the translator added καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι Κύριος?

In considering these 11 quotations we may put aside No. (5). It really belongs to the class of quotations included under section a, and, like

them, has been taken from the LXX. With regard to the remaining 10, two features sharply separate them from the other quotations in the Gospel. They are all introduced by a special formula of citation, as follows:—

Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (1<sup>23</sup>).

Οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (2<sup>6</sup>).

Ἴνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (2<sup>15</sup>).

Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (2<sup>18</sup>).

Ἴνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (4<sup>14</sup>).

Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (8<sup>17</sup>).

Ἴνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (12<sup>11</sup>).

Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (13<sup>85</sup>).

Τοῦτο δὲ γέγονέν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (21<sup>4</sup>).

Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ Προφήτου λέγοντος (27<sup>9</sup>).

One other quotation (2<sup>28</sup>), not included above, because it cannot be traced, is introduced with a similar formula.

And, secondly, whereas the other quotations in the Gospel, including those borrowed from St. Mark, have clearly been assimilated, more or less completely, to the language of the LXX, these 10 seem to be translations from the Hebrew. In No. (1) the variations from the LXX are not serious. In Nos. (4), (6), (8), and (10) there are reminiscences of the phraseology of the LXX. In Nos. (2), (7), (8), and (11) there are strong proofs of translation from the Hebrew. The evidence justifies us in treating all 10 as translations from the Hebrew with occasional use of the LXX renderings.

Now if we turn back to the quotations which Matthew takes from Mark, we shall remember that he has assimilated Mark's quotations to the Greek Bible. The same is true in the main of the other quotations from and adaptations of the Old Testament, with the exception of the 10 introduced by a special formula. In other words, it is unlikely that the writer who everywhere else in the Gospel shows an acquaintance and use of the Greek Bible, should, in these 10 passages,

have had recourse to the Hebrew. In one or two of them the LXX rendering would not have given the meaning required. This is the case with Nos. (3) and (7). But in others it would have suited the context quite satisfactorily. The most reasonable inference seems to be, that the Greek writer, who throughout the Gospel has his LXX open before him, must have had these passages already in Greek before his eyes, and cannot have translated them from the Hebrew himself. It would fit the requirements of the case if we supposed that, side by side with St. Mark, he had before him a document in which these prophecies were already quoted as having been fulfilled in the life of Christ. But it seems to the present writer simpler to suppose that these passages, and probably others, were familiar in a Greek dress to the members of the Greek-speaking communities for whom the evangelist was writing. Nothing is more probable than that the Old Testament prophecies formed a storehouse for sermon texts in the Early Church. For one of the 10 there is some little evidence that it was widely known in the form in which Matthew quotes it. This is No. (8). If so, we can understand why Mk 1<sup>11</sup> runs *Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα*. Matthew copies this with *ἐν ᾧ* for *ἐν σοί*. Luke follows Mark without variation. Again we can understand why Lk 9<sup>35</sup> substitutes *ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος* for the *ὁ ἀγαπητός* of Mk 9<sup>7</sup> = Mt 17<sup>5</sup>. He is partially assimilating to the *ὁ ἐκλεκτός* of the LXX.

There is a third feature characteristic of two or three of these 10 quotations which should be mentioned. That is their composite character. No. (1) seems to combine Is 7<sup>14</sup> with Ps 130<sup>8</sup>. No. (2) seems to come in the main from Mic 5<sup>1-4</sup>, but the last clause seems to be affected by 2 S 5<sup>2</sup> or 1 Chr 11<sup>2</sup>. No. (8) seems to be affected in one divergence from Hebrew and LXX alike by a phrase in Hab. No. (10) is a conflation of Is 62<sup>11</sup> and Zec 9<sup>9</sup>. No. (11) has probably been influenced by Jer 22<sup>6-9</sup>.

This feature is shared by this group of quotations with another, namely, 11<sup>7</sup>, which combines Ex 23<sup>20</sup> and Mal 3<sup>1</sup>, and it is curious that we saw reason to suppose that this composite quotation, like the 10 with which we are dealing, was already current in the form in which it occurs in the Gospels before the evangelists made use of it.



If it be asked why Matthew has not assimilated these 11 quotations to the LXX, as he has the bulk of the other quotations in the Gospel, a partial answer may perhaps be found in the fact that in some of them the LXX would not have given the required meaning. This is the case with No. (3) = Hos 11<sup>1</sup>; (7) = Is 53<sup>14</sup>, (8) = Is 42<sup>1-4</sup>, v.<sup>1</sup> of the LXX would have been impossible in Matthew; vv.<sup>2-4</sup> would have suited well enough; (11) = Zec 11<sup>18</sup>, and with Mt 11<sup>7</sup> = Mal 3<sup>1</sup>. *κατασκευάσει* is much more to the point than the LXX rendering *ἐπιβλέψεται*.

It may be well to summarize now the results reached in these two papers.

i. Mark, whether he did or did not translate from an Aramaic original, has assimilated the quotations in his Gospel to the LXX.

ii. Matthew, in the quotations which he found in Mark, and in the quotations which are not already in Mark ascribed to Christ, has also assimilated to the LXX.

iii. To this there are ten noticeable exceptions—the nine passages introduced by a special formula and Mt 11<sup>7</sup>. These are, for the most part, renderings of the Hebrew which, whilst they sometimes contain reminiscences of the language of the LXX, have not been assimilated to the language of that version. They are not the work of the Greek evangelist, but were borrowed by him from the oral tradition of his time, or possibly from a Greek document which he was using side by side with St. Mark.

In conclusion, the argument that the writer of the First Gospel was accustomed to use the LXX, may be strengthened by a few additional facts—

(1) He used the LXX in compiling the genealogy (cf. THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, December 1899, 135 ff.).

(2) Mk 14<sup>11</sup> runs *καὶ ἐπηγγείλαντο αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναί.* Mt 26<sup>15</sup> changes this into *οἱ δὲ ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια.* Why? In remembrance of the LXX of Zec 11<sup>12</sup>.

(3) Mk 15<sup>28</sup> has *ἔσμυρτισμένον οἶνον.* Mt 27<sup>34</sup> alters into *οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον.* Why? To conform with the LXX of Ps 69<sup>22</sup>.

(4) Mk 15<sup>43</sup> has *εὐσχήμων βουλευτής.* Mt 27<sup>57</sup> substitutes *πλούσιος,* perhaps on account of the LXX of Is 53<sup>9</sup>.

(5) Mk 13<sup>26</sup> has *ἐν νεφέλαις,* 14<sup>62</sup> *μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν.* Matthew in both the parallel passages

has *ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν* to assimilate to the LXX of Dan 7<sup>18</sup>.

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## Psalm Problems.

### II.

#### PSALMS XIV. AND LIII.

OF late it has come to be accepted as almost an axiom requiring no further proof, that of the above-named parallel texts Ps 14 may unreservedly claim the preference, and that the divergent readings of Ps 53 may all be traced to errors of hearing or of writing. The strongest expression is given to this view by Duhm. Wellhausen alone among the latest commentators deviates a little from it when he remarks on 53<sup>6</sup>: 'The utterance here, taken as a whole, suits the context as a continuation of the narrative better than the corresponding passage 14<sup>5, 6</sup>.' But immediately afterwards he rejects what are precisely the most striking divergences of Ps 53, so that very little after all comes of his admission. F. Hitzig (*Comm.* 1863) appears to be the last commentator who found in Ps 53 the better text, but he has the best of allies in H. Ewald (*S.K.*, 1829, p. 772 ff., somewhat weakened in *Comm.* of 1866) and J. Olshausen (1853). That this is the correct view, that is, that Ps 53 has preserved not indeed the original text but one much nearer the original than Ps 14, may be proved on close examination.

If the poem is to be rightly understood, we must above all take seriously the result of the testing to which Jahweh subjects the children of men (14<sup>2f</sup>, 53<sup>8f</sup>). For the poet makes Jahweh himself hold an inspection simply in order to put forward the judgment pronounced as indubitably correct. It is really thus the case that *amongst all the children of men* there is none that does good and seeks after God. That is to say, it is not only the heathen that have gone astray but also the people of Israel, and among the latter there is no opposition between righteous and unrighteous, but all come under the sweep of the same condemnation. It is in this way that the opening of the Psalm is to be explained, for the fool concludes that there is no God, for no other reason than that he sees no

recompense of good and evil, no help or reward on the one side, no restraint or punishment on the other (in support of this we may compare the Book of Job or poems like Ps 49 and 73). The poet's answer is that God has no motive for making a difference in His treatment of men, because there is no difference in their manner of life; on the contrary, they have all together gone astray and become corrupt. He thus follows the same course as the post-exilic prophets, Haggai (chap. i. 2<sup>10ff.</sup>), Zechariah (1<sup>3</sup> 7<sup>4ff.</sup> 8<sup>9ff.</sup>), Malachi (2<sup>17</sup> 3<sup>1ff.</sup> 7<sup>1ff.</sup> 13<sup>ff.</sup>). They too have to do with the impatience of self-righteousness, which thinks it cannot reap its reward too soon, and their reply is to show that there can be no talk of righteousness and hence as little claim to reward or help from God. Ezekiel is the one who carries out this principle with least regard to consequences, arguing as he does that the whole past of Israel has been an unbroken chain of sin, so that it has richly deserved destruction.

The above argument is stated in Ps 14<sup>2,3</sup> (53<sup>3,4</sup>). It follows from it that 14<sup>4-6</sup> (53<sup>5,6</sup>) cannot have the future in view, an interpretation which has been offered from time to time, with or without alteration of the punctuation יָדְעוּ to יָדְעוּ. For however great may be the divergence of the two texts from one another, and whatever may be uncertain about them, this much at least is clear, that they make a distinction between evil-doers and righteous persons, the former of whom are punished, the latter protected, by God. Such a condition of things, however, is excluded for the present generation, and even for the future, unless perchance through the conversion of a portion of mankind the contrast between right and wrong be once more established. But of anything of this last kind we read nothing; on the contrary, the הָלָא points to something clearly established, and the words introduced by it have for their necessary presupposition the presence of the contrast between the people of Jahweh and the evil-doers. This can apply only to the past, and in like manner the שָׁם with the following perfect (14<sup>5</sup> 53<sup>6</sup>) can refer only to a fixed point of the past. As evidence that He does not fail to interpose when men do their part, Jahweh Himself points to the time when there were still righteous men who deserved His help. The very words, 'who ate up My people,' indicate in all probability that an act of deliverance is in view which benefited the whole body of the people, that accordingly the whole

people could then be counted righteous, and the evil-doers must be sought for not in Israel but among the heathen. Were it otherwise, instead of עָמִי, a more exact definition, such as עַמִּי עָמִי, might have been expected. The same conclusion is supported by בְּדֹר צְדִיק of 14<sup>5</sup>, which contrasts a righteous generation of the people of Israel with the unvarying unrighteousness of the present.

But the above is all in Ps 14<sup>5,6</sup> that can be harmonized with the foundations of interpretation obtained from vv. 1-3. For the incident to which the fools of the present are referred is completely lost sight of, and in its place we have in v. 6<sup>a</sup> a perfectly meaningless expression. This much, however, may be wrung from the text, that for the present a distinction is made between the עָמִי and his unrighteous adversaries,—which is in flat contradiction to the result of v. 2 and v. 3. It is quite otherwise in Ps 53. There, in v. 6<sup>b</sup>, 'God scattered the bones of him that besieged thee,' a definite occurrence is cited, a Divine judgment upon the besieger of the people addressed. It is ill advised to replace חָנָה by חֲנָה, after the LXX ἀνθρωπαρέσκων, for the generalizing of the situation which is produced thereby is the opposite of what the context requires. Besides, if ἀνθρωπαρέσκων really represent a חֲנָה,—which would suit not badly in Ps.-Sol. 4<sup>8,10,21</sup>,—this strange interpretation is simply a guess from the first two radicals חנ (cf. in Pr 31<sup>30</sup> ἀρέσκειαι for חָן). Hence it may imply a reading חָנָה, which all the other witnesses except the Syr. exhibit, just as well as one חֲנָה. Of course חָנָה for חֲנָה is at least as easy a form as קָמִי for קָמִים עָלַי, and the like. Besides, פָּוַר עֲצֻמוֹת has strong support in Ps 141<sup>7</sup>, Ezk 6<sup>5</sup> (with זָרָה, instead of פָּוַר), Ps 89<sup>11</sup> (with אֲבִירָה, instead of עֲצֻמוֹת). When Wellhausen objects that 'the enemy would have to be dead first,' that affects Ps 141<sup>7</sup> quite as much as the present passage, and in Ezk 6<sup>4f.</sup> the slain are cast down and their bones scattered without any previous special mention of slaughter. The poet's licence would allow more than that.

If the form of expression is thus unexceptionable, the allusion contained in it is also clear without any naming of names. Long ago it was recognized that what is referred to is the failure of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem, described in 2 K 19<sup>35</sup> (Is 37<sup>36</sup>).



This was the last great act of deliverance wrought by Jahweh for His people, which the annals of Israel had to record, the striking contrast to the fall of Jerusalem under Zedekiah. It can have happened, according to the argument of the Psalm, only because the people on account of their righteousness were then worthy of Jahweh's help. It avails not to urge, in opposition to such a reference and such a conclusion, that Isaiah too brings heavy accusations against the Jerusalem of Hezekiah's time (Is 1<sup>22</sup>, etc.). Posterity did not go by the sayings of the prophet, especially as these were undated, but by facts, and the Deuteronomistic verdict (2 K 18<sup>6-7</sup>) alone suffices to justify our Psalmist in contrasting the generation of that period with that of his own day, and in holding it up to the latter as an example.

This interpretation of v.<sup>6b</sup> must be our guide in judging of the different readings and in seeking to establish the connexion. It involves our setting aside of what is in any case meaningless, the עֲצַת עֲנִי of 14<sup>6</sup>, which is represented by the עֲצֻמוֹת חֲנֹךְ of 53<sup>6</sup>, as has been pretty generally admitted from Ewald downwards. In place of the following תְּבִישׁוּ, the הִבִּישְׁתָּה of 53<sup>6</sup>, as a perfect, deserves unconditional preference. Pointed הִבִּישְׁתָּה, 'thou didst put him to shame,' it would fit well with חֲנֹךְ. This expression, which makes the Israel of Hezekiah's time the active subject, would perhaps be better followed, as in 14<sup>6</sup>, by 'for Jahweh was thy refuge' [read then מִתְחַסֵּךְ], although the מֵאֲסֹ of 53<sup>6</sup> ('because Jahweh had rejected him') could also claim to be not impossible. If one prefer to abide by the מֵאֲסֹם of the text, we must emend accordingly, הִבִּישְׁתָּם and חֲנִיךְ. But מֵאֲסֹם is better suited by a reading easily obtainable from the תְּבִישׁוּ of 14<sup>6</sup>, namely, הִבִּישׁוּ, 'they were put to shame' (cf. הִבִּישׁ in a similar connexion in Jer 46<sup>24</sup> 48<sup>1, 20</sup>), which would likewise carry חֲנִיךְ along with it. This last is perhaps the restoration of the text that ought to be preferred. Moreover, הִבִּישׁוּ is witnessed to by the κατησχύνθησαν of the LXX.

And now to return to 14<sup>5</sup> (53<sup>6a</sup>). It is now clear to whom the words פָּחַדוּ פָּחַדוּ שָׁם apply, for it is not the besieger but the besieged that fears: Israel feared when Sennacherib with his countless army sat down before Jerusalem. But this matter-of-course interpretation necessitates the acceptance of the words הָיָה פָּחַד לֹא of 53<sup>6</sup>, which are witnessed

for Ps 14 only by the LXX. For Israel's fear cannot be explained by Jahweh's having scattered the bones of the besieger. The only possible rendering is: 'Then fell they into great fear where yet there was no [ground for] fear,' which *might* be followed directly by 53<sup>6</sup>, 'for God scattered the bones of their besieger'; but a still better foundation is supplied by 14<sup>5b</sup>, 'for the Deity is among a righteous generation.' A righteous generation needs not to fear, because the Deity [observe אֱלֹהִים, not יְהוָה, in 14<sup>5</sup>] dwells with them and aids them. It is the same conviction as was felt by the inhabitants of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. as in 70 A.D., but the issue proved—to the mind of our poet nothing else than that people had been wrong in imagining themselves to be righteous. It can hardly be considered necessary to harmonize the persons in the case of פָּחַדוּ and חֲנֹךְ, and to read either פָּחַדְתָּ or הִינִיחֶם; the transition from the generation, introduced in the third pers. plu., to the more lively direct address of the people, in which that generation still survives, is accomplished without any violence.

Perhaps objection may be taken to our use of the text of Ps 14 *along with* that of 53, because it is usually held that אֱלֹהִים בְּדוֹר of the first is represented by אֱלֹהִים פֶּנִּיר of the second; nay, that פֶּנִּיר is simply the Hebraized form of a supposed Aram. פֶּנִּיר—the converse of which may of course be equally true. But if this be so, then צָרִיק must have dropped out of the one text or have been added to the other. It is scarcely more difficult to assume that the text of Ps 53 arose from the eye of a scribe running past the first of the so similar pairs of words on to the second, while the text of Ps 14 may have been due to overlooking or purposely omitting the second. Finally, the historical interpretation demands that, with 53<sup>5</sup>, we strike out the כָּל of 14<sup>4</sup>. This word serves that generalizing of the situation which characterizes the whole text of Ps 14. The verse should read, 'Did not the workers of iniquity perceive it, who ate up my people as if they ate [read אָכְלוּ] bread?' The last line of v.<sup>4</sup> is alike in both texts, יְהוָה לֹא קָרָא. This may serve if needs must be; but whether in the workers of iniquity we see (rightly) the army of Sennacherib, or (wrongly) violent Israelites, the expression is equally unsuitable. To call upon Jahweh is the part of the oppressed, not of the oppressor; alongside of the



charge that the evil doers eat up Jahweh's people, it comes in with a very perceptibly weakened force. Instead of קראו we would suggest יראו, 'without fear of Jahweh,' which applies equally well to heathen and Jews. The slight variations in v.<sup>1</sup> and v.<sup>3</sup> are without significance.

The probable form of text, derived from the above comparison between Ps 14<sup>5,6</sup> and 53<sup>6</sup>, would read—

שֵׁם פָּחַדוֹ פָּחַד לֹא הָיָה פָּחַד  
בִּי אֱלֹהִים בְּרוֹר צַדִּיק  
יְהוָה פֶּגַר עֲצָמוֹת חַיִּיךָ  
הִבִּישׁוּ בִּי יְהוָה מֵאֵסֶם

That this was the original form we do not at all mean to assert. It is quite possible that it was preceded by an older form, in which Hezekiah and Sennacherib or the Assyrians may even have been introduced by name. The first stage in that generalizing by which the poem was adapted for use in worship would then have been to remove the too perceptible traces of a particular time, and thus to approximate to the above text, which is in essential agreement with Ps 53. Whether the radical transformation exhibited in the present text of Ps 14 was due more to the obscurity produced by the first process, or to a further working of the tendency to generalizing of the contents, or to corruption, it is impossible to decide; probably all these causes were at work together.

The case of this Psalm is highly instructive. Everywhere else we see only a single phase—the final one—of the history of these poetical texts; here we are so fortunate as to have before us two phases. But the majority of the poems will have passed through a whole series of phases before reaching their present form. This is the self-evident conclusion in the case of poems used in religious worship.

To what date is the Psalm to be ascribed upon the ground of the above results? No decisive answer to this question is furnished by the mention of the deliverance of Jerusalem under Hezekiah, for such an act of deliverance, recorded, as it was, in the sacred history of the people, might be repeatedly cited down to the latest times; and until the time of the Maccabees it remained the last of its kind. On the other hand, the above quoted passages from the post-exilic prophets, to which many parallels might be added, show that the end

of the sixth century and the fifth century provided a fruitful soil for the tendencies of thought exhibited and the questions discussed in the Psalm. The possibility is at least not to be lost sight of that our Psalm may have been composed at that period, as a poetical counterpart to the teachings of the prophets.

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### ממשה—Mampsis.

MR. BLISS found in S. Palestine a number of seals (cf. *P.E.F.St.*, July 1900, pl. vi.) with the inscriptions למלך שוכה למלך זוף, למלך חבר, למלך ממשה, i.e. 'to the king [dedicates this] Hebron, Ziph, Soco, ממשה.' The obvious conjecture of Clermont-Ganneau מרשה proved to be wrong, for upon the seal stands quite distinctly ממשה, a place not mentioned in the O.T. But, now, in the *Onomastica sacra* (ed. Lagarde, 85. 3 [2nd ed. p. 120, l. 7]) there is the following interesting passage: 'Est aliud castellum Thamara, unius diei itinere a Mampsis [*var. lect.* Mammephis, Mansis, Memphis] oppido separatum, pergentibus Aeliam [=Jerusalem, or, here perhaps better, Ailat] de Chebron, ubi nunc Romanum praesidium positum est.' It is quite clear that this Mampsis (in Ptolemy shortened to *Maψ*) and the enigmatic ממשה represent one and the same place, especially as the situation also suits admirably. The original name may have been מְמִשִּׁית ('a place where one stops in the evening,' cf. Arab. *mumsā*). It is very likely the same place that is called *Mapsis* in a MS. of the patriarchate of Jerusalem (cf. the Appendix to Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus*, 1871, vol. ii. p. 511, l. 19), and is said to have been the seat of a bishopric in Palestina Tertia; cf., further, Buhl, *Geog. d. alt. Pal.*, p. 184, note 545, who cites, regarding Mapsis, also Georgius Cyprius (ed. Gelzer, 53. 199) and Ptolemy (v. 15. 10, where its longitude is given as 65.40 and its latitude as 30.50).

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE *Historical New Testament* has had a great reception. But there has also been some searching of heart over its 'Prolegomena.' That part of the work has been recognized as 'advanced.' It is advanced, if indeed that is the right word for it, and not 'backsliding.' But it is a serious student's honest findings, and deserves all the attention it is receiving. It will come before us again.

In his little book entitled *Two Lectures on the Gospels*, Mr. F. C. Burkitt touches on the word *Amen*. As used by our Lord to introduce one of His solemn statements (when it is translated 'Verily' in our versions), it is quite peculiar to Himself. In Jewish literature no parallel is found. The Jews used 'Amen' very much as we do, as the answer to the leader in praise and prayer, or as solemnly affirming the words of another. And Mr. Burkitt agrees with Dalman when he says that it was used by our Lord at the beginning of a sentence to serve the purpose and yet avoid the use of an oath—which He had forbidden. This in effect is Jerome's explanation: 'The *As I live*, saith the Lord, of the Old Testament is the *Amen*, *I say unto you*, of the New Testament.'

We are told that angels 'desire to look into' the things that concern the redemption of men.

A recent American writer has been looking into the things that concern the angels themselves, and he has come to one surprising conclusion. His book, which is less than sixty pages, receives a review of great length in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the present quarter. Its title is *The Love of God revealed to the Universe by Man's Redemption*. The author is the Rev. Joseph H. Bradley, D.D., of Virginia.

The conclusion to which Dr. Bradley has come concerning the angels is that they cannot love. He thought first perhaps of what human relationship does for human love. The angels have no relationship. They neither marry, says our Lord, nor are given in marriage. So they at least lose that occasion, or have not that necessity, for the exercise of love.

But Dr. Bradley holds that they do not know what love is. Much of his evidence is from silence and some from bad exegesis. But the statement he seems to rest upon most confidently is that they 'desire to look into the things' concerning our redemption. They do not understand it, he thinks. They are puzzled by it. They know that the only-begotten Son was sent into the world to redeem it. But the reason they do not

know. For the words 'God so loved the world' possess no meaning for them.

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One of the best examples of evolution is our postal system. And it has the advantage of an evolution that still goes on before our eyes. Its history, if not so hoary as Darwin demanded for the transmutation of species, is still very ancient. To the third volume, which contains the English translations of *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (published by Messrs. Luzac, and reviewed last month by Professor Sayce), Mr. King has written an Introduction, in which he carries the evolution of the letter as far back as the days of Sargon of Agade, that is to say, some three thousand eight hundred years before Christ. The letters were then parcels, as they threaten to become again in our day. They were made of clay, and apparently wrapped in clay, and when the cord was tied round them, they were sealed and addressed, and sent by convoys to their destination.

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The next step in the historical evolution of the letter takes us down to Hammurabi's time, sixteen hundred years later. The letters are no longer parcels. They are neat tablets of clay, from three to four inches long, and from two to three inches broad, with an inch in thickness. And they are enclosed in close-fitting envelopes. All is still clay. But it is neatly made and baked, and a little powdered clay keeps the envelope from sticking to the letter. Kings use scribes to write their letters, and one scribe has a small neat hand, another a large bold hand. The science of graphology may already have been in its cradle. Private persons presumably wrote letters with their own hands. At any rate, the private letters which Mr. King describes have all the appearance of privacy and confidence. And now a regular postal system is found established throughout the empire, if not even over the civilized Semitic world. The postmen were called *mārē šipri* in their proper tongue. We know not yet

how many despatches and deliveries there were in a day or a week. But the kings, we discover, had a special service of 'swift runners' for themselves, the embryo of the 'Royal Mail.'

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Correspondents of those early days of letter writing were usually more complimentary than they are to-day, and they were always more pious. It is true that the letters which the great king writes to his subordinate officials are curt in the extreme; but the letters of one monarch to another, as in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, give up a considerable space to preliminary compliment before the matter of the letter is reached, and the complimentary matter is longest when the substance of the letter is least agreeable. Even private letters were very pious. They regularly invoked the blessing of two gods or goddesses on their readers before their news began.

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Professor Jannaris of St. Andrews is a modern Greek—with the emphasis on the adjective. Most of us come to the study of the New Testament from above, he comes to it from below. We study the ancient Greek authors first, he is first familiar with the language as it is spoken in Greece to-day, his own mother tongue.

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It is not surprising therefore that when we meet upon the New Testament we should differ. It is perhaps not surprising that he should tell us that the New Testament text, for which we have done so much, 'as it appears in our printed editions, alike Received and critical, is perhaps the worst edited of all ancient texts.' But when he tells us that the Logos, or Word, in St. John's Gospel never means more than speech or utterance, we are both surprised and incredulous.

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Professor Jannaris has contributed an article on the Logos in St. John's Gospel to Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*. He first asks whether the word *logos* is ever used outside the New Testament and Christianity in



an anthropomorphic sense. He answers, No. The word has two meanings: first, that which is spoken, 'utterance,' 'word'; and second, that which is commanded, 'command,' 'deliverance,' 'decree.' Out of these primitive meanings was developed a philosophical application, 'reason' or 'intelligence,' but that is never found in the New Testament. An application that *is* found in the New Testament has finally to be noted. Under the influence of the Aramaic *memra*, 'word,' the *logos of God* came to be used for the 'person of God,' that is, for 'God Himself,' as in modern Greek the polite phrase 'Your Logos,' (τοῦ λόγου σου) means 'Your Honour.'

Then he asks when it was that the word Logos was used anthropomorphically so as to denote the second person in the Godhead. And he concludes that it was by Justin Martyr, who wrote between 150 and 165 A.D. The earliest occurrence is in Justin's *Apology* i. 5, 'The Logos having assumed form and become man, and having been called Jesus Christ' (τοῦ λόγου μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κληθέντος).

In the New Testament, he says, it is not so. The crucial passage is the beginning of St. John's Gospel. Now the first thing to notice there is the abrupt introduction of the Logos. It is also called *the* Logos, as if it were already known. But how could the writer or his readers know it? Professor Jannaris denies reliance on Philo, as indeed almost all modern scholars do. Where then did this well-known Logos come from? It came, says Professor Jannaris, from the first chapter of Genesis. It is God's word of creation. 'God said, Let there be light.' That was *the word*.

It is true that in the fourteenth verse it is stated that the Word became flesh. But Professor Jannaris cannot believe that the writer could go back for his antecedent here to the first verse. It must refer to something in the immediate context. It is the word of *authority* just spoken of, 'As many as received Him, to them gave He

authority to become sons of God.' And this same authority or word of power then became flesh in us, took up its abode in our flesh. It is a difficult passage for Dr. Jannaris. He does his best with it.

And then he concludes by punctuating the Greek in his own way and translating it thus: 'In the beginning was the utterance. Now the utterance was (made) unto God, and was a god. This utterance was in the beginning (made) unto God. All things came into being through it, and without it not a thing came into being. . . . And the mandate became flesh and lodged in us, and (so) we beheld his [the Light's] glory.'

The *Pilot* for 26th January contains an account of the chief archæological discoveries made in 1900. The scene of discovery is Babylonia, Egypt, and Crete.

Beginning with Babylonia, the writer mentions Mr. King's *Hammurabi*, and notices that the chronicle of that king's reign dates the Cassite conquest of Babylon three centuries earlier than had hitherto been thought possible. He also speaks of the acquisition by the British Museum of some very fine monuments of Akurgal, king of Telloh, of his son Eannadu, and of his grandson Entemena. These tablets are inscribed not in cuneiform or wedge-shaped characters, but in the linear script which preceded that manner of writing. They belong to a period before 4500 B.C., for that is the latest date that is assigned to Entemena.

But the greatest Babylonian discovery of the year was made in Lower Chaldæa by Father Scheil. It is a clay tablet inscribed with real Babylonian hieroglyphics. Archæologists are now agreed that even some of the cuneiform scripts of Babylonia are older than anything found in Egypt; the linear script is older; but they have been led to believe that there was a still older style of writing than the linear in Babylonia, an original hieroglyphic or pictorial script. That belief has

now been confirmed. Dr. Scheil's tablet bears pictorial representations of the vase with pointed base so often found in tombs of the earliest period, a bobbin or distaff-head, a comb, and a human foot, together with more conventional signs representing the sky and seven planets, a canal with plants, and what seems to be the figure of a man.

In Egypt the chief discoveries of the year were made by Professor Flinders Petrie at Abydos. Working among the debris left last year by M. Amélineau, Professor Petrie was able to prove that we have here a cemetery of Manetho's first Egyptian dynasty. And not only is the dynasty thus rescued from the land of myth, where it seemed in much danger of being lost for ever, but proof is abundant that the Egyptians who belonged to it had already reached a high level of culture, including the use of metal weapons and tools, together with an elaborate system of pictorial writing and the use of cylinder seals as evidence of personal ownership.

Where that civilization came from, it is as yet impossible to say. But it came from somewhere. It did not belong to the earlier native population. For the dried corpse (this writer refuses to call it mummy) of a native chief has been found, and is now on exhibition in the British Museum. He lay on his side in a shallow pit scooped out of the sandstone rock; his knees were drawn up to his chin and his hands placed before his face; and beside him lay his red clay pots, and his weapons, which are all of polished stone. He belongs apparently to a native race with strong negroid and even Bantu affinities, who were invaded and conquered by some foreigners with weapons of iron. His period is earlier than that of the first dynasty, and his attitude and accompaniments, including the careful preservation of his body, show that already the Egyptians believed in a life to come. The body was found at Gobelein, in Upper Egypt.

Crete is an entirely new field for archæological discovery. But perhaps the most surprising 'find' of the year has been made there. It is the discovery by Dr. Arthur Evans, on the site of the ancient Cnossos, of a palace covering two acres in extent, and rich with the remains of Mycænæan art. More than that, Dr. Evans believes that in the ruins of that palace he has come upon the very Labyrinth of Minos. Our writer is not quite sure about that, but he is in no doubt about the value of the clay tablets discovered in the archive chamber of the palace. They are judged, from the imported articles found with them, to belong to about the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, or 2500 B.C. They are inscribed in two distinct scripts, one pictorial and one linear, but different from any other scripts, whether Babylonian or Egyptian, yet discovered.

From all these discoveries the writer in the *Pilot* concludes that we are thrown back upon Babylonia as the ultimate, though not the proximate, source of all the culture of the ancient world, and 'it is at any rate of no disservice to this theory that it is in striking accord with the tradition presented in the Old Testament.'

But it is strange that this well-informed writer has missed a discovery of 1900 which touches the Old Testament closer than any of those.

On the 24th of April 1900 Professor George L. Robinson of the M'Cormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, set out from Jerusalem to visit the remains of Petra, the ancient capital of Edom, by the Dead Sea. When he reached the rock-cut ruins of that city (well called Sela, the Rock, in the Old Testament), he discovered, or rather recognized, for the ruins had been seen by Mr. E. L. Wilson in 1882, what he believes to be the great 'High Place' of ancient Edom. It is a large square court, 47 by 20 feet, cut out of the rock on the summit of a low hill. On its west side are two large altars, one rectangular with steps and a trench, the other round, also

provided with steps, and with a drain from its depressed upper surface to a blood pool a little way from its base. Both altars face the east. They have no ornament or inscription. There is a pool of water some thirty feet away.

Professor Robinson gives an account of his discovery in the *Biblical World* for January. He believes that he has discovered the chief 'High Place' of Edom. He believes that it is an exact counterpart of Israel's sanctuary, which also possessed court, laver, altars, and the rest. He believes that its want of ornament proclaims its great antiquity. He believes that it was the scene of bloody sacrifices. And he finally believes that it bears witness to the accuracy of the statement in 1 K 11<sup>1</sup> and 2 Ch 25<sup>14, 15, 20</sup> that Edom worshipped more gods than one.

When the Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was in Constantinople, the year after he published his book called *Pastor Pastorum*, he visited the burial ground, which lies close to the ancient city walls. While he was there, several funeral processions came in. The corpses were carried on biers, borne on men's shoulders. They all lay face upwards. The fashion of the grave-clothes varied, but one particular was in all cases alike. The face, neck, and upper surface of the shoulders were in every instance uncovered, so that between the grave-clothes and the cloth that enveloped the crown of the head, a space of a foot or more, the body was wholly bare.

What made Mr. Latham notice that? It might have been by chance (as we speak of chance) that his eye fell on the first body. But the moment it did so he recalled something that he had once read in a pamphlet, about the clothes that covered the body of our Lord, and the napkin that was about His head. And the appearance of that first body so remarkably agreed with what he had read there, that he was led to observe the other bodies as they were brought

in. They were all alike as to this peculiarity. And now the argument of the pamphlet came back to his mind, and impressed him very deeply.

The pamphlet had been written by the Rev. Arthur Beard when he was Chaplain of King's College, Cambridge. It contained a novel argument for the resurrection of Christ. Much of the argument turned upon the way in which a body was laid in a Jewish tomb and the clothes that it wore. It had therefore made no convert of Mr. Latham, though it made a lasting impression on his mind. When he saw that the bodies of the dead in Constantinople were dressed exactly as Mr. Beard had supposed Jesus' body to be dressed, and that they were laid in the tomb exactly as he had conceived Jesus' body to be laid, and when he remembered how slowly customs change in the East, and how slowly burial customs change everywhere, the whole circumstance of the pamphlet returned to his mind, and he believed that he had found a new and impressive argument for the resurrection of our Lord from the dead.

So after much thought and a careful study of the Gospel narratives, Mr. Latham wrote another book. He calls it *The Risen Master* (Bell, crown 8vo, pp. 504, 6s.). As no one can mistake Mr. Latham's style for that of another, it is evident that he owes no more of his book to Mr. Beard than its introductory argument. He covers the whole ground of the Resurrection, Forty Days, and Ascension. He examines the separate narratives with curious but most reverential care and delicious originality. He even offers a complete and exactly dove-tailed syllabus of the various appearances of our Lord to His disciples. But he never makes another discovery like the one which he frankly owes to Mr. Beard's pamphlet, *The Parable of the Grave-Clothes*.

This is the discovery. The sepulchre in which our Lord's body was laid was hewn out of a rock. You entered by a low doorway, which was after-



wards secured by a heavy stone rolled against it. There were two ledges, one on either side. When the body was brought in, it was laid on one of these ledges. And the head was allowed to rest on a step, a little higher than the ledge for the body, at the farther end from the door.

Now when Peter and John heard in the early morning that the body of Jesus was gone, they ran both together towards the tomb (Jn 20<sup>4</sup>). John (we shall suppose it was John) outran Peter and came first to the tomb. The stone was rolled away, but he did not go in, he only stooped down and looked in. What did he see? Very little indeed. The place where the head had lain he probably could not see, for it was farthest from the door. But he saw the linen cloths lying, and he saw that there was nothing within them.

Then came Peter and went into the sepulchre. At once he saw that something most unusual had taken place. The linen cloths were lying—lying as if the body were still in them, except that they had fallen flat, for the body was not in them, but was gone. The body was gone out of them, but it had not displaced them. Moreover, he saw that the napkin that had enveloped His head was lying on its raised step by itself, still with its ‘roll’ in it. It too had fallen a little flat, for the head was gone, but otherwise it was undisturbed. Indeed the evangelist uses a word which properly applies to the head round which the napkin is rolled, not to the napkin itself. It was a ‘rolled-round’ napkin, he says (ἐντετυλιγμένον).

All this arrested Peter’s eye. John looked in and only sees (βλέπει); but Peter, when he went in and was arrested by this remarkable phenomenon, beholds (θεωρεῖ) the cloths as they lie and the rolled-round napkin in the place by itself. If he had seen that the linen cloths (not clothes, remember, but cloths) had been unwrapped from the body and then had been folded up and laid on the ledge, and if he had seen that the same attention had been shown to the napkin, he would

have gathered no more from that than that the body was gone, and he saw that in any case. Any hands might have unwound the cloths and folded them up so carefully. But, from what he saw, it was plain that no hands had been there at all. The body had simply moved out of the cloths without disturbing them, and then they had fallen flat; the head had simply moved out of the napkin without disturbing it, and then it also had fallen a little flat. It was plain that the body had not been removed; it had actually risen. No man’s hand had done it; it had been done by the mighty power of God.

‘Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw and believed.’ He saw it, he tells us, not merely as something for the eyes to light upon (βλέπει) as before, nor even as Peter saw it with the interest of close observance (θεωρεῖ), but with intelligence (εἶδε), understanding the meaning of it at once. He saw *and believed*. To see that the body was gone was not to believe. But to see that the body had gone out of the cloths without disturbing them, though they had been wound round and round, and that the head had gone out of the napkin, leaving it ‘wound round’ still—that was to believe that Jesus had risen from the dead.

The men were astonished, but they did not lose their heads. They had eyes to observe, they had a mind to believe. They evidently saw all there was to be seen, and they tell us. And it is remarkable that in doing so they say nothing of a heap of spices. For spices had been freely used about the body of Jesus. An hundred pound weight of spices had been used, wrapped carefully within the folds of the linen cloths. Where were these spices now? If the cloths had been unwound from the body, they would have dropped in a great heap upon the ledge or floor of the tomb. It is plain that they had not so dropped. They were invisible to Peter and John. For the body had risen without disturbing its wrappings, and the spices were still concealed within its folds.

## The Three Cups.

BY THE LATE REV. W. A. GRAY, ELGIN.

'For I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.'—Luke xxii. 18 (R.V.).

'I WILL not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine,' that is, the fruit of the vine that stood in the half empty cup before Him. 'Until I drink it new with you,' that is, fraught with a new meaning, endowed with a new quality. 'In My Father's kingdom,' that is, the kingdom to be established in the resurrection world, when the first earth has passed away, and instead of it there has come another, wherein dwelleth righteousness. It is not the kingdom of grace, then, that is here referred to, but the kingdom of glory, as is always the case when the word kingdom is combined with the word Father. 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their heavenly Father.' 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' 'And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom.'

It was in the Eden to come then,—the perfected paradisaic state, and not during the forty days, nor at any time, nor in any sense, during the spiritual dispensation that followed, that the cup now laid aside was to be retaken. It was to be retaken only at the marriage supper of the Lamb. Such is the Saviour's declaration, and there is something beautiful and affecting in it. It is beautiful and affecting, if for no other reason, on account of the note of farewell in it.

We know the feeling ourselves. It may be in a dim and distant fashion, but still we know it. Something is going to happen, and we say, 'This is the last meal I'll take, this is the last walk, before it happens. When I take my next meal, when I take my next walk, it will be amongst other and changed circumstances, amidst other and changed scenes.' To take an illustration,—an illustration adopted by Christ,—the illustration of bridegroom and bride. Here are two who are one day to be united in the closest of earthly bonds. But they have first for a time to be separated. And on the eve of that separation, he who is going to leave closes the

book they have read together, puts away the music they have sung together,—symbols as they are of sympathy and of intercourse,—saying, 'I will not read that book again, I will not sing that melody, till such time as we meet to renew our companionship and fulfil our joy in a union to be broken no more.'

So with the Bridegroom who speaks in the text. His converse with His own had been deep and full. And now that He is going to depart, He lays aside the symbol of that converse, namely, the fruit of the vine. He reserves it for a converse that is deeper and fuller by far,—the converse of the perfected partnership, the ultimate bliss,—saying, 'I will taste of it no more till I drink it new with you in My Heavenly Father's kingdom.' And, as I say, even in this sense, the sense of a tender and touching farewell, the words have a strange and a solemn significance. But this is after all but the outside. They are not only very tender, these words, they are very profound. Wrapped in a veil of metaphor (for of course it is metaphor we have here), we have certain great and important truths brought before us in regard to Christ's fellowship with His people,—its basis, its limits, and its future consummation. What these truths are let us accordingly try to discover, that mystic figure may resolve itself into solid and instructive fact.

Before we touch on the kernel of this passage, however, there are certain points to be noted with regard to the circumstances. This great word of our Lord's was uttered twice,—twice, that is, while He sat at the table in the upper room. There was a twofold celebration at that table, and a twofold repetition of the saying to correspond with it. You have it first, according to St. Luke, in connexion with the celebration of the Passover, which in this case, as in others, was closed by a cup of thanksgiving. When that cup of thanksgiving was passed round and partaken of, our Lord said solemnly, 'I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the

kingdom of God shall come.' But (and here is a matter of importance) upon this occasion, the occasion of the Passover celebration, Jesus had already participated, had put His lips to the cup with the rest. I think that that is a legitimate inference from the words preceding, 'With desire I have desired to eat this Passover,' for if He ate He would also drink. Bear this fact in mind, then, that at the early and preliminary stage of the feast, while the rite was the rite of the Passover, Christ tasted the cup. He made Himself one with the guests that sat with Him, meeting them on their own level, joining them in their own experiences.

But while you have the text in St. Luke associated with the Passover, you have it in St. Matthew associated with the Lord's Supper,—instituted immediately after, at the same table, with the same cup. When that cup, the cup of the Lord's Supper, was passed round and partaken of, our Lord said again with increasing solemnity, 'But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in My Father's kingdom.' But at this point, the point when the Supper took the place of the Passover, there is a change. Christ did not share. Christ did not drink. He put the cup to the lips of His followers, but He did not put it to His own. At least there is no hint that He did so in the narrative. On the contrary, what the narrative lays stress on is the handing, the giving, away from Himself, for others' acceptance, for others' use. Note it carefully as we pass. At this farther and more solemn development we speak of, when the Jewish ceremony became the Christian rite, with a special Christian emphasis, a special Christian meaning, and a special Christian blessing, Christ refused to taste the cup. However closely He allied Himself with the company,—and He *did* ally himself closely,—it is plain that in this particular matter, at this particular time, He drew off from them. 'The fruit of the vine,' He says, 'which I have shared with you in the ordinance of the Passover, I must not and cannot share with you in the Supper. No, nor shall I drink it at all, till I can share it in a happier and a holier sphere—even the Father's presence where is fulness of joy, the Father's right hand where are pleasures for evermore.'

It is all very mysterious. This fellowship, first held, then renounced, then resumed again

more fully and gloriously than before; this cup, first tasted, then laid aside, then taken up again, and partaken of by the Saviour in a feast that shall never pall and shall never end while the ages of eternity roll on, what does it signify—what does it teach? Now the longer you look, and the closer you study, the more you will incline to this explanation. This threefold attitude of Christ to the cup, first as taking it, next as leaving it untasted, and next as tasting it again, corresponds to the threefold attitude of Christ to man as his human brother, as his atoning Saviour, and as his eternal host. Christ in the flesh, coming very near us in experiences we all know well, Christ on the Cross cut off from us in an experience which none knew fully but Himself;—Christ on the Throne, the Throne of the glorified world, coming near us again, and nearer than He ever did before, in new experiences He fits us to share with Him,—here I think is the meaning of the text. Is it fanciful? Is it far-fetched? Is it putting a meaning into the words which is beyond what they will reasonably bear? Let us see.

I. First the cup that is tasted—the Paschal cup. The Paschal cup was a cup of thanksgiving. The wine that filled it was a symbol of the pleasures and bounties of life. And as often as the Jew put it to his lips, he owned his need of these blessings, he expressed his gratitude for these blessings. He drank, not in remembrance of spiritual blessings merely,—he drank in remembrance of temporal mercies. Golden harvests, purple wine vats, prosperous business, happy homes, pleasant friendships,—every gift that enriches life, every tie that binds it,—all were symbolized in the draught. Refreshment, simple human refreshment, refreshment through human pleasure, refreshment through human supply,—such was the meaning of the first cup. Was it not meet that Christ should partake of it? Was it not meet that He should partake of it who was Himself while on earth our true human brother, made one with ourselves in all things,—our pleasures as well as our pains, our gladness as well as our griefs? Perhaps we reflect too little on this side of Christ's humanity—His companionship with His brethren in their comforts. As man with a man's faculties and a man's desires, He sought and He found a man's consolations, in earthly beauty, earthly sympathy, and earthly society and solace. For all this the Saviour gave



thanks as He took up the cup, and to all this He bade farewell as He set it down. We might illustrate by various considerations, but just take two, in which His joy was exemplified, by which His joy was sustained. I mean human wonder and human affection.

Take the joy of human wonder. Wonder is a necessary and healthy faculty of our nature. Wonder as much as anything is the wine of earthly existence, giving it flavour and edge and zest. Do you say, 'Ah! but the Saviour was incapable of wonder. He was God, knowing all things; how could He possibly wonder?' Yes, but He was man as well as God, to whom as a man things were gradually unfolded, to whom as a man things were gradually revealed, and He *did* wonder, and the Bible says once and again that He wondered. Did not He wonder as He opened the book of nature, and learnt the lesson of sun and star, of opening flower and ripening grain? Did not He wonder as He opened the book of Scripture and pierced the mystery of law and prophecy, ancient history, and mystic type? Did not He wonder as He opened the book of character, and found the surprises His Father prepared for Him there, in minds that were ready to bow to Him and hearts that were ready to receive Him, in places the least likely and expected? We are told that He marvelled, marvelled at faith, as at unbelief. Christ on earth tasted the joy of wonder, and in tasting it was our human brother, the same in experience with ourselves.

Or, again, take the joy of human affection. For affection, even more than wonder, is the wine of life. And we may well believe that this human affection—affection in its most natural, normal, and instinctive form—was one of the earthly refreshments of our Saviour. He had His favoured companions. He had His special friends. You say, 'Nay, but the great heart of Christ went out to all, and went out to all alike.' Yes, if you speak of Him as the Divine Redeemer. But we speak of Him as an earthly friend, dependent on earthly ministries, acknowledging earthly ties, and we say the heart of Jesus went specially out to some. Sweet was love to Him as a child, but sweetest the love of home. Sweet was fellowship to Him as a teacher, but sweetest the fellowship of John. Sweet was entertainment to Him as a pilgrim, but sweetest the entertain-

ment of Bethany, with its holy and congenial circle—Mary and Martha and Lazarus.

Do you see now what I want to establish? It is the fact that there was a whole sphere of human and natural gladness, as there was a whole sphere of human and natural sorrow, in which the Saviour moved while on earth, thus made in all things like unto His brethren. And the one sphere is as real as the other. Do not make His dependence on these things fictitious. It was a true dependence, as true as is yours or mine. It was a true thirst for information that made Him put His questions to the Rabbis in the temple. It was a true thrill of gratification that made Him commend the widow at the Treasury and vindicate Mary at Simon's board. It was a true craving for sympathy that made Him long for companionship in the upper room, saying, 'Come quickly, come close. With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.' These things, telling as they did of human qualities, human wants,—even now and again human weakness,—were no mere instructive drama, they were the genuine natural outcome of a genuine natural experience. And of that natural experience, the first cup we speak of—the Paschal cup, the cup of thanksgiving—was a symbol. It was meet then that He should taste it.

2. But, again, pass from the cup that is tasted to the cup that is untasted. That is, the cup of the Supper. And what did the cup of the Supper signify? If the cup of the Passover means refreshment through earthly joy, the cup of the Supper means nutrition through atoning sacrifice. It means pardon, and pardon through suffering. It means acceptance, and acceptance through death. With this sense the Saviour formally endows it. To this use He solemnly consecrates it. 'This cup,' He says, 'is the New Covenant in My blood, shed for the remission of sins. Drink ye all of it. To you I give it. With you I leave it. I touch it not, taste it not Myself.' So the Saviour, who has hitherto kept close to the disciples, draws at this point off from them. He separates Himself from their company. He recedes from their experience. He practically says, 'In this matter of atoning sacrifice there is a great gulf fixed between us. We stand upon different footings. We occupy different spheres. It is you, not I, that benefit. It is you, not I, that receive.' Do not you see the deep truth that

lies here? Why, had Christ put His lips to this second cup,—the cup of the Supper,—what would the meaning have been? The meaning would have been this, that He needed acceptance through His own sacrifice, that He needed pardon through His own death. But He did not. Not for Himself did He suffer. Not for Himself did He die. He suffered and He died for others. And therefore it is to others that He gives the draught, in which His sufferings and His death are symbolized.

So He looks beyond. From His high point of vantage in the upper room He looks onward and forward,—past the coming Cross, past the coming Resurrection, past the long, long centuries of separation to follow, till His eye rests on the final consummation, when the last enemy shall be destroyed and the last one ransomed brought home. 'Then,' He says, 'though not till then, shall I feast with you. Then and not till then shall I drink the fruit of the vine.'

3. And here we pass from the cup that is tasted, and the cup that is left untasted, to the cup that is to be tasted again. Refreshment as before, you see, but this time neither refreshment through earthly sympathy, nor refreshment through sacramental grace, but refreshment through heavenly felicities. You see how the circle sweeps round. From the human (as symbolized in the first cup), through the atoning (as symbolized by the second cup), back to the human again (as symbolized by the third cup), only glorified and made perfect. From the fellowship betokened in the first stage, through the separation suggested in the second stage, back to the fellowship that is promised in the third—only a fellowship, not as before in the wilderness, but crowned and consummated in the Paradise of God. First Christ comes down to man's level, by a condescension to his fleshly experience, then He lifts man up to His level by an admission to His heavenly life. So turns the great wheel of grace, back to the point it began with, only on a higher spiral than before. It commences with a meal, a meal in the upper chamber; it ends with a banquet, a banquet in the many mansions. It commences with the personal society of an earthly Christ; it ends with the personal society of a heavenly Christ, amidst the brightness and beauties of God. Wine—the wine of joy—is provided in both cases, wine of which the redeemed and Redeemer partake

together and alike. But for this new table and new fellowship, new wine.

And new how?

(a) New, for one thing, because endowed with a new meaning. What was the meaning of the wine in the first cup? Earthly refreshment: so Christ ceased to drink that, because the day of His earthly refreshments was over, and the night of His sore and solitary struggle came on. What was the meaning of the wine in the second cup? Atoning blood: so Christ refused to drink that, it was not for the sinless to drink of, but the sin-laden; not for the Saviour, but the saved. But what is the meaning of the wine in the third cup? Neither earthly refreshment nor atoning blood, but full and everlasting victory. Not yet, indeed, is the Christ victorious,—He is only on the path to victory. Not yet has He put His enemies under His feet,—He is only expecting till He does so. Not yet does He put the last crown on His head,—the crown of a redeemed and regenerate world,—He is only preparing it. When this last and new crown is brought forth, 'with shoutings of grace, grace unto it,' then, and not till then, will be brought forth the new wine, and the conqueror's coronation will be followed by the conqueror's feast. At His table His people shall sit. In His draught His people shall share. It is a faithful saying that if we have suffered with Christ, we shall also reign with Him. 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit on My Throne, even as I also overcame and sit on My Father's throne.' This wine is new because endowed with a new meaning.

(b) And it is new, too, because gathered from new soil. Where was the first wine gathered? From fields such as these round Cana, which, with all their luxuriance and with all their beauty were surrounded and mingled with the thorns and the thistles of a curse-struck earth. Whence was the second wine gathered? From the awful thickets of Gethsemane, and the wine-press in the midst of them, which the Son had to tread alone, even the wine-press of the Father's wrath. And whence is the new wine gathered? From the smiling plains and the summer hills of a glorified world, restored to more than Eden's innocence, and therefore bright with more than Eden's bloom,—a world from which the trail of the serpent is for ever wiped out, in which sorrow and sighing and discord and death overshadow and embitter no more.

The Rabbis have a saying that when the six days of Creation were over (or was it rather when the Fall had taken place?), the wine of the grapes of Eden was removed by God into heaven, and there treasured up, to be drunk in the mansions of bliss, when the Father takes His children home. There is a glimmer of truth in the thought. But it is not perfect. It is not complete. For it is a better than the wine of the first Eden that the Saviour will taste with His people gone home. It is the wine of the second,—new wine, drawn from new grapes, ripened on new ground, grapes more rich than Adam tasted, ground more fertile than Adam tilled.

Here we touch upon mysteries. So much we can say with assurance, that in the Resurrection world, whatever that world may be, there will still be the element of the physical. But the physical will be exalted. The physical will be purified. The physical will be glorified. Here and now every physical object has its danger. Every physical pleasure has its pain. Hard by the brightness is the shadow. Hard by the sweetness is the sting. Hard by the comfort is the snare. And therefore in this physical sphere, Christ has meanwhile no part with us. He drank of the fruit of its vine for a season, but He drinks it for the present no more. He will drink it no more till a change comes, and the physical is purified by the spiritual, and becomes the framework and setting of His Father's kingdom, wherein dwelleth righteousness. There, too, His saints shall drink it along with Him, without constraint, for it will never injure, and without satiety for it will never pall.

What shall we more say? For the coming of this kingdom the saints look forward, for they await the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body. And for its coming the earth waits too, for the

banishing of its blight, for the development of its beauty, for the hushing of its discords, and for its full and final redemption, when the creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

The cup tasted, the cup refused, the cup tasted again, so runs the process of grace. A certain union over the first cup, a certain severance over the second, a certain union over the third, more glorious than the first,—such is the circle of redemption,—redemption in a parable. Two thoughts in closing. First, see the connexion between the different steps of salvation. Had Christ not tasted of the first cup He could not have blessed the second. Had he not said, Behold, I drink in communion with you, He could not have said, 'This drink in remembrance of Me.' That is to say, if Christ had not begun by a likeness to His brethren as man, He could not have gone on to atone for them as Saviour. Yes, and if Christ had not filled the second cup with sacramental grace, He could not have promised to fill the third cup with eternal glory. That is to say, if He had not atoned as Redeemer, He could not have welcomed as Host. That is one thought, the connexion between the steps of salvation. And the other thought is this, the place of the Lord's Supper. It stands midway between two cups; on the one hand the cup of a Saviour's fellowship in the flesh, on the other hand the cup of a Saviour's fellowship in the glory. In both those cases He tastes. In this case He does not taste but looks on. He looks on while His followers take the draught, suited to a sinner's state, a sinner's history, and a sinner's need. Is the fellowship less upon *that* account? Nay, if He does not taste the cup, He gives it. And in giving the cup He gives Himself.



# The Priests and the Levites in Ezekiel xlv. 7=15.

BY PROFESSOR ED. KÖNIG, M.A., D.D., BONN.

LAST year THE EXPOSITORY TIMES had a preliminary notice of Professor A. van Hoonacker's important work, *Le sacerdoce lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1899, price 8s. 6d.). A fuller review was promised, however, and this was entrusted to me.

To subject the whole of van Hoonacker's work to close criticism would be almost tantamount to writing a new book. Hence I must confine myself to the examination of one principal part of his work. It will readily be conceded that no part yields in importance to the section which deals with the statements contained in the Book of Ezekiel relating to the Priests and Levites. Professor van Hoonacker himself has shown the far-reaching significance he attaches to this section by publishing it also in the *Revue Biblique*.

Van Hoonacker naturally commences his discussion of the statements in question by an exegesis of Ezk 44<sup>7-15</sup>, which has been called by S. I. Curtiss (*The Levitical Priests*, p. 68) 'the modern critic's bridge.' In recent times this passage has been frequently examined, not only in the commentaries on Ezekiel, but elsewhere. This is done, for instance, by Douglas in his article on 'Ezekiel's Temple' in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, 1898, p. 515 ff.; J. Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im A.T.*, 1899, p. 76 f.; W. Möller, *Hist.-krit. Bedenken gegen die Graf-Wellhausen'sche Hypothese*, 1899, p. 66 ff.; G. Finke, *Wer hat die fünf Bücher Moses verfasst?* (1900) p. 108 f. But all that is contained in these places is far surpassed in importance by the present work of van Hoonacker. Hence we shall be content to examine the new light which he has sought to shed on the above passage of Ezekiel.

The first important point in Ezk 44<sup>7ff.</sup> is that the prophet reproaches the Israelites with having permitted 'foreigners, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh,' to enter the sanctuary of Jehovah (v. 7<sup>a</sup>). One cannot but be reminded of the Gibeonites, who, according to Jos 9<sup>27</sup>, were spared on condition of consenting to become hewers of wood and drawers of water in the sanctuary. But I would point also to Zec 14<sup>21b</sup>,

according to which 'there shall no more be a Canaanite in the house of the LORD.' Van Hoonacker remarks (p. 191), 'Ezekiel clearly presupposes that the functions, the entrusting of which to foreigners was a breach of the covenant, ought to have been discharged by members of the tribe of Levi.' But the opposite of 'foreigner and uncircumcised' is 'Israelite,' and is it certain that the prophet had no other possibility in mind than that those functions were to be exercised by those who belonged to the tribe of Levi? Van Hoonacker, answering this question in the affirmative, puts the further question, 'Was it the prophet's view that all members of the tribe of Levi had one and the same original right and the same obligation in the matter of the various functions that were the prerogative of the clergy?' (p. 192). But neither is this question of decisive importance for the understanding and the appreciation of the passage before us. The first essential point is that the persons of whom the prophet speaks in v. 10 are told that they are to be degraded from their present position. For a punishment is threatened upon them (vv. 10<sup>b</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup>), and the prohibition to exercise a function can be called a punishment only if the persons in question had the acknowledged right to perform that function. But if the prescription that one part of the tribe of Levi was to be subject to the other (Nu 4<sup>27</sup>, etc.) had already been publicly recognized in the time of Ezekiel, then the injunction that one part of this tribe was not to exercise the priestly office (v. 13<sup>a</sup>) could not have been represented at all as a punishment inflicted on them. The importance of this point is expressly recognized by van Hoonacker, who says, 'The form of penalty inflicted on the unfaithful priests consists in their degradation to the rank of porters,' etc. (p. 192). Nevertheless he declares (p. 193 f.) that Ezekiel 'presupposes, at least in theory, the existence of two quite distinct classes of cultus-officials within the tribe of Levi. The one class included those members of the tribe who had the lower duties assigned to them, the other embraced those who were not legally bound to discharge these lower duties, because the obligation to perform them

constituted in future (*désormais constituait*) a degradation and a punishment.' Do the terms *désormais* and *constituait* harmonize here? How does a verb in the past tense suit the word *désormais*? Would it not be necessary to say *constituera*? I should never have thought of raising this question but that the imperfect *constituait* appears to me to be an involuntary sign of the suppositive character of van Hoonacker's explanation of Ezk 44<sup>7-15</sup>. He does not take the text as it is, or treat the words of the prophet as documentary evidence for the legal standing of the members of the tribe of Levi. But let us return to examine the particular opinions expressed by van Hoonacker.

First of all, there is a contradiction between the word *dégradation* (p. 192) and *constituait* (p. 194). The admission that in v.<sup>10b</sup> a degradation of these particular members of the tribe of Levi is announced, and the view that the very same persons were previously bound as a matter of fact to discharge the same lowly offices, contradict one another. Is this self-contradictory attitude of van Hoonacker occasioned by a comparison between Ezk 44<sup>7-15</sup> and 2 K 23<sup>8f</sup>? During the reign of Josiah, to be sure, all priests (*כהנים*) who had ministered for the people of Israel at the *bāmôth* were brought to Jerusalem (v.<sup>8a</sup>), and were not permitted to ascend the altar there (v.<sup>9a</sup>). But this measure did not sanction any new stage in the legal standing of the members of the tribe of Levi. As far as the divine directions were concerned, even after this action on the part of king Josiah, all members of the tribe of Levi were still entitled to exercise the priestly office. The divine abrogation of this hitherto existing right was brought about by the prophet Ezekiel.

Or, are the contradictions in which van Hoonacker involves himself, due to a comparison with other passages of the Book of Ezekiel? He turns first to 44<sup>15</sup> and remarks, 'the Zadokite priests themselves were, according to the prophet, and continued to be, Levites' (p. 194). But this statement is based upon a confusion between the two ideas which the word *lewijim* conveys in the O.T. In many passages it designates particular persons as belonging to the tribe of Levi (cf. Jos 3<sup>3</sup> 8<sup>83</sup>, etc., Jer 33<sup>18, 21f</sup>). Elsewhere the word characterizes those to whom it is applied as assistants of the priests (Ezr 6<sup>20</sup>, Neh 8<sup>7, 9</sup> 4<sup>4ff</sup>, 12<sup>47</sup>, etc.). What is its meaning in Ezk 44<sup>7-15</sup>?

In v.<sup>10</sup> *ha-lewijim* must have the first of the above two significations. For the parties spoken of are to be punished for having taken part in idolatrous worship (vv.<sup>10b, 12b</sup>), they are not to be allowed to discharge the priestly office in the sanctuary of Jahweh (*לֹא-יָגִשׁוּ אֵלַי לְכַהֵן*, v.<sup>18a</sup>). They are to suffer degradation, as van Hoonacker himself has expressly admitted previously (p. 192). Then, in the other instance in which *lewijim* occurs, in 44<sup>7-15</sup>, it appears in the collocation *הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם* (v.<sup>15a</sup>). Here again it has confessedly the first of its two senses. The other sense of the word *lewijim* does not present itself at all in 44<sup>7-15</sup>, a passage in which the prophet, so far from presupposing that the term *lewijim* designates a subordinate class of cultus officials, actually employs the term as an attribute of *כהנים*, 'priests' (v.<sup>15a</sup>).

Further, van Hoonacker examines the list of duties to be imposed upon the degraded priests, and argues that 'the terms used in v.<sup>11</sup> must have a special sense, exactly fixed by tradition, before Ezekiel could employ them as he does in this passage' (p. 194). It will perhaps be admitted that this argument is, to begin with, rather wanting in clearness. For the functions mentioned in v.<sup>11a</sup> were so obvious that the terms used for them did not need to be fixed by tradition. Besides, the priesthood which had been established for centuries at the central sanctuary, may have obtained, as a matter of use and wont, a precedence in the actual performance of the legal ordinances, and a certain partition of the ritual functions may have established itself in practice. But that is not the point. Practice could not abrogate theoretical right. Hence those expressions which occur in Ezk 44<sup>11</sup> regarding certain branches of the duties at the sanctuary, do not prevent the conclusion that from the point of view of fundamental law *all* parts of the temple service were equally permitted to *all* families of the tribe of Levi.

Are not the Zadokites, however, already presupposed in 40<sup>46</sup> and 43<sup>19</sup> as the priests of the sanctuary (p. 194), and are not *inferior* cultus officials also mentioned in 40<sup>45</sup> (p. 195)? But in 40<sup>45</sup> *בְּהִימֵי שְׁמֵרֵי מִשְׁמֶרֶת הַבַּיִת* are spoken of. Van Hoonacker does not, indeed, emphasize (p. 195) the circumstance that the title *כהנים*, 'priests,' is employed here. He thinks to do sufficient justice



to the force of this circumstance by noting that the 'porters' at the time of king Joash are called 'priests' in the Book of Kings. He quotes no passage, but we read in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>, הַכֹּהֲנִים שְׂמָרֵי הַסֶּף, הַכֹּהֲנִים. What follows from this expression? This, that *kôhănîm*, 'priests,' under certain circumstances, discharged also the office of keeping the threshold of the sanctuary. What clearer proof could we have that the concept of *kôhên* had in early times a wide range? What clearer indication of the legal basis from which Ezekiel started in sketching his programme? Instead of calling attention to this wider use of *kôhănîm*, van Hoonacker thinks he has discovered an opposition to it in 40<sup>45</sup>. This he finds in the circumstance that the Zadokites are reckoned in 40<sup>46</sup> among the *bēnê lewî*. But is this in any way surprising? Whatever rank the Zadokites held, they belonged in any case to the 'sons of Levi.' The legal definition of their rank did not do away with their descent. Thus, too, is the circumstance explained that the Zadokites are reckoned also in 43<sup>19</sup> and 44<sup>15</sup> (see above) among the members of the tribe of Levi.

A passage to which van Hoonacker recurs more than once (pp. 194, 196) is 48<sup>11</sup>. There we read, 'The priests that are sanctified of the house of Zadok, who kept My charge; who went not astray when the children of Israel went astray, as the *lewijîm* went astray,' etc. *Firstly*, it is possible that here the term *lewijîm* means 'the members of the tribe of Levi in general,' i.e. the *lewijîm* who did not belong to the species of the Zadokites, this subdivision of the tribe of Levi. The majority of the members of the tribe might be designated by the general term, because no special term had been coined as a name for this major part. That this was the meaning of the word *lewijîm* here could be inferred from the previous occurrence of the opposed term 'sons of Zadok,' for the reader was aware that the Zadokites too were amongst those that belonged to the tribe of Levi. *Secondly*, the genealogical expression, 'sons of Zadok,' would naturally lead to the taking of *ha-lewijîm* also in the genealogical sense. *Thirdly*, 44<sup>10-14</sup> presents an obstacle to our regarding the expression *ha-lewijîm* as a description of the legal standing of the parties in question. For this passage announces that the *lewijîm* who had shared in the idolatry of Israel are to suffer degradation. They must have still enjoyed the right of כֹּהֵן (44<sup>13a</sup>), else it would

not have been announced that, as a punishment for their sin, this function was to be taken from them. For these reasons we are not to hold, with van Hoonacker (p. 196), that 48<sup>11</sup>, whose rendering is given above, contains 'a terminology consecrated by an already established tradition.' But let us assume that in 48<sup>11</sup> there is a trace of the transition whereby the expression *ha-lewijîm* lost its genealogical sense and became the title of a particular order. Might not the way for this transition have been paved by king Josiah's reformation (2 K 23<sup>8f.</sup>), which received its sanction through the prophetic pronouncement of Ezk 44<sup>7-15</sup>? Finally, would it not be in harmony with 44<sup>7-15</sup> if the expression *ha-lewijîm* in 48<sup>11</sup> is, so to speak, on the point of passing from a genealogical term to an official designation?

The importance which the reformation undertaken by Josiah (2 K 23<sup>8f.</sup>) possesses for the explanation of the passages with which we are concerned in Ezekiel, does not appear to have been at all adequately appreciated by van Hoonacker. What may be the reason of this? Well, he supposes that Ezekiel in his vision may have transformed the actual conditions of his time (p. 197). 'One sees with what liberty the prophet, in order to give a real embodiment to his visions, utilizes the elements supplied to him by history' (*ib.*). Now, the *future* standing of the 'prince' may be a new creation of Ezekiel's (45<sup>17</sup> 46<sup>2ff.</sup>). But, as regards the punishment of a portion of the tribe of Levi (44<sup>7-15</sup>), he must have taken account of the law as it existed in his own day, otherwise his words would have had neither basis nor meaning. Such a basis is absolutely indispensable for the penalty announced in 44<sup>10-14</sup>, and it cannot be destroyed by pointing out the hyperbolical character of predictions uttered by Ezekiel in the course of chaps. 40-48. Van Hoonacker, indeed, refers again to 'the purifying stream' (p. 197), whose beneficent influence is described in 47<sup>1-12</sup>. But the perspective of prophecy is often very ideal, and yet this does not do away with the reality of the historical features to which regard is had in any particular section of a prophecy. How, for instance, could anyone conceive of the prophet Nahum having threatened the conquest of Nineveh (Nah 2<sup>9</sup>), after Nineveh had been already conquered? Hence, we repeat, it is absolutely necessary that the persons spoken of in Ezk 44<sup>10-14</sup> had still the right to offer priestly services to



Jahweh at the time when it was announced to them that, as a punishment for their transgression (v.<sup>12b</sup>), they must give up this function (v.<sup>13a</sup>).

Again, van Hoonacker thinks he can prove the priority of the so-called Priests' Code (p. 199). He remarks, for instance, that 'in his description of the temple (chaps. 40-42) the prophet mentions a number of arrangements without stating their purpose. It is incomprehensible that this detailed plan should have been elaborated and put forward unless its author and those to whom he addresses himself were acquainted with an equally detailed ritual with which the temple described might correspond.' It is unnecessary to offer uncompromising opposition to this. I myself, in my *Einleitung in d. A.T.*, p. 228 ff., have urged that the stratum of the Pentateuch which I have called the 'esoteric-priestly' (P) did not spring in a single moment from the brain of an author as Minerva from the head of Zeus. But the words of van Hoonacker just quoted do not establish the possibility that the legislative enactments contained in P as to the relations of priests and Levites are prior in time to Ezk 44<sup>7-15</sup>. For according to P, one portion of the members of the tribe of Levi had the right absolutely denied them of approaching the altar and the other apparatus of the sanctuary (Nu 3<sup>32ff.</sup> 4<sup>27. 28. 33</sup>). If this had been the publicly recognized rule as early as the time of Ezekiel, 44<sup>7-15</sup> could not have been written, for the prohibition to exercise the priestly office, addressed to a portion of the members of the tribe of Levi, could not then have been spoken of as a punishment inflicted upon this portion.—The actual course of things was the reverse of what van Hoonacker supposes. The doom pronounced by the prophet on one portion of the tribe of Levi represents a stage in the development of the legal position of the tribe of Levi as this appears in P. So also, rightly, R. Kraetzschmar in the *Hdkomm.* 'Ezekiel,' 1900, p. 283.

Van Hoonacker objects that, if this theory of the development of things be correct, P would have given a different account of the different portions of the tribe of Levi than what it actually contains. He thinks it would have said nothing about the two lines, the Eleazarites and the Ithamarites, but would have named only Zadok as the ancestral head of the priests. But this does not appear to me to be the right starting-point for judging the

so-called Priests' Code. Rather may we say that the latter brings together old and new traditions. In this garden the old trees were not rooted up when new shoots sprang up from and beside their roots. Nay, is it not the 'father of history' who thus states the principle on which he worked: 'Ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γὰρ μὲν ὧν [= αὐτῶν] οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω (Herod. vii. 152), i.e. 'I feel myself bound to relate what is related to me, although I do not feel bound to believe it all.' I have recently met with a similar statement in Lucian (*De Syria dea*, § 11), and quite a peculiar interest attaches to the words of A. Wiedemann (*Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Aegypter*, 1900, p. 9) regarding the Egyptians: 'Everything which forefathers believed was preserved in the most real sense, along with all that later generations had added, without people troubling themselves about the different currents of thought which consequently ran side by side in the Egyptian literature.'

Van Hoonacker also finds it a stumbling-block (p. 205) that the members of the tribe of Levi, who are in future to hold the priestly office, are called in Ezk 44<sup>15</sup> Zadokites, whereas, according to 1 Ch 24<sup>3ff.</sup>, the priests consist of descendants of Zadok and descendants of Ithamar. He has not noted, however, that sixteen of the twenty-four priestly classes were composed of Zadokites, whereas the Ithamarites made up only eight classes. Is it an impossible supposition that the priests were named after the majority who naturally stood in the forefront? Besides, Ezekiel's announcement regarding the Zadokites may have been modified by the subsequent history. For the degradation *by law* of a portion of the tribe of Levi remained all the same, and this degradation was the main point in 44<sup>7-15</sup>. Moreover, the meaning of a prophetic utterance cannot be made to depend upon whether it was effectual or not (cf. Jer 18<sup>7-10</sup>, etc.).

I am compelled, then, to conclude that Professor van Hoonacker has failed, like others, to vindicate the old conception of the history of the legal relations of priests and Levites. If, on the other hand, any one desires to see how thoroughly the newer view of this history is in harmony with the O.T. statements about the place and the times of worship, he may turn to my *Einleitung in d. A.T.*, pp. 175 ff., 217 f., 232 ff.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

### HEBREWS IV. 15.

'For we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (R.V.).

### EXPOSITION.

'A high priest.'—[The author] gives prominence to that feature of Christ's priestly character of which alone he has as yet explicitly spoken: His power to sympathize, acquired and guaranteed by His experience of temptation. He presents Christ to view as the Sympathetic One in golden words which may be regarded as an inscription on the breastplate of the High Priest of humanity. . . . It is noteworthy that the doctrine of Christ's sympathy is here stated in a defensive, apologetic manner, 'We have not a High Priest who cannot be touched,' as if there were someone maintaining the contrary. This defensive attitude may be conceived of as assumed over against two possible objections to the reality of Christ's sympathy—one drawn from His dignity as the Son of God, the other from His sinlessness. Both objections are dealt with in the only way open to one who addresses weak faith, namely, not by elaborate or philosophical argument, but by strong assertion.—BRUCE.

'That cannot be touched with the feeling.'—The fine rendering 'touched with the feeling of' (Gr. *sympathize*) is due to the Geneva version.—DAVIDSON.

It expresses not simply the compassion of one who regards suffering from without, but the feeling of one who enters into the suffering and makes it his own. So Christ is *touched with the feeling of our weaknesses*, which are for us the occasions of sins, as knowing them, though not with the feeling of the sins themselves.—WESTCOTT.

'Our infirmities.'—Infirmities or weaknesses are those things in us, whether moral or bodily, which when acted upon by trial give way and lead us into error. Such qualities are common to all who partake of human nature, although in some they may exist in greater degree; and some in whom they exist may from favourable circumstances hardly be aware of them, and feel strong because never put to the proof. It is certain, however, that life, however lived, has its temptations, and those who escape its hardness are even more dangerously ensnared by its softness. Such weaknesses are properly innocent, though they may be the cause of sin, just as if in excess they may be the result of sin, or even themselves sinful. They are spoken of here as parts of our nature, innocent in themselves, but the natural points for temptations to lay hold of. With them in themselves, and with the Hebrews as compassed about by them, and in the circumstances of trial in which they were, their High Priest is able to sympathize.—DAVIDSON.

'One that hath been in all points tempted.'—'Tempted' refers alike to the trials of life, which are in themselves *indirect* temptations—sometimes to sin, always to murmuring and discontent; and to the *direct* temptations to sin, which are life's severest trials.—FARRAR.

*Tempted* is tried; not direct seduction to evil is meant by the word, but afflictions in the course of a life of well-doing, and because of well-doing, which, however, indirectly become temptations to evil. The Son was made in all points like His brethren (2<sup>17</sup>), and the one 'all points' implies the other. For life is not made up of details, but of principles. What was needful in the High Priest was not the actual experience of each trial to which any one might ever be subjected, but a mind schooled in trial so as to have a fellow-feeling and bear gently with those tempted. What He was and His circumstances made His life a typical human life, so that not only we who follow are exhorted to consider Him (12<sup>3</sup>), but they who preceded Him, like Moses, were drawing rude outlines and narrower circles of His one life, and, though without full consciousness, suffering His reproach (11<sup>30</sup>). In point of fact, His life even in outward circumstances, and more in its moral meaning, was a very varied one.—DAVIDSON.

'Like as we are.'—The apostle is writing to Hebrews whose temptations came directly from the pressure of external circumstances, and hence he alludes most of all to the temptations which Christ suffered from without, His afflictions and ignominy. Each of these was a force bearing on Him to draw Him away from His mission, and make Him falter or turn aside, or seek its accomplishment in a softer way. To us who live at ease, the inner side of His life may speak better things—the temptation to use the spiritual powers which He possessed to minister to cravings not unnatural to the human body or mind. Along with this must have gone the temptation to assumption from conscious superiority—to spiritual pride or spiritual disdain. But He is only disappointed when His brethren fail to equal His own great deeds (Mt 14<sup>31</sup>), and His simplicity of mind is seen in His unaffected wonder at the faith of others (Mt 8<sup>10</sup>). From His disregard of social relations, one temptation might seem unknown to Him, and that the greatest, the temptation to love evil in those we love, or to be lowered into the colder moral atmosphere of intense human affection, or to shrink from what is required of us that would pain it. Yet Christ loved too, and was loved, and His alarm at the suggestion of Peter (Mt 16<sup>22</sup>) betrays that here, too, lay His weakest point.—DAVIDSON.

'Yet without sin.'—The words are capable of two distinct interpretations. They may (1) simply describe the issue of the Lord's temptation, so far as He endured all without the least stain of sin. Or they may (2) describe a limitation of His temptation. Man's temptations come in many cases from previous sin. Such temptations had necessarily no place in Christ. He was tempted as we are, sharing our nature, yet with this exception, that there was



no sin in Him to become the spring of trial. The first of these thoughts, is not excluded from the expression, which is most comprehensive in form, but the latter appears to be the dominant idea.

We may represent the truth to ourselves best by saying that Christ assumed humanity under the conditions of life belonging to man fallen, though not with sinful promptings from within.—WESTCOTT.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### The Father's Pity and the Son's Sympathy.

*By the Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, D.D.*

1. Both the Old Testament and the New show two aspects of God's attitude towards us—His displeasure towards the sinner as identified with his sin, and His grace towards him as separable from his sin. Looking at the gracious side of God's character, we find that in the Old Testament all His patience, His kindness, His pardoning mercy, rests upon the quality of *pity*. God is divided from man by a vast interval. Reverence is the foundation of all greatness of character, and the first step in religion. This lesson of reverential fear the Hebrews learned beyond all other peoples. The Old Testament is full of the contrast between the greatness of Jehovah and the feebleness of man. Whatever it discloses of divine kindness seems to be the condescension of One too great to be anything else but nobly pitiful.

2. Such views of God produced very noble characters. The man who learns the greatness of the divine nature by laying his soul alongside of God, and profoundly worships Him, is himself ennobled, aspiring to his divinity. This is faith, to grasp the strength in God, and the greater we see the gulf to be between Him and all others, the more unhesitating will be our grasp.

3. Yet this tendency to regard God's goodness as due to His pity implied imperfect appreciation of His love, for compassion is not the perfection of love. Even though in God love is free from that contempt and condescension which often spoils human pity, love has not done its best when, from above, it pities us who are below. Perfect love cannot be separated from its loved one; it must bridge the gulf between, and forget pity in sympathy. Love drew down the Son of God to become man, and to share his lot. For

such love, pity is too weak a name. Henceforth we have still the Father pitying the children of His love, but we have also the Son, our Brother, who feels with us as one of ourselves. God has entered into a new relation to humanity. To His compassion has been added a fellow-feeling.

4. What is this new relation worth to us? We know how community of suffering affects our own interest in others. In three ways experience must affect even God's compassion. (a) It gives such knowledge as no spectator can have. We may feel that our lives are a hopeless complication of good and evil, of mixed motives, of results of circumstance. Who can unravel the skein so well as One who has not only seen our life with the clear vision of God, but has felt with us in each step, having experienced the same influences and temptations? (b) He has abolished the gulf between us; He is our Fellow. True, He is separate in His sinlessness. As long as a man wishes to continue bad, he will avoid Him, but His sinlessness is no drawback to those who would repent. To some virtuous men no fallen neighbour could go for counsel. His goodness is not such. It has known temptation. It is not cold virtue, but warm charity. It repels no man. He has learned, we may say, to sympathize with sinners. (c) He has suffered, and all human suffering finds an echo in His heart. Not in vain He lived our life. He has translated divine compassion into human sympathy, and become a 'merciful and faithful High Priest to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.'

### II.

#### Our Lord's Temptations.

*By the Rev. G. H. Fowler.*

In considering the Temptation of Christ we seem to be confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, if He could not be really tempted how could He be truly man? On the other hand, if He could feel an impulse to evil how could He be truly God? How does Scripture answer this question?

1. It bears witness to the sinlessness of Christ. This is the testimony of those who knew Him best. His own challenge to the Jews is, 'Which of you convinceth Me of sin?' His claim to be the Light of the World, the Way, the Truth, the



Life, the King of Truth, could never have been made by one conscious of sin.

2. Scripture testifies no less clearly to His temptation. A man may be tempted in two ways. He may be drawn to sin for pleasure, or turned from good by fear of pain. In both ways the Lord was tempted. Temptations of the first kind assailed Him in the wilderness, temptations of the second kind in Gethsemane and on the Cross. Did He really feel the temptation? He must have done so as true man, but it never influenced His will. He never consented to it.

3. Scripture points to a moral progress in Christ's human life: He 'learned obedience by the things which He suffered,' He was 'made perfect' by suffering. But this moral development is quite consistent with sinlessness. He grew from the spotless innocence of childhood to the perfect holiness of manhood. Is such human development impossible if He were God incarnate? Could He thus surrender His divine attributes and take our nature with all its limitations? Let Scripture answer again, 'Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor.' What riches did He give up but His divine glory? Again St. Paul says, 'Who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant.' The mystery of the union of the divine and human natures is still unsolved, but we may find an analogy to help our faith in common life. We are conscious even while indulging in sin of a remonstrance from our own better nature, another, diviner, self. There are two natures in man; he is made in God's image.

We may picture Christ, then, as a pure innocent child, only partially conscious of His unique relation to God, passing unscathed through ordinary temptation. His character develops, His knowledge increases, at last at His Baptism His mission is clearly realized, and His divine personality completely revealed to Him. Then comes the Temptation. Will He consecrate His miraculous powers to the Father's service, or apply them even innocently to His own use? Again man stands at the parting of the ways, free to choose. Jesus triumphs where Adam failed, and in His victory we see the first-fruits and pledge of man's final victory over evil.

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

**Touched with the feeling of our infirmities.**—A chord which has once been set in unison with another vibrates (they say) when its fellow is sharply struck. God has set His heart through human suffering into perpetual concord with human hearts. Strike them and the heart of God quivers for fellowship. If this is compassion, it is so in a more literal sense than when we use the word as a mere synonym for pity. It is 'sympathy' in the Greek and New Testament sense; it is, as our version has it, being 'touched' with the same feeling. It is the remembrance of His own human past which stirs within the soul of Christ, when, now, from His high seat, He sees what mortal men endure. An echo from His own years in Syria, from His workshop toil, from household vexation, from open graves, from ingratitude and treachery of friends, from lonely anguish in prayer, from curses and blows and taunts, from the nakedness and thirst and nervous strain of Golgotha; an echo from an unforgotten passion answers back to all the cries and sighs that go daily up from men and women, who to this hour on earth must toil and weep and pray, and agonize and die. Ah! that a world of weary sufferers only knew what beatings of heart are answering back from within the unseen where the Eternal hides.—J. O. DYKES.

CHRIST'S heart was wrung for me, if mine is sore;

And if my feet are weary, His have bled;

He had no place wherein to lay His head;

If I am burdened, He was burdened more,

The cup I drink, He drank of long before;

He felt the unuttered anguish which I dread;

He hungered Who the hungry thousands fed,

And thirsted Who the world's refreshment bore.

If grief be such a looking-glass as shows

Christ's face and man's in some sort made alike,

Then grief is pleasure with a subtle taste:

Wherefore should any fret or faint or haste?

Grief is not grievous to a soul that knows

Christ comes,—and listens for that hour to strike.

C. ROSSETTI.

I HAVE recalled gratefully again and again a word that my drawing-master gave me when I was a little lad, blundering at my first lesson. I had set the copy before me, and was trying very hard to reproduce it—but, alas! what crooked lines. How impossible it was for anything to be like my picture—and yet how impossible it seemed to make my picture what it should be. Smudged and messed by many rubbings out and many failures, trying only made the matter worse. Then came the master, and took the pencil, and in the twinkling of an eye the thing was done—every stroke firm, straight and exact. Then my despair was completed—I had tried so hard and failed so utterly, and he had done it without trying at all! I laid down the pencil with a sigh, and said, 'I shall never draw.' 'Nonsense,' said the master cheerily, patting me on the shoulder, 'you can draw as well as I could when I was your age.' What! was there a time when *he* bungled and blundered? I looked up in amazement. 'I mean it,' he said, amused at my look. I was an artist then—if never since. He had come down and back to me, and was himself again the little awkward

beginner, and I was lifted up and linked on to him. That was gentleness, and it made me great. It saw not the copy only. It was not ashamed of the blundering little pupil; it came down to be a child that it might help the child up towards the artist. Look at it. Is not that the very gospel of God? God hath made Himself one with us that He may make us one with Himself.—MARK GUY PEARSE.

**Tempted like as we are.**—They tell us that in some trackless lands, when one friend passes through the pathless forests, he breaks a twig ever and anon as he goes, that those who come after may see the traces of his having been there, and may know that they are not out of the road. Oh, when we are journeying through the murky night and the dark woods of affliction and sorrow, it is something to find here and there a spray broken or a leafy stem bent down with the tread of Christ's foot, and the brush of His hand as He passed, and to remember that the path He trod He has hallowed, and that there are lingering fragrances and hidden strengths in the remembrance, 'in all points tempted as we are,' bearing grief for us, bearing grief with us, bearing grief like us.—A. MACLAREN.

THE sin lies not in evil solicitation, but in sympathy with the solicitation, in the wish that it might be yielded to, that the gratification were possible. We do not conquer temptation when we merely refuse to yield to it, when some urging of conscience, some fear of consequences, some sense of stern law restrains us. A man may not dare to do, and yet may wish that he might do. A man conquers temptation only when his very desire repels it, when his whole nature rises up against its wrong, when the sense of law is lost in strong moral feeling, and he would not do it if he might. This was our Lord's victory; His entire soul was antagonistic to wrong. The tempter had nothing in Him. It follows from this that a moral nature suffers from temptation in proportion as it is pure and perfect. It is not the mere temptation that causes the suffering, but the moral refinements and sensitiveness of the nature that is tempted. It may abhor the suggestion, may be far removed from all fear of yielding to it, and yet from its very perfection suffer most intensely. In this way Christ suffered being tempted. His power of suffering from evil suggestion was infinitely greater than that

of a man whose feeling is tainted by sinful sympathy; just as some men are both physically, emotionally, and morally far more sensitive than other men. The greatest nature is capable of the greatest feeling; the purest nature endures the most from the suggestion of sin.—H. ALLON.

WHEN man was foiled in Paradise, he fell  
From that fair spot, thenceforward to confess  
The barren and the thorny wilderness  
Was the one place where he had right to dwell.  
And therefore in the wilderness as well  
The second Adam did that strife decide,  
And those closed gates again set open wide,  
Victorious o'er the wiles and strength of hell.  
Thou wentest to the proof, O fearless Lord,  
Even to the desert as Thy battlefield,  
A champion going of his free accord:  
We had no fears, for, unlike him of old,  
Who lost that battle for us, Thou did'st wield  
Arms of unearthly temper, heavenly mould.

R. C. TRENCH.

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## The Judaean Ministry of Jesus.

BY THE REV. THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., CANON OF WELLS.

### IV.

#### The Teaching in the House.

NICODEMUS and his contemporaries lived at the crisis of the religious history of the world, and were standing on the threshold of the expected kingdom of God. They ought to have been prepared for it, by a just understanding of the Scriptures, and now by a fresh testimony, in their

own day, appealing to the conscience and the heart. For, the want of this preparation this teacher of Israel has received a just reproof; and then the discourse passes on to disclose the situation, by a larger announcement of advancing revelation, with intimation of the responsibilities



which attend it. The Amen, Amen, for the third time repeated, denotes the certainty and importance of this communication. Few and brief are the pregnant sentences which mark, first, the actual level which the divine teaching has reached, and then the higher level to which it is to rise in the word and work of the Son of man, who now appears, far above the rank of teachers sent from God, in His own person through the mystery of His nature, uniting heaven and earth, and therefore the revealer of heavenly things and achiever of redemption for mankind.

'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness. If I told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you heavenly things? And no man hath ascended into heaven, but He that descended out of heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth may in Him have eternal life.'

First it is said, There is a testimony already before you, and you receive it not. Nicodemus is addressed as representing 'the Jews,' and especially his own class, the Pharisees and leaders of opinion. Plainly these are the persons intended in the plural forms of *Ye* and *You*. It is not so easy to say, on the other side, who are included in our Lord's exceptional use of the plural forms *We* and *Our*. What is the testimony of which He speaks? and who are they that give it? In respect of this testimony, Jesus ranks Himself with others, or associates others with Himself. The variety of suggestions by leading commentators shows the difficulty that has been felt. Great names might be cited as supposing the intention to express the partnership of the Holy Spirit; of the prophets, of John the Baptist, or of the disciples then present; in which last interpretation Godet and Westcott are content, yet scarcely content, to acquiesce. But these had been His disciples but a few weeks, and had scarcely spoken yet. In offering an explanation of my own, I have the comfort of thinking that it includes those which have been mentioned, the first two virtually and the second two definitely. It appears to me that Jesus makes Himself here the Spokesman of the great religious movement of the time, authenticating the witness which it

bears. I use the term 'movement' in the sense which it has obtained among us, as for divers religious revivals or reforming efforts in the Middle Ages, for the early developments of the Reformation, or for the Wesleyan, the Evangelical, or the Oxford movements. It expresses that stage of rising opinion not yet a society, a sect, or a school, which is distinguished by certain prominent doctrines and pregnant ideas, which has a bond of union and a life and spirit of its own, and finds its forms of expression in significant words and acts. Such a movement there was then in Israel, and it was the great phenomenal fact of the time. It originated in the preaching of John, or rather in the Spirit which was upon him, and which by a spiritual contagion wrought around him in other hearts, finding expressive shape in his baptism. To this movement Jesus joined Himself on His first appearance, submitting to its baptism, and receiving His first disciples from its ranks. It was, in fact, the ordained preparation of His way. But before elevation to the higher level, it was itself a substantive doctrine and definite development of faith and righteousness, in striking contrast with the prevailing system. How distinct was its character and how intense its vitality may be judged, not only from the contemporary notices, but from its appearances in after years, on the edges, as it were, of the Christian Church, in such instances as Apollos and the twelve converts at Ephesus. It was a confession of moral and spiritual truth which a later writer calls 'the foundation' doctrine and 'the word of the beginning of Christ' (He 6<sup>1-2</sup>). This testimony the Lord identifies with His own, and avers that it is inspired by conscious certainty and the vision of truth. 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness.' No; 'the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God,' and turned it 'against themselves.'

But in the teaching of Jesus, Nicodemus has felt the attraction of this witness, as well as seen its credentials in His works, and therefore is he here. To him accordingly the higher communications may be made; but they involve a preliminary condition. 'If I told you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?' The *We* is now changed to *I*, the united testimony to the personal ministry. That has been hitherto a ministry of earthly things,



so called by comparison. Its subjects are ἐπίγεια, not earthly in their nature, but having their origin and sphere here below in human conscience and active life. On this moral world the word of Jesus has thrown a fresh light of truth and grace, of the kind which on a larger scale and in fuller form the Sermon on the Mount exhibits. A greater light is now to come in the revelation of heavenly things,—truths which transcend natural thought, only to be known by communication from above, having their origin in the counsels of God, and their effect in a divine economy of salvation. Those who do not receive the first teaching, are, in the nature of the case, still less able to believe the second. Both are indeed necessary to each other, and in the complete revelation form together the doctrine of Christ, not to be separated either in delivery or reception.

But who is it that speaks thus? That is one question in the mind of Nicodemus, indeed the chief question; and it becomes more urgent, now that the Speaker makes these larger claims on faith. Who can tell heavenly things but one who hath gone up to heaven to see and learn them there? The question is anticipated and the answer is supplied, 'And no man hath gone up into heaven, but He that came down out of heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven.' The exception made is more than an exception. It announces a far more intimate and mysterious relation to heaven than the question seemed to postulate. Conceivably a man might be taken up into heaven (2 Co 12<sup>2</sup>); but earth would be his home, and heaven a place that he visited; but he that comes down from heaven has his proper home there, and earth is the place that he visits. If such a one tells heavenly things, he does so, not from a transient sight granted to him, but from his own inherent knowledge of the world to which he belongs. Heaven is his origin and dwelling-place, and thither will he necessarily return, for the coming down for a purpose implies the going up when it is accomplished. It is of Himself that Jesus predicates these things, and, in so doing, names Himself 'the Son of man.' So He distinguishes Himself among all the millions of the sons of men, asserting a perfect manhood, but yet implying a manhood assumed, in fact, revealing Incarnation.

The words, 'which is in heaven' (ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ), are doubtful, the weight of evidence

being as much against as for them. But whether original or a very early insertion, they affirm the truth that the Son of man on earth had not only a past but an ever-present relation with heaven, in the Eternal Life with the Father, which is not itself suspended by being manifested to us (1 Jn 1<sup>2</sup>). Of all heavenly things revealed the greatest, and that on which all else depends, is the mystery of the nature of the Revealer. So the Son of man 'come down from heaven,' or 'come forth from the Father,' is the keynote of His revelations, as to the Jews in a critical contention (6<sup>38-51</sup>), or to the disciples in those last affirmations, to which they respond, as with fresh and final assurance, We believe that Thou camest forth from God (16<sup>28-30</sup>).

He has come down from heaven, He has become the Son of man, and for what end? To be Revealer? Yes, but also Redeemer; not only to tell of heavenly things, but also to achieve them; to work out in His own person the counsels and decrees of heaven. One word declares the necessity, δεῖ, it must be so. In order to accomplish the purpose of God, to fulfil the promise of prophecy, and to satisfy the needs of men, 'The Son of man must be lifted up' (ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ). What this lifting up will be in its entire process, events will prove; but its first stage will be the lifting up upon the cross. That is a chief end of Incarnation, the decisive event in the manifestation on which all else depends. Therefore does Jesus keep it in view through all His course as the predestined and accepted goal to which His steps advanced. This appears in many a saying on the way, and here in words which show it present to His mind from the very beginning of His ministry. That the Son should be lifted up above the world, raised on high in the sight of men, was a thing to be expected; but who could have imagined exaltation in such a form as this? Yet this is the form in which the prospect is ever before Him, and this is the sense in which He speaks of being lifted up; as when He says to the Jews, as agents in the fact, 'When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know' (Jn 8<sup>28</sup>); and again, when the hour was near, 'Now shall the Prince of this world be cast out, and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Myself' (12<sup>32</sup>). To interpret and fix the meaning, the evangelist adds, 'This He said, signifying by what manner of death He should die.' The word

may be used afterwards by apostles (as Ac 11<sup>35</sup>) of the subsequent elevation to glory, but in the mouth of Jesus it had the distinct reference which is marked in these sayings, and even more distinctly in the similitude here employed. It expressed the manner of death, the visible elevation on the cross, a spectacle for evermore; but it also expressed the unseen exaltation in the victory thereon achieved over the Power of evil, in the redemption of the world, and the putting away of sin by the sacrifice of Himself. As the true exaltation of the conqueror is in the dread moment of decision on the bloodstained field, more than in the splendours of the after-triumph, even so it is here. It would have been hard to foreshadow in words the mystery of that death, what it would be in itself and what it would be to men. But both had been vividly exhibited in a typical scene of old. Nicodemus knew it well. It was therefore enough to say, 'And as Moses lifted up (ἔψωρε) the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up (ἔψωθήναι δεῖ), that whosoever believeth may in Him have eternal life—or, whosoever believeth in Him may have eternal life.' A strange exaltation this! represented by a serpent, a creature noxious and abhorred, at that very time dealing death around,—but a brazen serpent, itself innoxious, placed on high and hanging on a tree,—by the will and ordinance of God imparting life and health to despairing dying men, who in new-born hope turn their eyes towards it. How exact the type of One counted as an evil-doer, and condemned and gibbeted as such in the sight of all, Himself without sin, yet, 'in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin,' 'made sin for us,' and 'bearing our sins in His own body on the tree.' The eyes of men who feel themselves in death are fixed upon Him; the poison of sin that is in them is stayed of its effect, and it comes to pass that they live. The look is the look of faith, the life is life eternal. There is some uncertainty as to the reading of the closing words. 'Should not perish' is certainly to be omitted; but there is doubt whether to read (εἰς αὐτὸν or ἐν αὐτῷ) 'believe in Him,' or 'in Him have life,' though the last reading is slightly the more probable. In either case the meaning is the same, for the faith supposed is faith in Christ, and the life assured is life in Christ. Once only in the O.T. had the great word Eternal Life been heard (Dan 12<sup>2</sup>). Now it is spoken by Him who

is the Author and Giver of that life, its author by the act of redemption, its Giver in the dispensation of grace. Thenceforth it is often on His lips, as expressing a future inheritance which is also a present possession. It seized on men's minds with attractive power. Inquirers came to ask, 'What must I do to have eternal life?' Disciples, tempted to depart, could not leave His side, saying, 'To whom shall we go? words of eternal life Thou hast.' Vague and vast was the idea, beyond definition and exposition, but it recognized the deepest needs and responded to the highest desires of the human heart, and became the supreme hope which the teaching of Jesus inspired.

Here, then, in this short passage we have the first utterance by the Lord of the foundation truths of His kingdom,—Incarnation, uniting earth with heaven; Redemption by the Cross and Passion, and Eternal Life given to believers. The conversation here recorded is thus an anticipatory answer to the speculations in which recent writers have indulged on changes in the mind of Jesus and suppositions of an advance from the position of a spiritual teacher to Messianic pretensions and transcendental claims. It is shown that all the history and all the doctrine were known to Him from the beginning. Then, in the retirement of the house and the stillness of night, the outline of the future gospel was delivered to an inquiring Pharisee and in the audience of some listening disciples. Were these heavenly things enigmas to him and to them? Largely so, no doubt. It was in enigma, paradox, and parable that the Lord saw fit to open His revelations of things which were beyond men's apprehension at the time; since these communications rested and wrought in minds which received them, awakening wonder and stimulating thought, and unfolding themselves in measure, till events unfolded them in fulness. So we may be sure it was in the present instance. The narrative ends abruptly, the writer passing to his own reflections; for he had not the purpose to describe an interview, but to record the great sayings which occurred in the course of it. We are not told how it ended, or how Nicodemus was dismissed. Only we know what words he carried away to ponder in his heart during the following years in which the kingdom of God was being preached by Him who came down from heaven, up to the darkened day when he saw the Son of



man lifted up, and the type in the wilderness fulfilled on Calvary. Then he came to join his fellow-councillor in laying the sacred body in the tomb. The evangelist notes his prodigal supply of spices for the burial. It was all the honour he could show. But they were not needed. The Holy One could not see corruption. On the third day Nicodemus would hear strange rumours, which soon became assurance—that the Lord had risen indeed; and, after a while, he with the other disciples would know the meaning of all that had happened, and rejoice in the certainty of faith and the fulness of revealed salvation.

It is from the standpoint of that later time that St. John adds to his record of the memorable interview the words which follow. It is his frequent habit to carry on the thought in his narrative by explanation or reflection, such as accomplished revelation supplied. So it is here; and accordingly there is a sudden change in the language from the prophetic intimation of the discourse to the clear enunciation of truth as known, and to the past tenses proper to a retrospective review. It is not within the present purpose to pass beyond the narrative and comment on the words of the evangelist. But his first words here cannot be passed over. Were they not familiar, they would come upon us as a flash of glory. They are introduced as giving the larger account of things, and as answering questions latent in the final saying. Why must this be? Who is this Son of man? What is this lifting up? How has it virtue for eternal life to men? There is ample reason. '*For*,' says the writer, 'God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world through Him should be saved.' Then follows a review of the situation thus created, in its testing consequences involving the judgment which men pass on themselves. All is seen in the glory of a divine scheme of things. The Son of man is the Only begotten Son of God. God gave Him—not sent Him only, as a messenger, but gave Him, for all that was to be done and borne; and that because He loved the world, so loved it as to bestow this unspeakable gift. It is the great thought of 'the world' on which St. John

insists, four times repeating the word. In like manner, in his Epistle he will not rest in any narrower thought. 'He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world' (1 Jn 2<sup>2</sup>). There is more in this than we can clearly see or tell. But at least there is a healing saving power abroad in a world which dates history from the birth of Christ, and recognizes the attraction of the Cross, and knows that there is a voice of love from heaven. It is a better world for having the witness of the Church and the preaching of the gospel in the midst of it, and for the Christian element in its thought and opinion, its governments and institutions, and for the living presence of true Christians who are its light and its salt. But the purpose of God finds its fulfilment not in the collective life of the world, as it is, or as it may be, but in men who are in the world, each a world in himself, in the mystery of his separate personality. The salvation in the Only begotten Son is a salvation, not for the world, nor for the Church, but for the individual man,—'that *whosoever* believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life.' The faith and the life are facts in the history of individual souls. The unbelief and the judgment are so too. Alas! the latter fact is the more general, and was so from the first. St. John had seen it in the days of the Son of man, and afterwards, when the scheme of grace was finished and revealed. 'The light,' he says, 'is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light.' In a few searching words he traces back this preference of the darkness and shrinking from the light to its moral origin in the practical admission of evil and the defect of the spirit of truth; and follows it on to its judicial effect in judgment which men pass on themselves. It is a sad review, and is written for our admonition. But it ends by reverting to the better side, and leaves us under the happier thought of 'him that doeth truth and cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest, that they have been wrought in God.' So ends the episode of the visit of Nicodemus, in words which, in their application to himself, may serve to distinguish this 'man of the Pharisees' from his class in general, and which remain for ever like a ray of kindly light upon his name.



# The Difference Christ has made.

BY THE REV. JOHN REID, M.A., DUNDEE.

'Among them that are born of women there is not a greater than John: yet he that is but little in the kingdom of God is greater than he.'—Luke vii. 28 (R.V.).

THE difficulty of interpreting this saying was felt at a very early date. The variant reading in MS. A, 'there is not a greater prophet than John,' which Tischendorf accepts, is evidently due to an endeavour on the part of an early copyist to make the interpretation easier. 'Prophet' is omitted in MSS. N and B, which are followed by Westcott and Hort and the Revisers. Chrysostom sought to solve the problem of interpretation by referring  $\delta$  μικρότερος to Jesus, but few have cared to follow him.

It is unfortunate that in the Authorized Version the comparative  $\delta$  μικρότερος has been translated as a superlative. The Revised Version, given above, comes nearer to the true translation, but Wendt gives it with the greatest accuracy as 'one comparatively small,' or 'comparatively little.'<sup>1</sup> Our Lord makes use of the superlative in Mt 5<sup>19</sup>, 'Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least ( $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) in the kingdom of heaven.' The comparative describes one who is not so low in the kingdom, but who is plainly not an excellent or notable member of the spiritual kingdom. The description is almost a censure. It increases the difficulty of understanding why such a one is greater than John. The difficulty is intensified when we see that this superiority of one comparatively little in the kingdom of God does not arise from any lack of appreciation of the Baptist. The recognition of his greatness is most ample, most generous. The eulogy pronounced upon him is unique. He is 'the greatest of them that are born of women.'

We notice that John had a remarkable consciousness of his own inferiority to Jesus. He is not worthy to unloose the latchet of His shoes. He is the meanest slave in the presence of the King. John would doubtless agree if the comparison were made as Chrysostom suggested between Jesus and himself. But Jesus never

compares Himself with John. He compares him with a citizen of the kingdom of God,—who has no particular spiritual excellence,—a very ordinary member, and declares that such a one is greater.

We believe our Lord uttered this paradox that men might be compelled to think of that which might easily escape them; to recognize what they might pass by without recognition—the surpassing value and meaning of the kingdom of God. John stands as the greatest of the old dispensation of promise and hope. The other with whom he is compared stands in the lower ranks of the new dispensation of fact and fulfilment. But the dispensations are so different that the comparatively little one of the new is greater than the greatest of the old. A few commonplace illustrations may make this clear. The greatest of men who walk by moonlight or starlight—if we can so imagine—is surpassed in outlook, opportunity, in the variety and richness of experience, by a very common man walking by the light of the noonday sun. What is the best illumination of the ancient rushlight compared with the brilliance of an ordinary electric light? What is the speed of Jehu to the rush of the express? What are the best of the old copyists toiling laboriously with the pen compared with a very indifferent printer guiding the latest press? The greatest of the astronomers before the time of Copernicus or Newton is surpassed by a very common student of the stars to-day. The one belongs to an old order, the other to a new. In these cases the new knowledge or the new inventions came gradually. Thousands of years lie between some of them. In the case of John and Jesus the two orders lay close together, and even overlapped. But the difference between them was so vast that the grandest type of the old is surpassed by a humble adherent of the new—

He (is) the last star of parting night,  
And we the children of the dawn.

<sup>1</sup> *Teaching of Jesus*, ii. 29, note.

This apparently paradoxical comparison is a marvellous testimony to the uniqueness of the consciousness of Jesus. This is how He thought of His work. This is how it was to affect the world. We need to remember this and to emphasize it. The difference which Christ has made on the spiritual position and outlook of mankind is simply unspeakable. It is the difference between the Old Testament and the New. *That* is greater than we can realize, for the Church for over eighteen hundred years has read the New Testament into the Old. John really sums up the teaching of the Old Testament. Warning, judgment, and promise—these are the lines on which the goodly fellowship of the prophets did their great work. The impending wrath, the ready axe, the fan in the hand, the unquenchable fire, the coming of the King, the cry ‘Prepare,’ ‘Repent’—are echoes of the old prophetic strains. But Jesus comes, and the signs of judgment are strikingly absent. His work is not to judge but save. He does not cry, ‘Flee from the wrath,’ but ‘Come, and I will give you rest.’ We see Him as the Good Shepherd giving His life for the sheep; as the triumphing Messiah weeping over Jerusalem, dying on the Cross for the sins of men, forgiving His murderers, forgetting His pain to give life and hope to the robber beside Him. He speaks of His Spirit, not as fire, but as ‘peace’ and ‘comfort.’ The Father in Heaven, pardon, renewal of life; the love that *seeks* and saves; the gift of eternal life,—these are His themes. Judgment there is, but mercy triumphs over it. These are the things which make the new dispensation so different from the old, that the most ordinary believer is greater in spiritual outlook, opportunity, capacity, richness and variety of experience and strength of hope, than the grandest the old dispensation could produce. The darkness is past; the light has come. Gone are the gropings and searchings, the straining of the eyes to pierce the gloom. The Father’s face shines upon all His children. Love is seen to reign in earth and heaven. Death has lost its terror and the grave its victory. No wonder Jesus said, ‘Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear: for verily I say unto you, that

many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them’ (Mt 13<sup>16-17</sup>). This is a thought which is often repeated in the New Testament. The Epistle to the Hebrews is simply an enlargement and illustration of it. Paul declares that the glory of the old is lost in the glory of the new that excelleth (2 Co 3<sup>10</sup>), and gives his own personal conviction of the infinite superiority of the new revelation to the old when he says, ‘I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord’ (Ph 3<sup>8</sup>). Peter adds a remarkable thought when he tells how the prophets inquired and searched diligently, searching what or what manner of time the Spirit which was in them did signify . . . to whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things which are now reported . . . by them that have preached the gospel unto you,—*which things the angels desire to look into*. Things have been revealed in the gospel which had not been known to the angels. The wonder and value of the gospel revelation could not be more significantly expressed.

Is all this not a plain indication that the secret of the buoyant faith and strenuous energy of the apostles lay in their recognition of the unique splendour of the kingdom of God? Surely blindness in some measure has fallen upon the Church of to-day, when we compare its preaching and apologetic with those of the apostles. We see not the glory of Christ as they saw it. Men and women are even turning away from Christ, are putting aside the gospel. They see none of the splendour that filled the apostles with thankfulness to God for His unspeakable gift. The gospel is without attraction because they see not its reality, or the difference it has made. The hope of the world lies in regaining spiritual vision, and that must begin with the Church, and in the Church with the preachers. This hope need not be deferred. It is the work of the Holy Spirit to *glorify* Christ. And the promise of the Saviour holds for every age, ‘He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you’ (Jn 16<sup>14</sup>).



## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Gregory's 'Textual Criticism.'<sup>1</sup>

THIS is the first part of a treatise on the textual criticism of the N.T. by the greatest living authority in that department, Dr. C. R. Gregory of Leipzig. His *Prolegomena* to the eighth edition of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce* was acknowledged on all hands to be a masterpiece of careful learning and colossal labour. The lists of MSS belonging to the various classes of evidence for the sacred text had been drawn up with a fulness and minute accuracy hitherto unknown in the science. A large portion of that work has permanent value, and, in all likelihood, will never require to be done again. The book before us, while entirely independent both as regards plan and execution, includes the most valuable material of the *Prolegomena*, and embodies all the results reached in this province of investigation up to the present time. It is intended to be a complete handbook to the textual criticism of the N.T.

This first volume, which begins with a brief sketch of palæography with special reference to N.T. MSS, proceeds to give lists and accompanying descriptions (1) of the uncials, (2) of the cursives, and (3), in a separate section, of the lectionaries or Church service-books. The second volume, whose publication is promised for the immediate future, will deal with the versions and Church Fathers, thus covering all the sources, and will complete the investigation with two further sections, which are to embrace (1) the history of textual criticism, and (2) the application of the science to definite instances in order to illustrate its methods. Students of the *Prolegomena* will expect fulness of material, accuracy of detail, and clearness of statement, and they will not be disappointed.

The first impression the volume leaves is that of researches almost incredibly laborious. For the greater number of the texts described have been examined minutely by Dr. Gregory himself. This patient devotion has involved many toilsome

journeys, extending from Athens in the south to Upsala in the north, and embracing points as distant from each other as New York and Mount Athos. What must specially interest the student of textual criticism is to note the advance in the science which this work records as compared with the *Prolegomena* and the fourth edition of Scrivener. This advance really means an account of the investigations carried on since 1894, the year in which *Scrivener*<sup>4</sup> and the concluding volume of the *Prolegomena* both saw the light. The progress is very marked, and vividly illustrates the directions in which research is moving. As notable examples we may refer to the discussions of Codex D (p. 47) and Codex N (p. 57). In the former case, the new importance attached to the so-called 'Western' text of the N.T. has called forth a remarkable number of publications. Dr. Gregory, who himself sees no grounds as yet for assigning to D any superiority over A and B, provides a very full list of the literature which has grown up around the bold and ingenious attempts of Professor Blass to indicate the characteristic readings of this eccentric MS. In these attempts Gregory finds little that is 'methodically correct or convincing.' No doubt a full discussion of the subject will be introduced in the section dealing with the history of criticism. The description of N reveals still more clearly the need of constant revision of material in this department. For the Petersburg leaves of this beautiful MS., although seen by Demetriades in Anatolia as far back as 1883, were not available for investigation by the time the *Prolegomena* and *Scrivener*<sup>4</sup> were published. And yet they amount to 182 out of a total of 227 leaves. Now they rest in the Imperial library of the Russian capital, and Mr. H. S. Cronin's careful edition, *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus* ('Camb. Texts and Studies,' v. 4), makes a full description possible. The important investigations of Canon Armitage Robinson and Professor Bousset in the text of Cod. H. Paul. are duly taken into account. The same comprehensiveness is found in the section dealing with the minuscules; see, e.g., on MS. 1071 of *Gospp.* (p. 239), and MS. 83 of *Acts* and *Epp.* (p. 271).

<sup>1</sup> *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes.* Von C. R. Gregory. Erster Band. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900. Price M. 12.



A good many important additions are made to the existing lists of MSS. Cod. T<sup>1</sup> may be taken as a sample of some important fragments of Koptic origin which have come into the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Several of these are bilingual. This one is exclusively Greek, and contains Mk 16<sup>6</sup>,  $\omega\delta\epsilon \dots \pi\omega[\sigma\upsilon\upsilon]$ <sup>18</sup>. It is of notable interest, because, like L and Ψ, it gives the shorter conclusion of Mark in the first place, and then the longer with a curious modification. The papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus, discovered and published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, is for the first time included. It is very meagre in extent, embracing only a few verses of the first chapter of Matthew. But its text is very ancient, and it raises the hope that other N.T. fragments of the same description may yet be brought to light. A fresh group of authorities is to be found in the fragments discovered by Professor Rendel Harris in the Convent of St. Katherine at Sinai. These contain scattered passages from Matthew and Mark. As an instance of the exhaustiveness of Dr. Gregory's lists, we may point out that he includes under the symbol T<sup>w</sup> the Greek text of a bilingual MS. acquired by the British Museum some years ago, but only recently deciphered and published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April 1900) by Messrs. W. E. Crum and F. G. Kenyon.

Attention ought to be called to the very interesting introductions to the catalogues of minuscules and lectionaries respectively. In the former Dr. Gregory appeals for more workers in the investigation of this important field of research. Comparatively little has hitherto been done in the way of a diligent scrutiny of cursive texts. And yet problems of a most fascinating kind await solution. The discussion of the so-called *Ferrar-group*, begun by W. H. Ferrar, and carried on by T. K. Abbott and J. Rendel Harris, exemplifies the lines and method of study which have to be followed. For certain N.T. writings especially, as, e.g., the Apocalypse, which stands quite alone both in respect of the scarcity of its texts and their isolation from the witnesses for the other N.T. books, a careful examination of the relevant minuscules must prove of genuine value. It may be worth while to note that Gregory would banish from the list of N.T. uncials the fragments O<sup>a</sup>-O<sup>b</sup> inclusive, containing N.T. hymns from Lk 1, 2. These, as he points out, come from liturgical

books, and should be placed in their proper catalogue. The only reason which prevented him from omitting them was that the omission would involve a recasting of the entire list of uncials, a task demanding enormous labour and an amount of time such as he could not spare.

We have observed very few errata. On p. 43, l. 14 from bottom, '21' should follow *παυτες τε* instead of '10'; on p. 47, l. 14 from bottom, 'M.' should take the place of 'H.' in Professor Ramsay's initials, and Dr. Peter Corsen is called 'Paul' in the note on p. 114; on p. 60, ll. 16 and 23 from top, 'Lk 9' occurs twice for 'Lk 1.' But the book as a whole seems a marvel of accuracy. It is bound to take its place as the indispensable authority in its own department.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Callander.

### Nowack's 'Handkommentar.'

THREE issues of this admirable series of commentaries have recently been published.

1. Gunkel's Commentary on *Genesis*<sup>1</sup> is a work *sui generis*, and of this its author is well aware. Many of our readers know something of the same writer's epoch-making work, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, which in some points has well-nigh revolutionized the study of both the O.T. and the N.T. While we have a conviction that in some instances Gunkel pushes his methods and principles too far, we feel that we owe immense obligations to him for the discovery of mythical allusions in poetical parts of the O.T. and especially in the Apocalypse. Those who have read the above-named most suggestive work, will expect from Gunkel, when he goes to work in so inviting a field as the Book of Genesis, a great deal of highly interesting results, and they will assuredly not be disappointed. The Introduction (which, by the way, is also published separately, under the title *Die Sagen der Genesis*, price 1s. 6d.) explains fully the scope and methods of this Commentary, which is unlike any of its companions in the series in almost every point except thoroughness. To one class, indeed, the book will probably be a disappointment, we mean, the foes of literary

<sup>1</sup> *Genesis*, übersetzt u. erklärt von H. Gunkel, Berlin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1901. Price 10s.; bound, 12s.

criticism, who have been disposed to claim Gunkel as an ally. As a matter of fact, we find here the familiar J, E, JE, P, and minuter distinctions, with varieties of type to indicate the different sources. But everything in the book is subsidiary to its main purpose, which is *to get at the real meaning of Genesis*. Unlike many other works of the kind, this commentary may be used not merely for reference, but for reading. The author acknowledges help from various sources, calculated to awaken the interest and the confidence of the reader. For instance, Professor Zimmern has revised the Babylonian matter and added valuable notes. The work is dedicated to Professor Harnack, from whom, next to his own father, Gunkel declares he has learned more than from any of his theological teachers.

The Introduction opens with a question, the answer to which is the keynote of the volume. Are the narratives of Genesis history or legend (*Sage*)? The arguments in favour of the latter conclusion are stated in detail, and the marks that distinguish what is legendary or mythical from what is historical are enumerated. The legends in Genesis are assigned to two groups: (1) those connected with the Origin of the World, and the stories of the primeval ancestors of mankind, down to the story of the Tower of Babel; (2) the legends of the Patriarchs of Israel (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his sons). It is needless to say that our author is thoroughly at home in the Babylonian and other lore, which illustrates the first group. In the second group we have to distinguish between 'historical' legends (like that of the treaty at Beer-sheba), 'ethnographic' (like the story of Jacob and Esau), and 'ætiological,' which includes such varieties as (a) 'ethnological,' (b) 'etymological,' (c) 'cultus,' (d) 'geological' [an unfortunate designation, for which 'topographical' (see Budde in art. 'Samson' in *D.B.*) might be substituted]. The construction of these legends in Genesis is carefully discussed, as well as their history in oral tradition previous to their being committed to writing, and then an estimate is formed of the work of J, E, JE, P, and the final redactors.

The whole work is full of interest and importance. No student of the O.T. will find it safe to dispense with it, as no scholar will be able to claim a hearing who has neglected to make himself acquainted with the views of Gunkel. Opposi-

tion it will certainly provoke, an opposition not wholly unjustified; yet every fair-minded opponent will own that even in disagreeing with the author he has learned much from him.

2. It was originally intended that the commentary on the books Exodus-Numbers should form a single volume. But, as the part dealing with Exodus and Leviticus had been ready for some time, it was resolved to publish the commentary on these books<sup>1</sup> without further delay. The author, Professor Baentsch, asks us to reserve judgment on points of literary criticism till the appearance of the commentary on Numbers, which will contain an Introduction to the middle books of the Pentateuch, defining and justifying his position.

It may be of most interest to our readers to compare Baentsch's views with those of Holzinger on some of the points noted by Dr. Taylor in his able review of the latter's Commentary on Exodus in the *Kurzer Handcommentar* (see THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Jan., p. 164 ff.).—As to the name *Moses*, Baentsch has no hesitation in identifying this with the Egypt. *mes*, *mesu* = 'child,' which occurs as an element in such names as Tuthmosis, Amosis, etc., but is found also alone (Ebers, *Gosen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 539 f.).—The peculiar יהוה of Ex 8<sup>5</sup> is taken to be a polite formula, the meaning being something like 'may it please your Majesty' (substantially the same as Dillmann's 'verherrliche dich an mir'), the motive of Moses' politeness being to induce Pharaoh to fix a time for the cessation of the plague of frogs, so that when this took place it might be recognized as no chance occurrence, but the act of Jahweh (cf. Isaiah's request that Ahaz would ask a sign, Is 7<sup>10ff.</sup>).—The original sense of the name יהוה is very carefully discussed. In this connexion a tribute is paid to Hommel for the diligence with which he has collected from the S. Arabian inscriptions so many personal names compounded with *ihl* or *ihā* (i.e. *el*); but Hommel's inference that in its earliest days the religion of the Semites was monotheistic is rejected. As to the tetragrammaton itself, the pronunciation יהוה (*Jahweh*) is assured by the Samaritan pronunciation 'Iaβé, attested by Theodore (Quæst. 15 in *Ex.*), as well as by the transliteration 'Iaové in Clement (*Strom.* v. vi. 34). Like Holzinger,

<sup>1</sup> *Exodus-Leviticus*, übersetzt u. erklärt von B. Baentsch, Jena. Price 8s.



Baentsch is disposed to claim for the name an original sense = 'der Fäller,' 'the hurler of thunderbolts,' or the like. He considers it a very plausible opinion that Jahweh, long before He became the God of Israel, was the God of the Arab tribe (the Kenites) which inhabited the regions around Sinai.—For a number of questions, such as the identity of 'the king that knew not Joseph,' we must await the publication of the Introduction. Meanwhile we are deeply indebted to Professor Baentsch for such an elaborate commentary, in which grammatical, historical, exegetical, and archæological learning are equally conspicuous, and which amply sustains the high reputation of the series to which it belongs. The qualities which characterize the Commentary on Exodus are conspicuous also in that on Leviticus, which exhibits a wide acquaintance with Comparative Religion, and contains some excellent specimens of historical criticism. Amongst the last we would commend to the attention of our readers the passage dealing with the Day of Atonement.

3. The Books of Judges and Ruth<sup>1</sup> have been undertaken by the editor, Dr. Nowack, who, in his short preface, names Wellhausen, Budde, and Moore as those who in recent years have done most to elucidate the problems connected with the first of these books. In discussing the Deuteronomic and post-Deuteronomic redaction of Judges, our author agrees with Wellhausen (against Kuenen) in admitting to the scheme of the former only the six greater judges, Othniel, Ehud, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson. The Deuteronomic redactor is, of course, denied to have been the author of the narratives about the judges. On the contrary, he must have had before him what we are entitled to call a pre-Deuteronomic book of Judges. The contents of the latter are generally held nowadays to have been derived from two sources. There is a difference of opinion, however, amongst critics as to the propriety of identifying these with the familiar J and E of the Hexateuch. The identity is affirmed by Budde, Moore, Stade, Cornill, *et al.*; while it is denied by Kuenen, Kittel, Frankenberg, König, and others. Nowack is disposed to agree with the first of these two groups of critics. The three principal stages through which the Book of Judges

passed before it reached its present form are described—pre-Deuteronomic book, Deuteronomic redaction, and redaction from the standpoint of P, but with a knowledge of the original basis of the Deuteronomic book. The vexed question of the chronology of the Book of Judges is carefully discussed, and the Introduction closes with an account of the Massoretic text and the Versions, and a classified list of the authorities who deal with the book.

The Book of Ruth is unhesitatingly assigned by our author, in common with nearly all modern scholars, to the post-exilic period. The language and contents of the book, as well as its place in the Canon, plead in favour of this conclusion. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the original aim of the book was mainly to serve as a protest against the rigorous views of Ezra and Nehemiah regarding the foreign marriages. It found its way into the Canon when the consciousness of this opposition had become lost, and its reception would be favoured by its significance for the Davidic family.

The commentary proper is, it is needless to say, worthy in every way of Dr. Nowack.

### Miscellaneous.

DR. VAN MANEN, whose series of articles a few years ago on 'A Wave of Hypercriticism' will be remembered by readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, has published a short book of 121 pages, entitled *Handleiding voor de oudchristelijke letterkunde* (Leiden: L. van Nifterik Hz., 1900). He deals with all the remains of early Christian literature down to the year c. 180, the date of Irenæus' great work, *Πρὸς αἰπέρεως*. The material is arranged under the heads of Gospels, Treatises (like the Acts of the Apostles), Letters, Apocalypses, Apologies, and what he calls by the general title of *Leerboeken*, or didactic works. A supplementary chapter is added on the Canon. The book contains much that is of importance and interest for the student, both of the N.T. and of the literature outside the Canon, and deserves to be studied even by those (and we suspect they are still the great majority) who have no sympathy with our author's views about

<sup>1</sup> *Richter-Ruth*, übersetzt u. erklärt von W. Nowack, Strassburg. Price 5s.



the meaning and development of the symbol 'Paul.'

Professor Hommel has published a lecture entitled 'Der Gestirndienst der alten Araber und die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung,' which he delivered to the *Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* at Berlin (München: H. Lukaschik, 1901. Price, M.1.20). In view of our recent notices of similar publications of this author, and in view of his numerous short, but always suggestive, notes in these pages, readers, especially those who are acquainted with Dr. Hommel's *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, will readily apprehend what are the main lines followed in the lecture. The author is still sanguine that, in spite of the adverse reception accorded to much of what he has written, and the silence with which at other times his pronouncements have been met, his own labours and that of a few like-minded workers will inaugurate a new era in Bible studies. We express no opinion at present on that point, but we will take it upon us to assure Professor Hommel that biblical students of every school admire him for his diligent researches, and that the data he gives them are always welcome, even if they do not always lead them to the same conclusions as himself.

The Index to Bd. xix. of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht* (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn) has now appeared, and is, as usual, a model of completeness and accuracy. The price of the Index is 2s., that of the whole year's issue (4 parts) 30s. This publication, which from the first has occupied so high a position, is now more than ever worthy of its reputation.

J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

## The Book of Amos.

IN the latest of the supplements to the *Zeitsch. f. A.T. Wissenschaft*, Dr. Max Löhr has subjected the text of this book to a searching examination, and has printed it in as near an approach as he can make to the original form. The interpolations are left out: many of the verses and halves of verses are rearranged; and the sections which he

judges to be out of their right place are restored to their proper context. The author has employed all the ordinary resources and methods of textual criticism, but his work is marked above all else by the attention paid to the strophical structure of the prophecies. Not only is each section divided into its strophes,—e.g. 2<sup>2-16</sup> into ten strophes, of which the first and the last are of two lines each, and the remaining eight alternate pairs of four and three lines each,—but the detection of this regularity of structure weighs heavily with the critic in his judgment on the details of the text and his essays at a recombination of the parts of the book. As an example of the latter it may be mentioned that he regards chaps. 3, 4<sup>1-3</sup> 8<sup>4-14</sup> 9<sup>1-4a</sup> as forming a whole. The order in which the verses are placed is in many cases a decided improvement: this may be tested by reading continuously 2<sup>6b</sup> 7a 8. 7b 10. 9. 11a 12. 11b. Of course it must not be forgotten that the Hebrew writer did not necessarily follow the strict logical order which commends itself to us. The textual criticism is judicious. Löhr is quite justified in adopting Wellhausen's מפיס and חפיס (2<sup>13</sup>) in place of מעיק and חעיק. The omission of על-עפר-ארץ ב (2<sup>7</sup>) enables us to find a meaning in an otherwise hopeless passage. Considering דר ὄρος of the LXX and the הר in 4<sup>1</sup> 6<sup>1</sup>, there can be no hesitation in substituting הר for הרי in 3<sup>9</sup>. פח must certainly be expunged from 3<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the reference to Jer 9<sup>18</sup> does not sufficiently support the emendation proposed for 4<sup>3</sup>, והשליך את ארמונות, שמרן. The genuine reading of this most difficult expression has not yet been found.

Section B of this monograph, dealing with the theology of the prophet, contains nothing specially fresh or important.

But Section C, entitled 'Jahve Zebaoth,' is really valuable. It is an inquiry into the use and meaning of that divine title. Its chief utility lies in the carefully compiled list of 269 passages in which יהוה צבאות or one of its variants occurs. In each case there is a column for the LXX translation, another exhibiting Löhr's view of the date and genuineness of the M.T., and another for remarks which immediately bring up before our minds the context of the passage. A better help to the study of the subject it would be impossible to conceive. The author's own conclusion is that the precise sense in which the word צבאות was originally used is unascertainable, but that in the

passages, such as 2 S 5<sup>10</sup>, where it first appears in the Bible, the name Yahweh Zebaoth points to Yahweh's warlike might and victoriousness, which was especially represented by the ark. In successive subsequent ages it came to refer to Him as the Ruler of the forces of Nature, the Almighty and Holy One, the One Governor of the nations, the Being who is supreme over the angelic hosts.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

## Among the Periodicals.

### The Prologue to the Fourth Gospel.

DR. VAN HOONACKER contributes to the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* (January 1901) an article on the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel, in which he puts forward some views which are novel, but which, he considers, introduce a parallelism and establish a logical connexion in the Prologue, which it lacks as usually interpreted. In particular, the author discovers a parallelism between the natural light (Jn 1<sup>3-5</sup>) and the supernatural light, the Word (vv. <sup>9ff.</sup>). In v. <sup>9</sup> it is often supposed

that the light in comparison with which Jesus is called the *true* light (τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν) is John the Baptist; but this seems to Dr. van Hoonacker quite inept after the express statement of v. <sup>8</sup> 'he *was not* the light.' No, the contrast is between the natural phenomenon of light, which shines in the darkness, and which the darkness cannot retain or arrest (οὐ κατέλαβεν), and the *true* light, which, in spite of the darkness amidst which it first manifests itself, is the author of spiritual life to the children of God. In connexion with this interpretation, Dr. van Hoonacker, in agreement with the Abbé Loisy, alters the punctuation of vv. <sup>3, 4</sup>, so as to read, 'All things came into existence by Him, and without Him came nothing into existence. As for that which came into existence, in it was life, and the principle of this life was the light of men' [*i.e.* the light in which men walk, the light so called by men, the material light]. Now, just as light is the life of the natural world, so the true light, which lighteneth every man, came into the world, and, in spite of the darkness, became the principle of life in the supernatural order of things.

J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

## Our Lord's Hard Saying to the Syro-Phœnician Woman.

MATTHEW XV. 21-28; MARK VII. 24-30.

BY THE REV. DAVID SMITH, M.A., TULLIALLAN.

THIS is certainly one of the most puzzling incidents in the story of our Lord's earthly ministry. His behaviour here appears strangely and painfully out of character. It would excite no surprise were it related of one of the Rabbis, and we would take it as an example of Jewish exclusiveness, and contrast the large comprehensiveness of our Lord's attitude to the heathen. But what is our dismay when we hear such language from the lips of Jesus Himself, and see Him behaving to this poor heathen precisely as a Pharisee might have done! The historicity of the incident is beyond suspicion; for not only is it vouched for by the double authority of Matthew and Mark, but it is inconceivable that a story so apparently improb-

able should be a forgery. Its very incredibility is an argument for its authenticity.

One feels instinctively that there must be some explanation of behaviour so alien to the manner of our Lord and so contrary to the spirit of His Gospel, which recognizes no distinction between Jew and Greek, but embraces every child of Adam with impartial love. And commentators have pointed out several considerations which go a certain way toward alleviating the apparent harshness. (1) Jesus, it is argued, was not obeying here the promptings of His heart, but accommodating Himself to the requirements of His mission. He had a definite method in the work of redemption, and He faithfully adhered to it, developing it



in due course and taking each step in order. It was the method which He has explained in His Parable of the Leaven. His design was to plant the Gospel in Israel as in the heart of humanity, and leave it to spread until it should permeate the whole mass. His salvation was for the world, but His business in the meantime was with Israel alone. 'I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.' It would have been a premature anticipation had He at this stage taken to do with the heathen.

(2) His harshness was only assumed; and He had two ends in view when He put on this mask of churlishness. He desired, on the one hand, to try the woman's faith and make its triumph the more signal; and, on the other hand, to show the disciples what even an heathen was capable of, and thus conquer their Jewish prejudice and prepare them for the revelation of His world-wide purpose of salvation. One may feel that this interpretation invests the incident with a somewhat theatrical air, yet it is surely preferable to the view which regards our Lord as here awaking for the first time to consciousness of His universal mission. It is less than reverent, nor is it consistent with facts, to suppose that He had hitherto shared the narrow prejudices of His time and race, and now had it borne in upon Him, to His surprise and delight, that the heathen also were worthy of His grace.

(3) It has been pointed out that, though our Lord speaks after the insolent Jewish fashion: *haec enim Jesus ex publico Judæorum affectu dixit, qui se solos Deo charos et sanctos judicabant, cæteros omnes canum habebant loco* (Erasmus), nevertheless the word He uses is not *κύνες*, but *κύναρια*—a diminutive of endearment, it is supposed, denoting not the unclean pariah dogs which prowled about and fed on garbage, but the little pet dogs which played about the table at meal times and got occasional scraps from their masters. It may be so, yet it is quite as likely that it is a diminutive of *contempt*, and means 'wretched curs.' The word seems to occur only thrice in the classics, and in one of these passages (Plato, *Euthyd.* 298D) it is certainly contemptuous.

Whatever force there may be in these considerations, the harshness is only softened and not removed. It is with pleasure, therefore, that one welcomes yet another consideration which seems to have escaped notice hitherto, and which takes

all the sting out of our Lord's words, and transforms the seeming insult into a good-humoured pleasantry. He had left Jewish insolence behind Him when He crossed the northern border and passed into the parts of Tyre and Sidon, and it was not in all His thoughts, nor could it be in the thoughts of that poor heathen woman. It was not the brutal epithet of Pharisaic prejudice that He employed, but a familiar proverb. The Greeks had a saying, *σεαυτὸν οὐ τρέφων κύνας τρέφεις*, 'You starve yourself and feed dogs.' 'It was said,' Erasmus explains in his *Adagia*, 'of one who, while too poor to procure the necessities of life, endeavoured to maintain an establishment of horses or servants. It will be appropriately employed against those who, by reason of the narrowness of their means, have scarce enough to sustain life, yet ambitiously endeavour to emulate the powerful and wealthy in fineness of dress and general ostentation. In short, it will be suitable to all who regard the things which belong to pleasure or magnificence, neglecting the things which are more necessary. Surely the first regard is due to necessities, and the second to style; as if one should labour at the acquisition of learning, careless of the risk his life is running.'

It is more than likely that it was this proverb, and not the brutal epithet wherewith the Jews branded the Gentiles, that our Lord had in His thoughts when He said, 'It is not right to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs.' It is a playful reply, though it had beneath it the deep and gracious purpose of testing and strengthening the suppliant's faith. It is as though He had said, 'You are a stranger to Me, and why should I give away to a stranger the blessings which belong to those of My own household?'

And now observe the woman's reply. It also is a proverb, as appears from a passage in Philostratus (*Vita Apoll. Tyan.* i. 19). Apollonius was attended wherever he went by an admiring disciple, Damis of Nineveh, who served as his Boswell, recording his movements, his actions, and his discourses, and taking note even of little things, and *obiter dicta* (*εἰ τι καὶ παρεφθέγγετο*). Once some one sneered at him for this. 'When you collect such trifles, you are acting just like the dogs which eat the scraps that fall from the feast (*τὰ ἐκπίπτοντα τῆς δαυτός*).' 'If there be feasts of gods,' answered Damis, 'and gods eat, certainly



they have also attendants who see to it that even the scraps (*τὰ πίπτοντα*) of ambrosia are not lost.' Here we have the very figure, almost the very language, of the woman's reply: 'Yea, Lord; for even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from the table of their masters.' The resemblance is too close to be accidental, and it is most reasonable to recognize the words as a familiar proverb. Have they not indeed a proverbial ring? The woman answers proverb with proverb, pleasantry with pleasantry.

Now it may seem that this new interpretation only substitutes one difficulty for another. It relieves us indeed from the necessity of imputing to the gentle Jesus the insulting language of Jewish bigotry, but in the unhappy circumstances was not banter well-nigh as cruel as insult? He meets the prayer of the grief-stricken mother with playful raillery; and what was this but mockery of her sorrow? What was such 'patching of grief with proverbs' but to 'charm ache with air, and agony with words'? And how should she have replied to such untimely jesting? Surely after the fashion of the nobleman, when Jesus met his request that He should come down to Capernaum and heal his dying son with the rebuke: 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will in no wise believe.' 'Sir,' he

cried, vexed and impatient, 'come down ere my child die!' The woman, however, answers raillery with raillery. Was not her behaviour as unnatural as His was cruel?

It may suffice for the removal of this difficulty to observe the circumstances more narrowly. There was indeed raillery in our Lord's reply, but there was no flippancy. There would be a twinkle in His eyes as He spoke, but, neither in look nor in tone, the faintest suggestion of mockery; and the poor mother would read the kindness of His heart in His gentle face. Nor, though the situation was distressing, was it at all desperate. The nobleman's son was dying; but this poor girl was a lunatic, and it was no question of life or death. And there was a world of difference in temperament between the nobleman of Capernaum and the Syro-Phœnician woman. He was an unsmiling Jew, a stranger to 'the saving grace of humour'; whereas she was a Greek, nimble of fancy and keen of wit, delighting in quips and cranks, and responding, even in the midst of sorrow, to a playful assault. Our Lord's treatment of her is an instance of His wondrous insight into human character. At a glance He perceived what was in every one He had to do with, and knew exactly how to handle him.

## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

IS CHRIST INFALLIBLE AND THE BIBLE TRUE? BY THE REV. HUGH M'INTOSH, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 708. 9s.*)

So great at present is the interest in the authority of Scripture that everything that is written upon it will be read. This is an immense book. It is full of repetition. But it will be read. No one will call it too big; no one will be disturbed at the repetition in it.

Mr. M'Intosh knows that there is repetition in it. He knows and makes not an apology. 'I appreciate the force of Thomas Carlyle's principle, and Dr. Thomas Chalmers' practice, that there is no figure of speech worth using except repetition in various forms.' He knows also that his book is very big. He only wishes it were bigger. For

this is a great subject, and he is full of its greatness.

Two questions are asked on the title page. The first is subordinate in the book to the second. Mr. M'Intosh does ask if Christ is infallible, but either he feels that the answer to that question is covered by the answer to the other, or else he does not think that question is burning yet. The question really asked and answered is the second, 'Is the Bible true?'

Now Mr. M'Intosh is not an old-fashioned traditionalist. His teacher was Professor Robertson Smith. From him he received his doctrine of Scripture, and he abides by that doctrine without faltering. He is even (but *with* some faltering) a follower of the higher criticism. He believes

that only by means of the higher criticism can some of the most difficult places of Scripture be made true. But he takes his stand firmly against the theories of later advocates of that science. His words are stout against Professor George Adam Smith. And he shows with startling clearness how great is the gulf fixed between the views of those two men on the inspiration and authority of Scripture.

SCOTTISH CATHEDRALS AND ABBEYS. BY THE REV. D. BUTLER, M.A. (*Black.* Crown 8vo, pp. 225. 1s. 6d.)

This is a small book in which to tell the story of the cathedrals and abbeys even of Scotland. Mr. Butler has been driven to generalities. When he has allowed himself scope, he shows that he both knows and can tell. Perhaps some day he will let himself go, and, passing the bounds of a 'Guild Text-Book,' give us a full description of the great houses. That would be worth doing, and he can do it.

A PRESENT ADVENT. BY THE LATE E. B. SPEIRS, D.D. (*Blackwood.* Crown 8vo, pp. 323. 6s. net.)

Dr. Speirs did not despise theology, but he was in a hurry. As it proved, he was right to be in a hurry, for his time was short. So he gave himself to the immediate business of making the crooked straight and the rough plain. He did not preach 'mere morality'—God forbid!—but he took the life in Christ for granted, and said to men, 'Live it!' 'Live it!' he said, 'at once, do not spend days in discussing it when the sick are needing healing.' So they are strong, sound, well-composed, ethical discourses.

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press.* Parts viii. and ix. 4to, pp. 617-792. 2s. 6d. each.)

These Parts bring the Lexicon down to the end of *ayin*. Other two should finish it. How the book grows on one! At first almost repellent with its innumerable abbreviations, it becomes a close-valued friend, and the very abbreviations are dear. What a marvel of accuracy and of completeness it is, too! It is a commentary on the Old Testament, and its comments are vivid flashes of light and suggestion. When it is finished this Hebrew Lexicon will easily and inevitably supersede all others.

THE HISTORY OF CONFESSION. BY C. M. ROBERTS, B.D. (*Clay.* Crown 8vo, pp. 132. 3s. 6d.)

Confession, like the Bible itself, is supposed by some to have dropped down from heaven. To show that it has an origin and a history is to do it no harm. If it is sound it will stay; if not, it will vanish. Mr. Roberts has no polemical purpose. He is a historian pure and simple. He traces the progress of confession, with its accompanying penance, through the centuries till it developed into auricular confession in 1215.

HEBREW-GREEK CAIRO GENIZAH PALIMPSESTS FROM THE TAYLOR-SCHECHTER COLLECTION. EDITED BY C. TAYLOR, D.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press.* Folio. 15s. net.)

This splendid volume proves that the modern scholar does not need to beg his bread from door to door. A few dirty tattered leaves, picked out of the synagogue lumber-room at Cairo, are the sole occasion of this sumptuousness. They are reproduced in facsimile—eleven beautiful plates—and in ordinary type, and they are commented on with all the surprise of learning of the Master of St. John's. There are three different fragments. First, a Hexaplar fragment of Ps 22; next, parts of Pss 90-103 in the Greek of Aquila; and then some portions of the New Testament in Greek.

The chief interest of the volume centres in the fragment of Origen's Hexapla. And the interest of that fragment centres in the reading of the 17th verse of the Psalm.

Origen's Hexapla contained the Old Testament in six different forms and in parallel columns, namely, the original Hebrew, the Hebrew in Greek letters, the version of Aquila, the version of Symmachus, the Septuagint, and the version of Theodotion. It is probable, thought Dr. Field, that it was never all copied, but the original was in existence in the seventh century. This fragment may be a direct copy, for it belongs, Dr. Taylor believes, to at least the eighth century. It contains Ps 22<sup>20-28</sup> of Aquila, 22<sup>15-18</sup>. 20-24 of Symmachus, and 22<sup>20-24</sup> (except a few letters) of the Septuagint. The rest had been cut away before the Hebrew was written above the original writing.

Into the deep controversy of the seventeenth verse we need not go. Symmachus was believed to read *ὡς ζῆτοῦντας δῆσαι*. He actually has the familiar *ὡς λέων*, 'as a lion.' So that his rendering of the verse is: 'For dogs have com-

passed me; an assembly of evil-doers have enclosed me lion-like my hands and my feet.' It does not make grammar, but it makes some sense.

This is the centre of interest, but every line is of interest and of value, and the fragment has added some new words to the Concordance of the Old Testament in Greek.

MODERN CRITICISM AND THE PREACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. BY GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 337. 6s.)

The Higher Critics, having settled matters amongst themselves as to the composition of the Old Testament, now proceed to the second stage of their work and commend their results to the people. The first stage was difficult, but it was as nothing to the difficulty of the second. For the last thing that the people want is information; and, besides that, they are suspicious of the motives of the Higher Critics. It needs gifts of the highest order to commend the results of Criticism to the Christian people. One man has them seemingly in perfection, and he has begun to give himself to this work. We mean Professor Driver. Professor Smith has them also, but in less disciplined perfection. This book will do something. With those who are least suspicious it will do much. But with all Professor Smith's efforts, the positive is less apparent than the negative; what has to go bulks larger in the eye than what takes its place. The truth is, that for the most part the Critics themselves have yet to learn what Criticism has done for the Bible, they have only learned what it has done to the Bible. And as long as they have to teach their hearers which be the first principles of Criticism, the loss, or at least the disturbance, must be the keenest feeling left. When Professor Smith can take it for granted that his hearers know what Criticism is, and when he has himself more fully felt what Criticism has divinely done, he will write for a larger public, and with more persuasion. But let those who are ready begin with this book. To the pure all things are pure. To those who have faith in Christ all things work together for His glory and their good.

THOUGHTS ON BELIEF AND LIFE. BY HUGH JACKSON LAWLOR, D.D. (Dublin: *Hodges*. Crown 8vo, pp. 195. 3s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Lawlor is the successor of the late Professor Stokes in the University of Dublin. The sermons

in this volume, however, are of his Edinburgh days mostly, when he was well known as a modern preacher fully persuaded in his own mind. There is no parade of learning, there is no pursuit of literary grace. The supreme desire is to reach the understanding and through it the will of the hearer, and persuade to better things. Several of the sermons are expository, and the exposition is always well founded and guardedly expressed. But in the midst of all this scholarship and care it is strange to find rough boulders of ecclesiastical exclusiveness.

PALESTINE IN GEOGRAPHY AND IN HISTORY. BY A. W. COOKE, M.A. (*Kelly*. Vol. I. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 212, with Maps. 2s. 6d.)

This is one of the best volumes of one of the best series of theological books in existence. The historical is the only fruitful method of teaching geography, and in the case of Palestine it is the only correct method. For the Jerusalem of Abdkhibah's day, the Jerusalem of David's day, the Jerusalem of our Lord's day, and the Jerusalem of our own day, are all called Jerusalem by us, but the only permanent feature is the Most High God. The rest is unintelligible or misleading except in the light of the history. But Mr. Cooke has not only chosen the right method, he has the right love of his work. The little book is very pleasant reading. No prejudices ignore scholarship, no guesses are given as truth. It is as wholesome as it is pleasant, just the book to keep a man from thinking that he is getting too old to learn.

FIRST STEPS IN NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. BY J. A. CLAPPERTON, M.A. (*Kelly*. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 130. 1s. 6d.)

Quite a number of aids to the acquirement of New Testament Greek have been published lately. This is the very beginner's book. It is patient and painstaking, and the student is promised a key to the exercises, if he undertakes not to abuse it.

IN TERRA PAX. BY MORRIS FULLER, B.D. (*Longmans*. Crown 8vo, pp. 335. 6s. net.)

This title Mr. Fuller has chosen for a volume of sermons on the incidents of the great Forty Days. The doctrine the sermons teach is unhesitatingly sacramentarian. Occasionally a good deal has to be done to get the doctrine out (or in). But that



discounted, if it can be discounted, they will be found most reverent discourses, most ready to magnify their great subject, and to let its true greatness appear. Now it seems to us that there is no part of the Bible that offers such opportunities to the expositor and preacher as these Forty Days. In comparison with their wealth of every spiritual and intellectual kind, they are strangely neglected. The difficulties no doubt are considerable. But we are getting over them. This volume shows how they may be even set aside—for they are mostly intellectual—and rich fruit gathered at every step.

Messrs. Longmans have published a new and cheaper edition of Dr. Pusey's *Spiritual Letters* (crown 8vo, pp. 350, 6s. net). It will give the letters a longer and a larger lease of life. They are in no sense remarkable letters. There is neither literary grace nor spiritual fervour in them in any arresting degree. The word 'spiritual,' indeed, would be a misapplication, if it were not used in the conventional sense of that which is not secular. Half or more deal with ecclesiastical matters. Their merit lies in their very commonness. No, commonness is not the word. They range within a circle that is so entirely and unquestioningly spiritual (as opposed to secular) that that alone makes them most uncommon. Their merit lies in their practical plainness. They do not touch outsiders or outside things at all. But insiders and inside things they touch at every point and angle. Nothing is too trivial; the trivial, indeed, is the most to be attended to. And although the advice may never take the wings of the morning, or descend into the deep, within its radius it is sound and practicable.

A HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONAL INDEPENDENCY IN SCOTLAND. BY JAMES ROSS. (*Maclehose*. 8vo, pp. 297.)

It is an honourable history. It is a history of great men and of a great movement. That Independency in Scotland has not occupied a larger place is due to causes that are almost wholly creditable. It may be that in these latter days the strict doctrine on which the Haldanes won their triumphs has been somewhat frowned upon. It may be that it was allowed to depart before another, equally definite if less rigid, was

ready to take its place. Some time since a Scottish Congregationalist reported after a visit to the north of Scotland that Independency had lost ground by becoming too evangelical. Did any Church ever lose ground in that way? Are the modern Churches more evangelical than the Haldane Churches were? But let that go. The book is a noble one. Mr. Ross had a great subject, and has proved himself worthy.

Mr. Robert Rule has written a 'Plea for a Revised Metrical Version' of the Psalms. Its title is, *The Place of the Psalms in Public Worship* (Maclehose: crown 8vo, pp. 89). The plea is not very persistent, but the book which contains it is very agreeable reading. If Mr. Rule could give us the new version, or guide us to the fount of inspiration, the service would be very great. For though the Psalms are Hebrew and the hymns Christian, there is one difference between them that gives the former an inestimable pre-eminence. The Psalms are never in any doubt. They speak with authority, and not as the hymns, which mostly reason or reflect.

Messrs. Macmillan have published an abridged edition of the *Life of Edward White Benson*, Archbishop of Canterbury (crown 8vo, pp. 617, 8s. 6d. net). It is in our judgment a better book than the two-volume edition. The immediate circle of intimates may miss letters and recollections, but the lover of literature will rejoice in the abiding interest of all that is left, and will find that the archbishop's character is more consistent and more admirable than before.

Mr. F. C. Burkitt, of Trinity College, Cambridge, has published, through Messrs. Macmillan, *Two Lectures on the Gospels* (crown 8vo, pp. 94, 2s. 6d.). They are popular lectures. The first deals with the lower or textual criticism of the Gospels, the second with the higher criticism or introduction. In the course of the second lecture Mr. Burkitt gives us his view of the composition of the Fourth Gospel. He says, 'That we have in it throughout the accurate report of an eye-witness is surely inconceivable'; and he believes that it was written in St. John's lifetime, and with his approval by 'one who had gathered his materials from the lips of the apostle.'

ALL IN CHRIST: DEVOTIONAL THOUGHTS  
FROM THE WRITINGS OF H. C. G. MOULE,  
D.D. SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY J. H. BURN,  
B.D. (*Marshall Brothers*. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 224. 3s. 6d.)

Of all the books which Mr. Burn has given us, this is the best. His subject was the best that he has had. For Dr. Moule's writings lend themselves to effective extract beyond all others. His soul is in every sentence, every sentence goes to our soul. These beautiful books should have a wide circulation. And they should serve to widen the popularity of their particular author. Those who read this book will inevitably cry, 'Give us more.'

Mr. F. E. Marsh has added to Messrs. Marshall's 'Quiet Hour' Series, *Hindrances to the Spiritual Life* (1s. net). It is a real help to get rid of our hindrances.

SERMONS ON FAITH AND DOCTRINE. BY THE  
LATE BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A. (*Murray*. Crown  
8vo, pp. 374. 7s. 6d.)

The new volume seems to us more characteristic and greater than either of its predecessors. It gets at the Christ of the Gospels at once. Ecclesiasticism and theology are simply passed by on the other side. It brings the Christ of the Gospels to us. For it is not that Jowett was interested in what Christ said and did, but in what He would have said and done now. He does not believe in the physical resurrection of Christ from the dead, but he boldly gives Him an imaginative resurrection, and places Him in the streets and colleges of modern Oxford. The method is not useless. It arrests, it searches the conscience, it makes the life seem tawdry and selfish. But we believe it is wholly wrong. It is not possible to know what Christ would have said and done had He been living now. Every man (except the very best and the very worst) believes that He would say and do as he is saying and doing. No doubt Jowett thought so. But it is just as likely that He would tell Jowett and most of us that we are the children of our fathers who crucified Himself on the tree. What we need is not a past Christ resurrected for present use, but a Christ who is alive for evermore. In Him is life, He imparts it to those who will receive it. And it is the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus that prevents us from being partakers with our fathers in their bloody deeds. So we do not

blame Jowett that he irritated men who were counted good; Jesus Himself did that. We blame him that with him also salvation is by the deeds of the law, though his law is wider and less comprehensible than the Pauline.

MARTYRED MISSIONARIES. EDITED BY MARSHALL  
BROOMHALL, B.A. (*Morgan & Scott*. 8vo, pp. 360,  
with Maps and Illustrations. 5s.)

This book gives us at last an impression of what the Chinese massacres were, of what the China Inland Mission really suffered. The story, not only of the martyrdom, but of the life and devotion, of each of those who suffered, is simply, sometimes thrillingly, told; and there are many photographic illustrations. In many cases death was not the form the martyrdom took, but it was martyrdom none the less. How did they endure it? How did the children endure it? 'One who survived the terrible journey from Shan-si to Han-kow has written: I can truly say that even by the little ones of the party no hatred was felt. Invariably those who were old enough to understand would compare it with how Jesus was treated, and often spoke about the naughty soldiers who treated Jesus badly.'

THE BOOK OF JOB. TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED  
BY F. H. WILKINSON, I.C.S. (*Skeffington*. Crown  
8vo, pp. 144.)

For I know that my avenger liveth,  
And that He Who is to come, will stand upon my  
dust;  
And after disease has destroyed my body,  
Yet freed from the flesh I shall see God.  
Him shall I see, even I, on my side,  
Mine eyes shall behold Him, stranger no more.

That is an example of the translation. The notes are footnotes, and for the most part terse and scholarly. Indeed there is no doubt of either the scholarship or the skill of this translator. In the multitude of difficult interpretations he chooses with judgment, and occasionally gives a commendable turn that is altogether new.

COUNSELS FOR CHURCH PEOPLE. BY M. CREIGHTON,  
D.D. EDITED BY J. H. BURN, B.D. (*Stock*.  
Fcap. 8vo, pp. 202. 5s.)

Mr. Burn has probably a unique acquaintance with modern homiletical literature. His gatherings from the writings of our great preachers of the day are true books. If he chose he might himself

write books that would live. He prefers to widen the audience and perhaps lengthen the literary life of others. And his books are so charming in all outward ways that they serve the purpose of gift-books.

Mr. Elliot Stock has published a volume of unpretentious but most practical addresses on our Lord's Temptation, by the Rev. L. R. Rawnsley, M.A. The title is, *The Temptations of our Lord Jesus Christ* (crown 8vo, pp. 94, 2s. 6d.).

Messrs. Stockwell have published *Tales of a Colporteur*, by the Rev. J. M. Dryerre (2s. 6d.), a racy narrative of the wondrous works of a Protestant among the Roman Catholics in a certain part of Ireland.

HOW TO STUDY THE LIFE OF CHRIST. BY THE REV. ALFORD A. BUTLER, M.A. (Boston: *Whittaker*. Crown 8vo, pp. 175. 75c.)

There is great activity in America now in New Testament study. The Old Testament makes less appeal. And the study even of the New is outward rather than inward, of the class rather than the closet. With which we find no fault. The facts must come before the faith. And the faith will be stronger and fuller if the facts are thoroughly grasped. Mr. Butler is a teacher of long experience. His chief aim is to enable the pupil to reach a general view of the history of our Lord's life on earth. That attained, they can fill in the incidents at leisure. The book demands good hard study. It will then produce good sound scholars and believers.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY? BY ADOLF HARNACK. TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY T. B. SAUNDERS. (*Williams & Norgate*. 8vo, pp. 301. 10s. 6d.)

Harnack's new book was so fully reviewed in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES when it first appeared in German, that it would be covering ground already covered to review the English edition fully. The review in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES was the first adequate review that appeared in this country, and drew immediate attention to the immense significance of the book. The English edition is thoroughly well done. It was a happy thought to include the volume in the 'Theological Translation Library.' And it will be surprising if it does not give that library a wider circulation. It is almost certain that this will be its most popular volume.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF CHRIST. BY E. DE WITT BURTON AND SHAILER MATHEWS. (Chicago: *The University Press*. 8vo, pp. 302. \$1.)

We have followed these 'Constructive Studies' with close attention as they have appeared month by month in the pages of *The Biblical World*. We have admired their authors' clear conception of what had to be done. We have been astonished at the patient thoroughness with which they have pursued their aim to its accomplishment. No method of 'getting up' the Life of our Lord is, in our judgment, so successful as this. It is not cram. It lives and moves in a region far above mere memory work. It is science. It has all the latest aids that science has furnished, and it is itself a branch of science. The authors' knowledge of literature is not only extensive, it is apparently exhaustive, and the selection made indicates thorough personal knowledge. We have not attempted work of this kind in our country yet. Our studies in the New Testament, whether for Bible class or Sunday school, are done by men of second-rate scholarship and first-rate prejudice. Till teachers arise trained as these men are in scientific method, and confident that the truth is old enough to stand without holding on by a chair, our children will continue to grow up ignorant of Christ and the things of Christ.

### ‘Phillips Brooks.’<sup>1</sup>

THE first necessity for a successful biography seems to be faith; the second, perseverance. They were the only qualities that Boswell possessed. Professor Allen possesses them both. If he has not produced a work that will lie through all time beside Boswell's *Johnson*, it is solely because he is too wise. Boswell made himself of no reputation for his hero's sake, and so gained an immortal reputation. Losing his life, he even in a literary matter gained life everlasting. Professor Allen shines beside his hero. It is a pity to have to say it, but he even pats his hero on the back. He is not content that his hero should be all in all. He will be something himself. And just to that extent he will lose immortality.

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*. By Alexander V. G. Allen. Macmillan. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 675, 963, with portraits and illustrations. 30s. net.



But for the present we are not concerned with Professor Allen's immortality. Is this a book to read? Not every word. Not over and over again, like Boswell. Perhaps the man was not so great, more probably his greatness has not been so completely, so transparently preserved. But it is a book to read. Its great gift to us is the humanness of the gospel. Phillips Brooks had set him as his special task in Boston to lift his hearers out of the misery of Unitarianism. And he did it by preaching a human Christ. That was not his deliberate choice. He was not quite so far-seeing as that. It was his nature, it was himself. He preached what he had received. But it was just what he ought to have preached. A Saviour that was God and not man would never have touched these Boston doubters. It would have been the misery of Unitarianism still. Phillips Brooks found Jesus warm with humanity, touching us in all helpful ways, and being God (for that is the heart of the whole doctrine) revealing to us that God is tender, helpful, human. He made a tremendous and lasting impression in the city of Boston. He did it by assuring the city that Jesus Christ is God. But his manner was by making known Jesus Christ as man, and leaving them to see that this man was none other than their Lord and their God.

And he did it by his person more than his words. He preached not himself, but he himself preached. That is why the biography is so important. We have his words elsewhere, here we have the man who was so much greater than his greatest words. It is a wise divine that follows his own instructions. The only one who ever did it perfectly was the Lord Jesus Christ. But Phillips Brooks did it so far that that is the secret of his power, that is the secret of the worth of his biography.

### ‘The History of the Devil.’<sup>1</sup>

THE Devil is not so interesting as he used to be. Is it because we do not believe in him as our fathers did? That would be an excellent reason for loss of interest in him, if he did not exist. But if he does exist, it is to be feared that

<sup>1</sup> *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil.* By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co. 8vo, pp. 512, with illustrations. \$6.

our present unconcern is only one of his own numerous devices.

Well, *does* he exist? Dr. Paul Carus does not rightly believe it. And what is worse (for his book is not for him), he did not believe it when he began to write the Devil's history. His book is not a history of the Devil, but of human folly in dreaming that there is a devil. Consequently it lacks weight. The Devil is treated lightly, and all the men and women who ever believed in him are treated as lightly as the Devil.

That is a serious fault. Either Dr. Carus should have left this subject to some one who still believed in the Devil, or else he should have dealt with the whole subject of devil belief as a matter of scientific investigation. It belongs to the science of Psychology. Dr. Carus himself believes that, and he is a distinguished student of that science. Why did he let his levity run away with his science? If it is out of place anywhere it is out of place here. By levity, however, we do not mean hilarity. Dr. Carus has not written a book of squibs about the Devil. His intention and his face are serious enough. The one fault is that the great subject of the Devil is treated lightly, superficially, a thing that would have been impossible either to a believer in the Devil or to a serious scientific student of psychology. For if the Devil exists he is a very serious subject; if he does not, the subject is more serious still.

But no doubt this criticism will commend the book to innumerable readers. They do not want either science or the Devil, they want an hour's pleasant reading. Well, they have it. They have several hours' reading here, and it is made the pleasanter by a profusion of gruesome pictures, —pictures of the Devil in all his shapes, and of the Devil's wonderful ways with his victims and his votaries. The book as a book is charming, as charming as a book about the Devil could be.

### ‘The Baptist Pulpit.’<sup>2</sup>

ONE often sees a congregation of people moulded and stamped by the personality of a strong preacher. But here is a great Church moulded so. Twelve volumes of sermons have been published by Messrs. Stockwell under the

<sup>2</sup> *The Baptist Pulpit.* Vols. vii.—xii. Stockwell. 2s. 6d. net, each.

title of *The Baptist Pulpit*. The first six were noticed a month or two ago, the other six are before us. Their marvel is their uniformity. It is not merely that their authors all preach Christ. It is not merely that they know nothing save Christ crucified. Without that uniformity they would not be preachers. But the emphasis is laid on the same things in Christ, and the impression that is made is made most impressively just because it is the same in all. There is no explaining this except by remembering that one great personality still rules the Baptist Church, that C. H. Spurgeon, though dead, yet speaks in every minister of the denomination.

Is it better so, or is it worse? Usually it is worse, but here it is better. These men are too strong, too firmly persuaded in their own minds to be mere echoes of Spurgeon. They add their own personality. It is never enough to separate them from the type, but it gives a most pleasing variety. As we read the sermons we are never restless with the fear of idiosyncrasy or unsoundness, yet we are drawn on to read. The very closeness to type makes the individual variety more agreeable.

Can we express their differences in a sentence? Mr. Kirk Price, who writes *Appeals to the Soul*, is musical with the solemnities of life; Mr. Lomax Mackenzie, the author of *Pure Religion*, hears the angels' song; Mr. Minifie, whose book is *The Mask Torn off*, is astonished at the unbelief around him when every common bush is afire with God; Dr. Downen, in *Christus Consolator*, would compel the wanderer to come in; Mr. Gay on *The Seven Sayings from the Cross* finds balm in Gilead and a most melting physician there; Mr. Edwards stands on *The Spiritual Observatory* and sees the chariot of the eternal Judge approaching rapidly to judgment.

### 'The Ferrar-Group.'

THIS handsome volume, whose typography is an admirable specimen of the work done by the Cambridge University Press, deals with one of the most interesting questions in the whole realm of N.T. textual criticism. Since Professor Ferrar's

*Collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels* (the cursives 13, 69, 124, 346) appeared in 1877, the attention of scholars has been called to this remarkable group of texts, conspicuous for their divergence in common from the ordinary form, and notable for certain special features characteristic of themselves alone. The interest has increased rather than diminished in recent years, owing to the energy with which the so-called 'Western' text has been studied. For, as Mr. Rendel Harris points out, 'after the Codex Bezae, it may be doubted whether any Greek text is so important to the student as that lost archetype from which the members of the Ferrar-group depend' (p. 1). The whole process of investigation through which the texts of the group have passed is typical of the best methods in the science of textual criticism.

After the original statement of the problem and hypothetical restoration of the archetype by Messrs. Ferrar and Abbott, the Abbé Martin proved, in a pamphlet published in 1886, that at least three out of the four MSS of the group could be traced to Calabria or Sicily, and he also showed that the group must probably be extended to embrace some further texts. From appended matter resembling that found in Codd. 69 and 346, he supposed that a Græco-Arabic MS. at Venice (Cod. Evv. 211) must be in some way related to the Ferrar-group. Cod. 69 (the Leicester codex) was next subjected to a careful examination by Mr. Rendel Harris, and he continued his researches in his important lecture *On the Origin of the Ferrar-Group* (1893). This lecture suggested that the enumeration of the  $\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , which is a feature peculiar to this group, would imply the existence of a certain Syriac element in its members. With the additional help of Dr. Gregory's invaluable *Prolegomena to Tischendorf*, it was possible to register a number of points as being 'pure Ferrarisms,' and thus to provide a clue to the further discovery of related texts. 'Such' (*sc.* Ferrarisms), Mr. Rendel Harris notes, 'are the enumeration of the  $\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  and the  $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$  contained in the separate books, the description of the Gospels as  $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \text{Ματθαίου}$ , etc., the peculiar tract on the Limits of the Patriarchates' (p. 5), certain remarkable transpositions in the Gospels, as, *e.g.*, Jn 7<sup>53-81</sup> to Lk 21<sup>38</sup>, the subscriptions, etc. The investigation was carried on by Mr. Lake of Lincoln College,

<sup>1</sup> *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group*. By J. Rendel Harris, M.A. London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1900. Price 10s. 6d. net.



Oxford, who, in 1898, found that Codd. 826 and 828 in the library at Grotta Ferrata belonged to the Ferrar-group. These, with the inclusion of Cod. 788, a MS. at Athens reported on by Gregory, and Cod. 543, belonging to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts and accurately described in Scrivener's *Adversaria Critica* (1893), brought up the total number of the group to eight, five of which could be traced distinctly to a Calabro-Sicilian origin, while the remaining three might be justly suspected of belonging at least to the same region.

In the work before us, Mr. Rendel Harris has extended the investigation with all his wonted skill and lucidity, and with that quaint seasoning of humour which flavours even his most technical labours. From the peculiar group of saints found in the menologies attached to Codd. 13 and 346, he shows very clearly that those texts must have arisen somewhere in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. Then, from two curious tracts on the Patriarchates and the Climates of Africa attached to them,—tracts which are also appended to the Græco-Arabic MS. mentioned above,—he proves by a variety of most ingenious and convincing arguments, into the details of which our limits forbid us to enter, that Codd. 69, 346, 543 were written amidst Arabic influences and in close connexion with the court of Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, in the twelfth century. Indeed, he can *almost* claim to have traced the original MS. from which the group 69, 346, 543 is immediately derived to a certain Sicilian geographer, Nilus Doxapatris, who was acquainted with Arabic, if not originally a Moslem himself. This archetype was probably a Græco-Arabic bilingual similar to the Venice MS. 211. Naturally the Arabic influence would explain and include the Syriac influence which had been already suspected in the group. Two directions remain in which the suggestions of Mr. Rendel Harris may be tested and verified. 'One of them is the examination of all the MSS showing a similarity of textual arrangement with the leading members of the Ferrar-group. . . . Another . . . is the search among the existing Arabic Gospels for a text which answers to the Ferrar-text' (p. 75). It is to be hoped that the problem will still attract students of the text. For several moot points of N.T. textual criticism are intimately related to it. Thus, e.g., certain Old-Latin texts show a marked strain of affinity with the Ferrar-group.

The only criticism we would make is, that the ease with which Mr. Rendel Harris moves in the most recondite provinces of learning is apt, here and there in this treatise, to lead him into discussions which stretch far beyond the direct scope of the inquiry, and thus to overburden the investigation as a whole. This is notably the case in chaps. 4 and 5. But the dissertation is really a model for all who may devote themselves to this difficult branch of N.T. science. The volume is furnished with eight beautiful facsimiles.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

*Callander.*

### 'The Soothsayer Balaam.'<sup>1</sup>

THE book has an interest in various ways. It is the work of a Russian bishop, and is evidence that biblical learning is not by any means unknown or even rare, at least among the higher clergy of the Russian Church. Bishop Seraphim is familiar with the critical results of the scholars of western Europe, and the numerous native works to which he refers show that he is not at all singular in this kind of learning. But, in addition to this, the book itself is interesting from its contents. It contains much curious information and speculation drawn from many sources on topics suggested by the story of Balaam, e.g. on magic, soothsaying, second sight, and kindred occult subjects. The bishop discusses such points as the belief of the ancient world in the power of certain persons effectively to bless and curse; the question where this power was supposed to lie, it being thought to be exerted by the mere words of the formula or incantation, and similar questions. After review of these ancient beliefs, he comes to the criticism of them from a modern point of view, raising the question whether magic and similar things believed in so universally by antiquity were mere impostures, or had some kind of reality underlying them. He accepts the latter view, and institutes a comparison between these ancient practices and modern illustrations of the power of mind over matter and over other minds as revealed in hypnotism and other phenomena. This part of the book shows wide reading and fairness of judgment.

<sup>1</sup> *The Soothsayer Balaam.* By the Very Rev. Seraphim, Bishop of Ostrojsk. London: Rivingtons, 1900. 10s.



What might be called the second part of the book consists of a commentary on the prophecies of Balaam, the Hebrew text being discussed in a multitude of notes. The commentary is written with fervour and sympathy, and considerable elevation of thought and feeling. The notes are of less value. The Hebrew words are very inaccurately printed (though this may be due to those who carried the English translation through the press), and the Hebrew learning, of which there is a considerable display, is not very

instructive. There is a good deal of barren and fanciful etymologizing, and many of the opinions adduced from other authorities belong to a stage of learning which has been left behind.

After a chapter on Balaam's place in history, a critical appendix is added on the authorship and date of the poems. The bishop though familiar with critical theories is not moved by them, and adheres to traditional views. The book will be read by biblical scholars with interest and appreciation.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## Longsuffering.

### HEBREW AND GREEK WORDS—

1. In O.T. the only occurrences of 'longsuffering' as an adj. are Ex 34<sup>6</sup> Nu 14<sup>18</sup> Ps 86<sup>15</sup>, all אֲנִי אֶחָד, and all changed in R.V. into 'slow to anger,' which is the usual translation of the phrase in A.V. The same phrase is once translated by 'longsuffering' as a subst., Jer 15<sup>15</sup>, which R.V. retains.

2. In N.T. the adj. 'longsuffering' is used only once, 2 P 3<sup>9</sup>, where 'is longsuffering' translates the verb μακροθυμῆναι (to which A.V. adds Lk 18<sup>7</sup> and 1 Th 5<sup>14</sup>); but as the rendering of the adj. μακρόθυμος, it is found in Wis 15<sup>1</sup> Sir 21<sup>11</sup> 5<sup>4</sup>. The subst. is the translation of μακροθυμία in Ro 2<sup>4</sup> 9<sup>22</sup> 2 Co 6<sup>6</sup> Gal 5<sup>22</sup> Eph 4<sup>2</sup> Col 1<sup>11</sup> 3<sup>12</sup> 1 Ti 1<sup>16</sup> 2 Ti 3<sup>10</sup> 4<sup>2</sup> 1 P 3<sup>20</sup> 2 P 3<sup>15</sup>; and these are all the occurrences of μακροθυμία except He 6<sup>12</sup> Ja 5<sup>10</sup>, where A.V. and R.V. have 'patience.'

Thus the subst. identified with 'longsuffering' is μακροθυμία; its adj. does not occur in N.T., its adv. μακροθύμως occurs once, Ac 26<sup>3</sup>, where it is translated 'patiently'; its verb is used in Mt 18<sup>26</sup>. 29 Lk 18<sup>7</sup> 1 Co 13<sup>4</sup> 1 Th 5<sup>14</sup> He 6<sup>15</sup> Ja 5<sup>7-8</sup> 2 P 3<sup>9</sup>, and all these passages bear upon the subject of longsuffering.

THE MEANING OF μακροθυμία. — A person possesses μ. or is μακρόθυμος who is *long* (μακρός) in giving way to his anger (θυμός).<sup>1</sup> In the N.T. longsuffering is either endurance under trial (Col 1<sup>11</sup> 2 Ti 3<sup>10</sup> He 6<sup>12</sup> Ja 5<sup>10</sup>) or else slowness in

manifesting anger or revenge (Gal 5<sup>22</sup> Eph 4<sup>2</sup> Col 3<sup>12</sup> 2 Ti 4<sup>2</sup>). The former meaning is better expressed in English by 'patience,' the latter is the proper Christian virtue of longsuffering. It is also an attribute of God (Ro 2<sup>4</sup> 9<sup>22</sup> 1 P 3<sup>20</sup> 2 P 3<sup>15</sup>; with the verb Mt 18<sup>26</sup>. 29 2 P 3<sup>9</sup>), and of Christ (1 Ti 1<sup>16</sup>).

### DIFFERENCE BETWEEN μακροθυμία AND OTHER WORDS—

1. It is distinguished from ἀνοχή (Ro 2<sup>4</sup> 3<sup>25</sup> E.V. 'forbearance'): α. is directed to some immediate occasion, μ. is more of a general characteristic. See Trench, *Syn.* 188; Lightfoot on Ro 2<sup>4</sup> Col 1<sup>11</sup>; Sanday-Headlam on Ro 2<sup>4</sup>; Denney in *D.B.* ii. 47<sup>b</sup>.

2. It is distinguished (in its special meaning) from ὑπομονή (in A.V. always 'patience,' except 2 Co 1<sup>6</sup> 2 Th 3<sup>5</sup>): ὑπ. being the temper which does not easily give way under trial, μ. the self-restraint which does not retaliate under wrong. See Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Lex.* p. 289; Trench, *Syn.* 188; Lightfoot and Abbott on Col 1<sup>11</sup>; *D.B.* ii. 47<sup>a</sup>, iii. 136<sup>b</sup>.

3. It is distinguished from πραΰτης (always 'meekness'): πρ. is opposed to harshness, μ. to resentment, revenge, wrath. See Cremer, p. 289; Lightfoot on Col 3<sup>12</sup>, Trench, *Syn.* p. 359.

4. It is also distinguished from χρηστότης ('goodness' in Ro 2<sup>4</sup> 11<sup>22bis</sup>, 'kindness' in 2 Co 6<sup>6</sup> Eph 2<sup>7</sup> Col 3<sup>12</sup> Tit 3<sup>4</sup>): χρ. is a kindly feeling to others; μ. a passing over of actual injuries. See Lightfoot on Ro 2<sup>4</sup> Gal 5<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sir 5<sup>4</sup>. 7 ὁ γὰρ Κύριός ἐστιν μακρόθυμος . . . καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοὺς καταπαύσει ὁ θυμός αὐτοῦ.

## THE LONGSUFFERING OF GOD—

**Texts.**—Gen 6<sup>8</sup> 15<sup>16</sup> Ex 34<sup>6</sup> Nu 14<sup>18</sup> Neh 9<sup>17-31</sup> Ps 86<sup>15</sup> 103<sup>8-10</sup> Ec 8<sup>11</sup> Is 5<sup>1-4</sup> 30<sup>18</sup> 48<sup>9</sup> Jer 7<sup>13</sup> 15<sup>15</sup> Ezk 20<sup>17</sup> Jl 2<sup>13</sup> Hab 1<sup>2-4</sup> Mt 18<sup>26-29</sup> 19<sup>8</sup> 21<sup>33-41</sup> (= Mk 12<sup>1-9</sup> Lk 20<sup>9-16</sup>) Ac 14<sup>16</sup> 17<sup>30</sup> Ro 2<sup>4</sup> 3<sup>25</sup> 9<sup>22, 23</sup> 15<sup>5</sup> 1 P 3<sup>20</sup> 2 P 3<sup>9, 15</sup> Rev 2<sup>21, 22</sup>; cf. Wis 15<sup>1</sup> Sir 5<sup>4, 6</sup> 18<sup>11</sup> 32<sup>22</sup> 2 Mac 6<sup>14</sup>. Especially—

1. Ex 34<sup>6</sup> 'And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The LORD, The LORD, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth.'

2. Ro 9<sup>22</sup> 'What if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much longsuffering vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction?'

3. 2 P 3<sup>9</sup> 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some count slackness; but in longsuffering to you-ward, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.'

Moses stood in the Mount alone with God. It was the great moment of his life. Jehovah descended in the cloud, passed before him, and proclaimed His name. And in the name was *longsuffering* (Ex 34<sup>6</sup>). He had need of such a name to be the God of such a people.

The children of Israel had reached the confines of Canaan, and had sent twelve spies to report upon the land. The report of the majority was gloomy: the cities are walled to heaven, the men are giants. The heart of the people sank. 'The people wept that night.' 'And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.' And when Moses and Aaron remonstrated, they 'bade stone them with stones.' Jehovah appeared in the tent of meeting. 'How long will this people despise me?' He said; 'I will smite them with the pestilence.' Moses recalled the name by which He had revealed Himself: 'The Lord is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy' (Nu 14<sup>18</sup>). With a sublimity of faith which anticipated that of the Syro-Phœnician woman, he threw back in God's face the very name by which He had made Himself known. 'Thou saidst *longsuffering*: be longsuffering now!'

The prophets had still to do with this stiff-necked people. And the time since Moses had only given occasion for trying Jehovah the more. Isaiah (5<sup>1-17</sup>) anticipates Christ's parable of the Vineyard. Jehovah had done everything for His vineyard that could be done, yet it brought forth

wild grapes. But the time since Moses had also revealed more vividly the longsuffering of Jehovah. And still He will wait that He may be gracious to them (Is 30<sup>18</sup>); He will defer His anger for His name's sake (48<sup>9</sup>). It is the very ground upon which Moses made his appeal.

By the time of Ezekiel the longsuffering of God seemed exhausted. The great calamity had come. The iniquity of Israel had waxed full, as, long before, the iniquity of the Amorites (Gn 15<sup>16</sup>). But no. Ezekiel finds evidence of the longsuffering of Jehovah still, though now it is bent more particularly upon the elect remnant. He recalls God's ways in the wilderness (20<sup>17</sup>); He had not made a full end then, He would not make a full end yet. So also in the days of Nehemiah (9<sup>17, 31</sup>) the remnant that had returned took heart of courage from the name which Jehovah had revealed to Moses, and the marvellous proof of its reality in sparing their stubborn forefathers.

The Psalmists are both national and personal. That beautiful Psalm, the 103rd, is a song of praise to the Longsuffering of God. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul. . . . The Lord is slow to anger. . . . He hath not dealt with us after our sins.'

Thus the great thoughts that cluster round the longsuffering of God in the Old Testament are these:—

1. It belongs to the Character or Name of God.
2. It is a personal experience of His saints.
3. It has been wonderfully shown in the History of His Chosen People.
4. It has become exhausted in the case of other nations, and even of Israel as a whole.
5. But let repentance come, and God will always 'repent him of the evil' (Jl 2<sup>13</sup>).

In the New Testament our Lord still addresses Himself to Israel. The parable of the Vineyard (Mt 21<sup>33-41</sup> and parallels) exhibits the longsuffering of God to that nation in sending prophet after prophet to them, its climax in the gift of His Son, and the warning that if the Son is rejected the end will come.

St. Paul makes the range of application wider. Addressing heathen communities (Ac 14<sup>16</sup> 17<sup>30</sup>), he tells them that their preservation in spite of their idolatry is due to God's longsuffering. But he too seizes the certainty that since God has now sent the highest token of His longsuffering, the time for repentance or for doom has come.

He warns us not to think that God's longsuffering is due to indulgence or indifference (Ro 2<sup>4</sup> 9<sup>22</sup>), or that what has been will always be. And he presses home the conviction of our own conscience that God's longsuffering is due entirely to His goodness; when it ends the end is due entirely to our sin.

#### THE LONGSUFFERING OF JESUS CHRIST—

Lk 13<sup>6-9</sup>, esp.<sup>8</sup>, 'Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it.'

Mt 23<sup>37</sup>, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!'

1 Ti 1<sup>16</sup>, 'Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me as chief might Jesus Christ show forth all his longsuffering.'

The longsuffering of Jesus Christ is divine. It is the longsuffering of God seen in action on a special, even a redemptive, occasion. It is sometimes thought that in the parable of the Barren Fig-tree (Lk 13<sup>6-9</sup>) the mercy of Jesus is seen in contrast with the justice of God. It is not so. When we speak of the love of Jesus to men, we do not forget that God so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son. And when we read that Jesus begged another season for the fig-tree, we remember that the whole Bible is steeped with the longsuffering of God.

But there is a special application of the longsuffering of Jesus Christ. It is exercised towards him who has heard the sound of the gospel, but has not obeyed it. It was exercised towards Saul of Tarsus (1 Ti 1<sup>16</sup>). He knew the depth of it only when he obeyed, for only then did he know that he was the chief of sinners.

This longsuffering Jesus Christ exercises over all. But it also comes to an end. Of Jerusalem He had to say (Mt 23<sup>38</sup>), 'Behold your house is left unto you desolate.' And St. Paul told the Athenians that the Day was appointed and the Judge chosen (Ac 17<sup>31</sup>). See also on 2 P 3<sup>15</sup> below.

#### THE LONGSUFFERING OF THE CHRISTIAN—

Besides the passages which contain the word, see Mt 5<sup>39</sup> Ro 12<sup>17</sup> 1 Co 4<sup>12</sup> 1 Th 5<sup>15</sup> 1 P 3<sup>9</sup>.

There are three stages in the progress of the Christian grace of longsuffering. First, there is the ceasing to render evil for evil (Ro 12<sup>17</sup> 'Render to no man evil for evil,' Eph 4<sup>2</sup> 1 Th 5<sup>15</sup>); this may be merely passive endurance of wrong, and already demands large exercise of longsuffering. Next, there is the active return of good for evil (Mt 5<sup>39</sup> 1 Co 4<sup>12</sup> 'Being reviled, we bless'). And, finally, there is the close communion with Christ when the longsuffering becomes itself a joy, an assurance of the presence of the Spirit of whom it is a fruit (Gal 5<sup>22</sup> 'the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering'; cf. Col 1<sup>11</sup> 'longsuffering with joyfulness').

In practical experience it is found more difficult to be longsuffering over stupidity than over sin. Parents sometimes give the impression to their children that to be slow in understanding is worse than to tell a lie, simply because they are so hasty in resenting dulness, so lenient with untruthfulness or other 'little sins.'

That there is a limit to the exercise of Christian longsuffering is no doubt true. That is to say, the weak may, through longsuffering that runs into indulgence, become the tyrants of the strong. But it is George Eliot who says that when we come to die it is our hastiness we repent of, not our indulgence.

**DIFFICULT PASSAGES** that demand investigation are Jer 15<sup>15</sup> (see *D.B.* iii. 136<sup>a</sup>, Cremer, *Lex.* p. 289); Lk 18<sup>7</sup> (see esp. Plummer *in loc.*); and 2 P 3<sup>15</sup> (whether the reference is to Jesus or to God the Father (see Salmond in *Popular Com. ad loc.*)).

**LITERATURE.**<sup>1</sup>—Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Lex.* 288-290; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* ii. 46, 47; iii. 136; Jer. Taylor's *Works* iv. 483-495; Dale, *Week-Day Sermons* 38-65; Temple, *Rugby Sermons* iii. 173-180; Vaughan (C. J.), *University Sermons* 230-250; Maclaren, *Paul's Prayers* 217-219.

<sup>1</sup> Can any of our readers add to this literature?—EDITOR.



## Contributions and Comments.

## On πλήρης and μονογενής in John i. 14.

WHEN, many years since, I began to collect and work out the material for my *Historical Greek Grammar* (London, 1897), I was struck by the absence in Greek of a regular adverb πλήρως ('fully,' 'completely'), corresponding to πλήρης ('full,' 'complete'), and by the use in its place of παντάπασιν, παντελῶς, πάντως or πάντῃ, τελείως or τελείως, τέλειον or τέλειον, and the like. Still more remarkable and even puzzling appeared to me the occasional use as an adverb of the adjective πλήρης in such *post-Christian* texts as bear the character of a more or less popular style. Needless to add that Ac 6<sup>5</sup> and Jn 1<sup>14</sup> formed a prominent feature in my observations. However, I refrained from discussing the phenomenon in my said book, first because it was the only instance I could find, and then because I could not give a satisfactory explanation of this curious usage. Nevertheless, I kept an interest in the matter by collecting all cases which came under my observation, and finally summarized the results in a MS. note inserted in my own copy of my grammar under § 618<sup>c</sup>. I take the liberty of reproducing the note here: 'In *G-M* popular Greek [*i.e.* in the popular Greek of the period lying between Græco-Roman times and the Middle Ages] the adjective πλήρης often—especially after enumerations—appears to stand for ὁ πας, *i.e.* for παντάπασιν, παντελῶς, τελείως, *entirely, fully, in full*, as in some MSS of LXX Nu 7<sup>13</sup>. 19. 20, Job 21<sup>24</sup>; Sir 19<sup>23</sup>; then N.T. Jn 1<sup>14</sup> (?), Ac 6<sup>5</sup> (?). Griech. Urk. Berlin 18, 8, ἀπερ ἀπέσχαμεν πλήρης, "to the full amount." So further: 8, 27; 13, 7; 81, 27; 270, 9; 373, 13. 21. Grenfell and Hunt Greek Papyri (1897), No. 69, 29 (A.D. 265), διὰ τὸ πλήρης αὐτὸν ἀπεσχεκέναι, "for having received the full amount," 75, 8 (A.D. 305) τάλαντα εἴκοσιν ἃ ἐπλήρωσέν μοι πλήρης, "to the full amount." Id. Oxyrinchos II. (1899), No. 237, iv. 14 (A.D. 186), τάλαντον α' ἕως ἂν ζ' πλήρης ἐκτίσῃ.'

The matter was then dropped for a while, when in October 1899 I read Mr. C. H. Turner's paper 'On πλήρης in St. Jn 1<sup>14</sup>' in the first number of his *Journal of Theological Studies* (pp. 120-125). I confess that neither his arguments advanced there nor the few fresh data subsequently adduced in part iv. p. 561 have carried conviction with me.

As, however, other scholars and readers, including THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (January last, p. 147), seem to think otherwise, I beg leave to state my views on this question with especial reference to the two vexed passages in the New Testament, Ac 6<sup>5</sup> and Jn 1<sup>14</sup>.

As already stated, in *post-Christian* unlearned compositions the adjective πλήρης often stands like an ordinary adverb in the sense of *fully, in full, to the full* (amount or number); but the question arises: Does this use of πλήρης apply also to earlier Greek, including that of the New Testament? The two passages adduced from New Testament are Ac 6<sup>5</sup> and Jn 1<sup>14</sup>. Now in the former instance: Στέφανον ἄνδρα πλήρη(ς) πίστεως, the reading πλήρης rests on  $\aleph$ AC\*DEHP, but has against it the authority of BC<sup>2</sup>, which read πλήρη, and the further objection of a probable dittography, inasmuch as two similar letters  $\Gamma$  and  $\Pi$  ( $\sigma$  and  $\pi$ ) happen to stand together: ΠΑΗΡΗΕΠΙΕΤΕΩΕ, *i.e.* πληρη[σ]πιστεωσ. It is true that Mr. Turner seeks (*Journal*, i. p. 121 f.) to strengthen his case by quoting Didymos' comment on the passage, but most readers will agree rather with the reading as given both by the MS and editor than as boldly emended by Mr. Turner.

As to Jn 1<sup>14</sup>, καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας—Mr. Turner's contention hardly solves the problem. It rather increases the confusion, first because it leads readers to the belief that they are at liberty to read either αὐτοῦ πλήρης, or δόξαν πλήρης, or μονογενοῦς πλήρης; and then because the data adduced for such an option are mostly irrelevant. Surely the manuscriptal πλήρης for πλήρεις proves nothing, seeing that in the inscriptions and papyri of Græco-Byzantine times η and ει are very frequently confused by way of itacism. Regarding the five fresh instances of πλήρης adduced by Mr. Turner (i. p. 121), one and all occur in late and obscure texts, and moreover one and all are beside the mark. To begin with the first double passage, which occurs in the apocryphal *Book of Enoch* (ed. Charles) 28<sup>1</sup> and 31<sup>2</sup> (both of which by the way yield no sense), Mr. Turner would have left these instances out of account, had he read the editor's remarks on the corrupt state of the text, and, furthermore, con-

sidered 32<sup>1</sup>, where we read ὅρη πλήρη νάρδου. As to the remaining four cases adduced, they are all irrelevant, since they refer to a *measure* or *number* designated as full and complete. Here, therefore, πλήρης means 'in full,' 'entirely,' and so governs no genitive (as is the case with Jn 1<sup>14</sup>: πλήρης χάριτος, 'full of grace'). Thus τὸ Σάββατον πλήρης, 'the whole Sabbath'; καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλήρης, 'and all the rest of it complete'; ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν πλήρης, 'fully sixty days'; τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ πλήρης, 'thirty years but not fully.' The same holds true of the fresh data to which Mr. Turner refers in iv. p. 561: τὰ καίσκια πλήρης ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὰ ἔλαιον, 'filled them completely'; πλήρης ἐνιαυτόν, 'a complete year'; μισθὸν πλήρης, 'salary paid in full'; τὸ ἐκφόριον πλήρης, 'the tithe paid in full,' etc. Hence Mr. Turner's manner of acknowledging his gratitude to Dr. Nestle and Mr. Burkitt: 'for supplying me with these opportunities of "confirming" my argument,' is rather misleading, seeing that these eminent scholars merely confirm the adverbial usage of πλήρης in late Christian and Byzantine texts without necessary endorsing Mr. Turner's views on Jn 1<sup>14</sup>. For here πλήρης preserves its *ancient* form, meaning, and construction (with the genitive), the only point striking us as irregular being the anacoluthy in the sentence. But the question is: Does this case of anacoluthy really lie in πλήρης or elsewhere?

In my humble opinion the crux in St. Jn 1<sup>14</sup> lies not in πλήρης but in the immediately preceding part of the passage: δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός. Here the use of μονογενής as a substantive ('only child,' 'only son'), especially when introduced for the first time, is quite abnormal, the Greeks always adding υἱὸς or θυγάτηρ (or παῖς), that is, μονογενὴς υἱὸς, μονογενὴς θυγάτηρ, μονογενὴς παῖς. Then the complement παρὰ πατρός (μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός ('only-begotten on the part of the Father')) is very forced and hardly probable, especially in the simple and analytical style of the writer. Finally, the presence of πατήρ here is very significant: it obviously stands in a relation of contrast or contradistinction, and such a contrast could be suggested only by the presence of some such a term as υἱὸς (παῖς, θυγάτηρ), which is represented here as being μονογενής.

I hold, therefore, the current reading ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός to be very doubtful, and cannot help suspecting some primitive (ante-Byzantine) scribal error. Now what the original text precisely

was, or how the passage can be restored, is another question. I believe, however, that the author's genuine meaning underlies some such a reading as the following:—

WIMONOTENOYEHAPAIATPOI

WIMONOLEXOYEHAPAIATPOI, *i.e.*

ὡς μόνος ἔχει<sup>1</sup> ὡς παρὰ πατρός: 'such a glory as the Son alone hath from the Father.'

St. Andrews, N.B.

A. N. JANNARIS.

## Recent Opinions on the Date of the Acts of the Apostles.

### I.

### Schmiedel, Rackham, and Headlam on St. Luke's Reference to the Fall of Jerusalem.

AN argument for the late date of the Acts is derived from the exactness of the description in St. Luke's Gospel of the circumstances of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. The following are three references which have recently been made to this argument by Professor Schmiedel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Mr. Headlam in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, and Mr. R. B. Rackham in the first number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*:—

'The date of the composition of Acts [thus] falls at least some time later than that of the third Gospel. The latter is now, on account of its accurate allusions to actual incidents in the destruction of Jerusalem (Lk 19<sup>43f.</sup> 21<sup>20</sup>), almost universally set down to a date later than 70 A.D., and on some other grounds, which, however, it must be said, are less definite, even considerably later (see GOSPELS)' (Schmiedel, p. 49).

'The argument for a later date is generally based on Lk 21<sup>20</sup> as compared with Mt 24<sup>15</sup>, Mk 13<sup>14</sup>. It is stated that the form of the prophecy there recorded has been modified by the knowledge of what happened at the siege of Jerusalem. The Gospel, therefore, was written after that event, and the Acts somewhat later, under the Flavians. The criticism of Blass, however, has very considerable weight, that there is little in the prophecies recorded by St. Luke which goes much beyond the language of Dn 9<sup>26</sup>; and the reason

<sup>1</sup> Or also ἔχει by itacism (ENI:EXI) as in Grenfell and Hunt Papyri i. p. 77, 1, ἔχει χαλκείνη ὀβολοῦς ἐξ.



given for a late date can hardly be considered demonstrative' (Headlam, p. 30a).

'Against this—the natural impression (of an early date) given by the Acts itself—I know of but one solid argument, namely, that because of the variations in the Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup> the Gospel of St. Luke must have been written after A.D. 70 with a knowledge of the actual facts of the siege, and the Acts therefore later still. The differences are: the omission by St. Luke (21<sup>20</sup>) of the words *let him that readeth understand*; the substitution of *Jerusalem compassed with armies*, etc., for the *abomination of desolation*; the omission of the *immediately* of Mt 24<sup>29</sup>; and the addition of one or two details in 21<sup>20-25</sup>, not to speak of the second and still more detailed picture in 19<sup>43, 44</sup>.

'Now (i.), prophecy apart, it is certain that the Christians were expecting some disaster to befall Jerusalem: St. Paul wrote 1 Th 2<sup>16</sup> as early as 49 or 50 A.D. (ii.) Writing for Gentile readers at Rome, St. Luke translates the imagery of the O.T. into ordinary language: naturally, too, he omits the warning to flee. Similarly, but conversely, St. Matthew has emphasized the Jewish point of view by adding the mention of *Daniel the prophet* and substituting *the holy place* for the original phrase *where it ought not*. It is doubtful if the *immediately* of Mt 24<sup>29</sup> is original, for it is absent from St. Mark; but in any case both St. Mark and St. Luke retain the connexion, *And there shall be signs*, with no more hints of an interval than in St. Matthew. (iii.) The expressions used by St. Luke are quite general, and describe the ordinary features of the fall and capture of a city: (a) *armies surround Jerusalem*, 21<sup>20</sup>; (b) *cast a bank about it*, 19<sup>43</sup>; (c) *level it with the ground*, 19<sup>44</sup>; (d) *the inhabitants are slain with the sword or carried captive*, 21<sup>24</sup>; (e) *Jerusalem is trodden under foot of the Gentiles*, 21<sup>24</sup>. Such a fate Jerusalem had already experienced more than once. (iv.) And, in fact, all these expressions can be paralleled from the O.T.:<sup>2</sup> in Westcott and Hort (c) and (e) are printed in quotation type. Lastly, no detail is given which would be specially characteristic of the final fall of Jerusalem. There is no prophecy of the presence of Titus, the obstinate resistance, the internecine strife within the city, the famine and its attendant horrors, the burning of the temple, or the fate of the rebel leaders' (Rackham, pp. 86, 87).

With respect to the prediction of the fall of Jerusalem in Lk 21<sup>20-25</sup> and 19<sup>43, 44</sup> there are two

facts to be noted: (1) that the prediction does not occur in the first or second Gospels,<sup>3</sup> so that it may not have been part of the prophecy in its earliest form; and (2) that it corresponds so closely in all its details with the account given by Josephus of the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus, that it looks as if it was written after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. It is quite true, as Mr. Rackham observes, that most of the expressions used by St. Luke are quite general, and describe the ordinary features of the fall and capture of a city. And to this we may add that in the Bible the siege and fall of cities are favourite subjects for the word pictures of the poet and the prophet as well as of the historian. Compare, for example, Nahum and the Lamentations of Jeremias, as well as many passages in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah. But still the fact remains that, though the city of Jerusalem was often taken before it was taken by Titus, the description given by St. Luke corresponds in all its details with the capture under Titus as it is related by Josephus, in a way that it does not correspond with the account of any capture that preceded it. The event which most closely resembled the siege and capture by Titus was the second taking of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. But a comparison of the two will only bring out more clearly the accuracy of St. Luke's description. Though Nebuchadnezzar put some of the leaders to death it cannot be said that he slew the people with the sword. He carried them to Babylon, but they were not led captive into all lands, as may be said of those who surrendered to the Romans. And nothing that we read of in any other account of a siege of Jerusalem agrees so well with the words 'the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank (Greek *χάραξ* = 'palisade,' R.V.) about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side,' as the wall which Titus built round the city when his siege works were demolished by the Jews (see *Bell. Jud.* v. xii. 1).<sup>4</sup> It must, however, be added that, though the things described in the prophecy closely correspond with what is related by Josephus, the language of St. Luke bears no resemblance to that of the Jewish historian. The

<sup>3</sup> Except in so far as it may be implied in the statement about the destruction of the temple in the conversation that leads to the discourse in all three Gospels, and in the command to the disciples to flee from Judaea (Mt 24<sup>16</sup>, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> According to Josephus, Titus first established camps (*στρατόπεδα*) in the neighbourhood of the city, then he raised mounds or banks (*χώματα*) against it. When these *χώματα* were destroyed by the Jews, he held a council of war and decided to completely enclose the city with a wall (*τείχος*, *περιτειχίζειν*). The *χώματα* seem to have been merely elevated mounds which gave the besiegers the command of the city walls (cf. *πρόσχωμα* 2 S 20<sup>15</sup>). The *τείχος* was perhaps like the Roman *Vallum*, and surrounded the city (see *Dict. Antt.* on 'Vallum,' *χάραξ*, and *περιτειχισμός*).

<sup>1</sup> Lk 21<sup>20-25</sup> compared with Mt 24<sup>15-29</sup>, Mk 13<sup>14-24</sup>; see also Lk 19<sup>43, 44</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See Is 29<sup>3</sup> 37<sup>33</sup>, Jer 7<sup>34</sup> 20<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>46</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Zec 12<sup>3</sup>, 1 Mac 4<sup>60</sup>, Ps 136<sup>9</sup> 79<sup>1</sup>, Dn 8<sup>10</sup>. St. Matthew (24<sup>2</sup>) and St. Mark (13<sup>2</sup>) themselves specify the detail that not one stone shall be left upon another.



words used by St. Luke do not give us any reason to think that the prophecy was suggested by the narrative of Josephus. JOHN A. CROSS.

### Claudius Lysias.

IN Hastings' Dictionary there is the following sentence about this excellent chiliarch:—

'In Ac 23<sup>27</sup> he represents himself as having rescued St. Paul because he discovered him to be a Roman, a falsification and inconsistency with Ac 22<sup>25-27</sup>.'

This is, no doubt, the common explanation of his statement. It is certainly a possible one, but is it a necessary one? If not, I do not see why we should write this honest soldier down a liar—even though his lie might be merely diplomatic. And I do not think that the common explanation *is* the necessary one, for with a different punctuation of his laconic report (of which Ac only gives a translation—τότος) it relates the actual sequence of events with strict and scrupulous truth.

May it not be read thus: This man was seized by the Jews, and was about to be slain of them, when I came upon them with the soldiers and rescued him. Having learned (μαθὼν) that he was a Roman, and wishing (βουλόμενός τε) to know the cause, etc. There is more authority for τε after βουλόμενος than for δέ, and the former particle seems to connect the two participles (aorist and present) very closely together.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

J. MOORE LISTER.

### Isaiah xxxiv. 15.

שמה קנהם וחסלה  
ותקעה ודגרה בצלה.

'There nests the arrowsnake, and lays eggs,  
And breaks (them) and cherishes her young ones (?).'

THE 'young ones' were thought of already by the LXX (τὰ παῖδια αὐτῆς), although בצלה is evidently meant to be represented by the following expression, μετὰ ἀσφαλείας. The rendering, 'in her shadow,' is rightly objected to, hence Duhm proposed בְּצִיָּה. But perhaps there was a word צִיָּה = 'young serpent,' with which might be compared Arab. *şill*, 'serpent' (in transferred sense also = 'misfortune'). In that case דגרה, like so many other verbs, would be construed with ב. The Arab. *şill* (also in proverbial sayings *şill ašlaš*, and dialectical *dirr adrâr*) is further of interest in so far as it is the same word as the well-known Bab.-Assyr. *şirru*, 'serpent.'

FRITZ HOMMEL.

Munich.

P.S.—In my note on 'ממשיש—Mampsis' in the March number, I cited Jerome (*Onom. sacr.* 85. 3) 'Pergentibus Aeliam [*var. lect.* Aelam] de Chebron.' Dr. Nestle has now called my attention to the Greek original of Eusebius (*Onom. sacr.* 210. 86), which I had overlooked, and where, dispeiling all doubt, we find ἀπὸ Χεβρόν εἰς Αἰλάν (*i.e.* Ailat, as formerly Μάψις for Mampsis). For the insertion of *p* we may compare Παμφίνιτος, Σαμφικέραμος, and other names.

## Entre Nous.

WE do not remember ever seeing in the *Guardian* a heartier review of a book than that which we have just read of Mr. Ballard's *The Miracles of Unbelief*. In all works of apologetic much depends on the audience. One man is here, another there, and your apology may be somewhere else. This apology for the supernatural in Christianity has met the reviewer just at the right moment and in the right place. 'It came,' he says, 'into the hands of the present writer under circumstances which served from the first to put its value to an excellent test, while some popular lectures on Apologetics were actually in course of preparation. It is exactly for purposes like this that Mr. Ballard has written the book, and nothing could be more helpful. It is a perfect mine of quotation for men with little time for deep study, who are called, as modern ministers are, to be not only visitors and workers, but also preachers and teachers; not only

administrators and organizers, but also apologists and "Christian advocates"; not only dividers of the word, but also servers of tables.'

In another issue (6th March) of the *Guardian* we see our judgment of Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Williams & Norgate) confirmed. The reviewer first proves himself competent, and then says, 'We rise from the study of this volume with the conviction that it is quite the best book on textual criticism now available for theological students.'

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

WHERE is the preacher to go now for freshness and colour for his sermons? Science has been most useful, but scientific illustrations no longer surprise. He may go now to the Papyri and the Inscriptions.

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It is to the Papyri and the Inscriptions that Professor Ramsay has gone. And he has brought back more than colour, he has brought the very sermons themselves. Has he not rescued the great apostle from the grasp of grim Dogmatics and made him real, human, heroic? Let us go to the Papyri and the Inscriptions ourselves. They have just been made accessible to us in the translation of Deissmann's *Bibelstudien*.

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'Bible Studies' is the simple title. It is chosen for freedom. The things which the Papyri and the Inscriptions furnish are disconnected. So we may enter in at any opening, and we select the very last to begin with. It is a note on the 'White robes and palms' of the Apocalypse.

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'After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands' (Rev 7<sup>o</sup>). How unfamiliar to Western modern life the imagery is, yet how familiar!

'Few Bible passages,' says Dr. Deissmann, 'have taken such hold of the everyday Christian consciousness, few have been inscribed so hopefully on the impassive tombstone.' Where did the Seer find the image? Its details are clear enough. The robes are washed white in the red blood of the Lamb (for the symbolism is very bold), and the palms are expressive of festal joy. But why are these two figures brought together? Where does the picture as a whole come from?

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At Stratonicea, in Caria, there has been found an inscription which dates from the beginning of the period of the emperors. The city wished to do honour to two of its gods. Thirty boys of noble parentage were chosen and set apart to sing a hymn in their honour every day. The boys were 'clothed in white and crowned with a branch, while they held a branch also in their hands' (λευχιμονούντας καὶ ἐστεφανωμένους θαλλοῦ ἔχοντας δὲ μετὰ χίρας). The custom would not be peculiar to Stratonicea. In one or other of the Greek cities of Asia Minor the Seer of the Apocalypse would see such a choir of singing boys, and the image would occur to him inevitably.

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Professor Morris Jastrow, jun., of Philadelphia, has contributed an article to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* on 'The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning.' It is a

custom which demands explanation. We can easily understand how an Oriental in a paroxysm of grief should tear his hair. We can understand how others, who felt less, but wished to appear to feel as much, should imitate his example, and the act grow into a custom. But in the tearing of the garments there must be some symbol or sentiment which does not lie so manifestly on the surface.

Now the first thing to notice about the tearing of the garments is that it is frequently associated with the putting on of sackcloth. When Jacob heard that Joseph was dead, he 'rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins.' When Ahab heard Elijah's denunciation, 'he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh.' And often as the two acts are associated together, the tearing of the garments is always named before the putting on of the sackcloth, as if it were preparatory to it.

The next thing to notice is that the verb which is used for tearing the garments (קָרַע) is one that expresses a violent action. In 1 S 15<sup>28</sup> Samuel announces to Saul, 'The LORD hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day'; Professor Jastrow translates, 'Yahwe has wrenched from thee the rulership over Israel.' So when Elisha saw the ascension of Elijah (2 K 2<sup>12</sup>), he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces' (literally, 'in two rents'). The rending of one's garments, therefore, is more than making a rent in them, it is an action that is practically equivalent to tearing them off.

Now there is evidence (Schwally has collected it in his *Das Leben nach dem Tode*) that at one time it was customary in the East, and even in Israel, to strip oneself entirely as a sign of grief. Micah pictures the coming desolation of the northern kingdom of Israel. As the scene rises before his mind, he is profoundly affected with grief, and he cries—

'Therefore I will lament and howl,  
Go about barefooted and naked,  
Start a lament like the jackals,  
A mourning like ostriches' (5<sup>8</sup>).

So also (for the prophets preached by act as much as by word) Isaiah is ordered, in evidence of the depth of his grief, to remove the sackcloth from his loins and the sandals from his feet and go about 'naked and barefooted' (20<sup>2-4</sup>).

It is not to be supposed that the prophets would appear entirely without clothing in the streets. But it is evident that the rending of the garments meant their removal, and the act bears witness to a custom which had once prevailed of stripping oneself wholly in token of excessive grief. And now the frequent association of the rending of the garments and the putting on of sackcloth becomes intelligible. The sackcloth, it is now agreed, was simply a loin cloth, and usually hung down as far as the knees. When the ruder fashions of early days could no longer be tolerated in Israel, mourners were not allowed to strip themselves naked. The garments were torn off, but the loin cloth was put on. And soon the sackcloth, though a mere concession to civilization, became itself the recognized symbol of mourning.

Why is it, asked a layman recently, that young preachers are so fond of the text, 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling'? Our answer was of no value. If Dr. Warfield of Princeton had been asked the question, he would probably have answered, Because they do not understand it.

'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure'—it seems a good-going text of the 'Trust in God and do the right' order, only that the doing of the right comes first. But Dr. Warfield says that that is not the meaning of the text. He says its meaning is the very opposite of that.

Dr. Warfield writes an occasional exegetical note in the *Bible Student*. The note on Ph 2<sup>12, 13</sup> is found in the number for March 1901. It seems



to have been suggested by Schaefer's study of the passage in the *Greifswalder Studien*, presented to H. Cremer in 1895. But Dr. Warfield is an observant exegete himself, and makes his points independently.

The first thing he observes is that the words of the text are addressed to saints and not to sinners. The Epistle is written to 'the saints in Christ Jesus' (1<sup>1</sup>). The exhortation therefore is not to those who have not begun the Christian life. It is addressed, in fact, to those who have got well on in it, or ought to have got well on in it. For the apostle does not say 'work your own salvation,' but 'work *out* your own salvation,' and the compound verb (*κατεργάζεσθε*) translated 'work out,' means 'bring your salvation to its completion.' A good work had been at least begun in them; let them co-operate with God in working it completely out; let them advance it to its accomplishment; let them bring it to its capstone and crown it with its pinnacles.

Now in the beginning of their salvation they had been dependent on the word of the apostle. For how can anyone hear without a preacher? Perhaps they had continued dependent too long, holding his hand when they should have been walking alone. He was now far away and in prison. That had happened unto the furtherance of the gospel in many ways. And this was perhaps one of the ways, that now the Philippians had to work out *their own* salvation. There may be, Dr. Warfield thinks, a reference to the fact that, 'after all, each man must busy himself with his own salvation, the help he can obtain from others being insignificant.' But the emphatic pronoun is chosen chiefly to emphasize the fact that as a Church the saints in Philippi must recognize that the planting and the watering are past, and now turn directly to God to give the increase.

But, after all, the personal pronoun is not the most emphatic part of the sentence. At the beginning of it, in a place of quite unusual em-

phasis, stands the phrase 'with fear and trembling.' To bring out the emphasis properly we should have to translate, 'Let it be with fear and trembling that you work out your own salvation.'

Now if St. Paul were writing to sinners, there would be much appropriateness in this exhortation. For when a sinner sets himself to work out his own salvation, it is so tremendous an undertaking, and there is so little prospect of success, that 'fear and trembling' are mild words to express his appropriate state of mind. But he is writing to saints. God Himself has begun the good work in them, and God will see it accomplished. There is really no occasion for fear or trembling. The occasion is all for confidence and rejoicing, and in this very Epistle he uses to these very saints the triumphant exhortation, 'Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, Rejoice.' To tell them now to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, and to give as a reason, 'for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure,' is surely to fall into the flattest self-contradiction.

The contradiction is removed by an examination of St. Paul's use of the phrase 'fear and trembling' elsewhere. It is a set formula with the apostle. The words are not given their separate meaning. In the Epistle to the Ephesians (6<sup>5</sup>) he exhorts servants to be obedient to their masters 'with fear and trembling.' He would never encourage a spirit of craven fear before their masters' face. In 2 Co 7<sup>15</sup> he says that the Corinthians received Titus 'with fear and trembling.' He does not insult them by recalling their vivid dread of punishment or fear of missing his favour. It is evident that in the phrase 'with fear and trembling' we have a set formula. In the mind of the apostle it expressed the single idea of submission. The servants were to be in due submission to their masters and alert to execute their commands. The Corinthians received Titus with a proper sense of his authority.

St. Paul himself accomplished his work at Corinth 'with fear and trembling' (1 Co 2<sup>8</sup>), for he had due respect to the operation of the Holy Spirit. And now he exhorts the Philippians to work out their own salvation in absolute but exultant submission to the will and the work of God in them, fully persuaded that it was His good pleasure to make them perfect, and that He was able to do exceeding abundantly beyond all they could ask or think.

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'Why not to the World?' Those are the words which Canon Armitage Robinson places at the top of one of his sermons as title. When Professor Armitage Robinson was transferred from the secluded scholarship of Cambridge to follow Canon Farrar in the pulpit of St. Margaret's, Westminster, it was a surprise to most, a doubtful experiment to many. The experiment succeeded. Canon Armitage Robinson did not stay long in his pulpit, but he preached popular sermons while he stayed. A volume of them has just been published by Messrs. Macmillan, and the title at the top of one of them is 'Why not to the World?'

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'Why not to the World?' When Jesus rose from the dead He appeared to Mary and to Simon and to James, but they were all followers; and He appeared to five hundred at once, but they were 'brethren' all. Why did He not appear to the world?

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In the first systematic attack ever made against Christianity, Celsus asked this question. If Christ really rose from the dead, he said, why did He not appear to His persecutors and to the judge who condemned Him in Jerusalem, and establish the fact beyond a doubt, by calling them, in spite of themselves, to be witnesses of His resurrection? And he concluded, anticipating Renan, that it was because He never did rise, because the whole story of the resurrection was due to the heated imagination of a mad woman called Mary of Magdala.

Why did He not appear to the world? Canon Armitage Robinson reminds us that the objection has been made all through the history of Christianity, and yet Christianity has survived it. That fact should make us feel that it can only be a superficial objection, and that deep down in the heart of things there lies a true and satisfying answer. The objection is still raised. It is well for us to seek the answer. For there is more in it than an answer to the objection, there is 'a whole region of spiritual truth which needs continually to be explored afresh.'

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Supposing that He *had* shown Himself to His enemies after He rose from the dead, what would have been the effect of it? A great triumph, no doubt; a triumphal entry into Jerusalem, perhaps, every one seeing Him and adoring. But the time for that was not yet come. It has not come even now. The day is still in the future when 'every eye shall see Him, and they also that pierced Him.' He had just had one triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the time had not come for another.

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But it would have persuaded His enemies to believe in Him. Would it? They cried, 'Come down from the cross, and we will believe.' But they did not even mean it. And if He had come down, which was not possible, they would not have believed. 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' Lazarus rose from the dead, and when the chief priests heard of it they held a council to put Jesus to death. They did believe that Lazarus had been raised, but they did not believe on Jesus.

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It was not after the resurrection that Jesus began to confine Himself to His disciples. From the very first He had refused to give the mere onlooker a sign. They wanted to take Him and make Him a king. By praying to the Father He would have had more than twelve legions—twelve legions of *angels*—at His command. The way to the kingdom was easy, then. But He would not

pray. Belief in Him must be due to the submission of the will. Following must be an act of love. It may be a paradox, but it is true, that if none could love Him until they believed in Him, neither could any believe in Him until they loved Him.

It was by no new manner of working that He kept Himself to His own after He rose from the dead. And it was no surprise to them. For He had told them that it would be so. 'Yet a little while, and the world seeth Me no more; but ye see Me.' They could not understand it then. 'How is it,' asked Judas, 'that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world?' Jesus' answer went to the root of the matter. 'If a man love Me, he will keep My word: and My Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.'

It would have been easy to show Himself to the world after the resurrection. But would the world have seen Him? Before the resurrection the world saw Him, but what did they see? What He was they did not see, and they would not have seen it after the resurrection. The time is past for even the disciples to see Him merely. Now they must look into Him, now they must know Him. And so, even to them, He is not visible as before. He comes and goes. He is seen, He is unseen. When He is seen, they see

more than they did before; and when He is unseen, they begin to see Him best of all.

'Lord, how is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world?' We are asking Judas' question still. Do we not burn to show Him to the world, and He will not let us? He holds Himself back. The world cries, Let us see Him if He is risen. We know that He is risen. We know that the historical proofs of the resurrection are just as good as ever they can be, just as good as history can make them. And we wonder that the world does not see it and believe. The world does see it. The intellect of the world is on the side of the resurrection. But until it pleases God to reveal His Son in the individual's heart, the proof of the resurrection is powerless.

'My knowledge of Christianity,' says Canon Armitage Robinson (we have followed his sermon somewhat fitfully, but we shall close with his very words), 'my knowledge of Christianity will depend on my religious education, on my intellectual powers, on my keeping my mind unbiassed and ready to accept evidence, on my diligence in studying the great problems of religion and life. My knowledge of Christ will depend on something wholly different from these, on the attitude of my will towards Him, on my reverence, my obedience, my love.' 'If a man love Me, . . . we will come.'

## Recent Research in the Language of the New Testament.

BY THE REV. H. A. A. KENNEDY, M.A., D.Sc., CALLANDER.

### I.

WITHIN the last two or three decades, the scientific study of the Greek language has passed through a complete revolution. This has resulted not only from the more accurate investigation of details by specialists, but, above all, from the rigid application of the historical method which has been

made possible by the increasing store of materials. Modern Greek has been carefully and systematically studied. The conditions of Hellenism have come into clearer view. The later developments of the language, in their varieties, have been examined from the historical standpoint in their



organic connexion with the earlier and purer phenomena of the great classical literature. That epoch to which the Greek writings of the Bible belong has received its share of the new light. More especially within the past fifteen years or so, many important books and pamphlets have appeared which are genuine contributions towards the formation of a truer estimate of the language at the various stages of its history. We propose, in one or two papers, to call attention to the more valuable works bearing closely on the language of the N.T. which have recently been published, pointing out the special significance of each, as it appears to us, and thus giving a rapid survey of the main sources of material with which the student of N.T. Greek has now to deal.

In 1889 the late Dr. Hatch, complaining of the lack of attention paid to the language of the N.T., went so far as to say: 'There is no good lexicon. There is no philological commentary. There is no adequate grammar' (*Essays*, p. 1). These were exaggerated statements, due, perhaps, to the high standard which the ardent scholar who made them had set before him. For the grammars of Winer and Buttmann were then available, and the lexicons of Cremer and Grimm-Thayer, to name only the best known works. And in all the scholarly commentaries of recent times there was, at least, valuable philological material to be found dispersed here and there. At the same time it could not be denied that the works just named, although still in many important respects valuable, no longer represented the positions reached by scientific research. Winer's grammar, which had held the field for years, had marked an epoch in N.T. study. It was a needful protest against that arbitrary treatment of the N.T. diction which made it impossible to find a sure basis for exegesis. But in his desire to vindicate the regularity of N.T. usage, Winer was carried too far towards the opposite extreme. Again and again he seeks to minimize the difference between the syntax of classical Greek and that of the N.T. Hence his book is overweighted by an enormous mass of classical parallels, many of which are superfluous, and many irrelevant. On the other hand, he still clings more or less to the idea of a special N.T. diction with laws and principles of its own, although many of the results at which he has arrived are a direct protest against such a belief. The very careful notes which Dr. Moulton added to his

translation of Winer, embodying much material from the best commentators and grammarians, and drawing attention to the phenomena of Modern Greek, greatly enriched the English edition. But no one felt more keenly than he the need of a revision of the entire subject-matter. This work could not have fallen into more competent hands than those of Professor P. W. Schmiedel, who brought out the first part of his revised edition of Winer in 1894. This embraced the general introduction and *Formenlehre*. Two portions of part ii. (Syntax) appeared in 1897 and 1898, including article, pronouns, and a section of the treatment of nouns. Many qualifications were necessary for such a task—a wide knowledge of the relevant literature, a thorough grasp of the biblical writings and the theological conceptions contained in them, exegetical tact and insight, scientific accuracy in matters of fact, the power of terse condensation,—and all these were combined, to a unique extent, in Dr. Schmiedel. One almost regrets that he did not write an independent book. Whole sections, as it is, are entirely new. Those which he has retained from Winer are largely rewritten. An enormous mass of learning has been packed into elaborate footnotes. Nothing more clearly marks the advance which has been made than Schmiedel's treatment of *Forms*. In dealing with orthography, aspiration, nominal and verbal inflexion, etc., exhaustive use has been made of the inscriptions, the critical texts, the various readings of the MSS, and of numerous philological and grammatical dissertations ranging over a wide field of Greek literature. The LXX is fully dealt with. Almost every noteworthy publication bearing on the later period of the language finds some place in the investigation. This thoroughgoing treatment of the *formal* side of the N.T. language was a pressing necessity, as that affords the best clue for reaching a true estimate of its character. Up till now, the discussion of this section of the subject had been of a very desultory character. Many of the more abnormal forms continued to be classified in the antiquated fashion of Sturz in his work *De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina* (1808), and this in spite of the publication of such notable books as Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik* (ed. 2, 1889), the grammar of G. Meyer (*Bibliothek indogermanischer Grammatiken*, Bd. iii.), and the revision of the *Formenlehre* in Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik* by F. Blass (2 vols., 1890-92). The materials

afforded by the Greek N.T. had to be examined in the light of the facts and principles presented by these special researches. It may be said that Schmiedel has brought this department of N.T. grammar up to date. The results are most important. From phenomena such as -αν for -ασι(ν) in third plur. perf., second aorists with first aorist endings like ἤνεγκα, εἶδατε, forms of the type of εἶχον or ἐδολιούσαν, etc. etc., we can gain an idea of the particular stratum to which the diction belongs. And a combined view of the facts clearly points, of course, to the non-literary speech of the day, which it would be hazardous to label with the exclusive name of 'Alexandrian,' although the LXX, a product of that region, is one of the richest storehouses of this particular type of language. What has appeared of Schmiedel's syntax shows the same combination of exhaustive treatment with condensed statement. The discussion of the article, one of the most delicate problems in N.T. exegesis, gives ample room for the subtle exegetical refinements of which Schmiedel is a master. One may trace, at times, excessive acuteness, but this section, as a whole, reveals great judgment and affords the needed help. It is to be fervently desired that the remainder of the work may soon see the light.

It was with something of surprise that N.T. students received the announcement of a N.T. grammar by Professor Blass of Halle. Justly famous as one of the very foremost of living classical scholars and the author of *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*, he was known in the province of theology only through his learned commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*, and this chiefly on account of his keenly argued theory of two recensions in that book. Naturally, the work raised great expectations, and these have been largely justified. The *Grammar* is planned on a smaller scale than Schmiedel's *Winer*. It is definitely intended to be a convenient handbook for students. And already it has reached a wide circulation, a second edition having been soon called for (Eng. tr. by Thackeray, 1898). The author's masterly grasp of the Greek language and literature as a whole has necessarily contributed much that is suggestive and illuminating. Of special value is the fact that he constantly comments on the various readings of the most important MSS. This aspect of N.T. grammar had been, to a great extent, overlooked. Blass is often inclined to deal very cursorily with

those minutiae of exegesis which have frequently commended themselves to commentators and have been carried to a pitch far beyond that which the language permits. At the same time, the main importance of N.T. grammar is that it builds the foundation for exegesis, and one misses in Blass that sympathetic treatment of exegetical problems, so marked in Winer, to which all philological investigation of the N.T. must necessarily lead up. Occasionally Blass gives wider room to conjectural emendation than we are accustomed to find in N.T. criticism. This is natural for a scholar who has done such important work in the textual criticism of the classics. And it is hard to say how far it may not be permissible. Various passages seem to cry out for the emendator. Yet it is too convenient a device for cutting knots to be used without the strictest self-control. We might have expected a considerably richer store of illustrations and parallels from those post-classical authors among whom Professor Blass moves with the authority of an expert. But all careful students must be grateful for the instructive use which has been made of the Apostolic Fathers, whose language, as we shall see, is only now beginning to receive the attention it merits as shedding light on N.T. usage. The closing paragraphs of the book, which deal with the rhetorical structure of the N.T., deserve careful notice. For there can be no question that rhetorical considerations must directly affect exegesis. Surprisingly little has been done in this field. The most serious attempt known to us to apply the norm of rhetorical structure to the elucidation of the thought is the *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik* of Professor J. Weiss.<sup>1</sup> That useful dissertation is a proof of how much remains to be accomplished on similar lines.

In continuing our survey of recent grammatical works on the N.T., it is scarcely needful to do more than mention Burton's important *New Testament Moods and Tenses*. Most readers of this article will have gained a working acquaintance with it for themselves. It was a happy thought which prompted its appearance. The accurate interpretation of the moods and tenses must necessarily be a primary matter for scientific exegesis, probably altogether the most important. Professor Burton had a splendid example of what could be

<sup>1</sup> The important work of Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), is also of real value on the question of rhetorical structure.



done in Goodwin's great treatise on the *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (rewritten and enlarged, 1889). He has studied his materials independently, while making a suggestive use of the work of others. Obviously in a discussion of this kind the subjective element must have a large place. In estimating the finer shades of meaning in a mood or a tense, different minds will tend to lay different degrees of emphasis on the peculiar force of the construction in its special surroundings. The thought as a whole, the manner of conceiving that thought, will certainly modify for the thinker the *nuance* which the structure of the clause or the particular verbal form might legitimately suggest. There is thus great room for sober practical judgment in coming to a decision. And that is a quality which Professor Burton possesses. He shows himself thoroughly alive to the risk of over-refining which many scholars, rigidly trained in the great classical masterpieces, have imported into N.T. interpretation, ignoring the tendency of the later language to neglect the subtle distinctions of an earlier and linguistically purer period. One danger it is difficult to escape. General principles have to be laid down, and usages grouped under heads of classification. The grammarian is apt to exalt into a principle a usage which, when its examples are carefully sifted, must be regarded merely as an occasional modification of some wider law. Or, on the other hand, there is the tendency, in the grouping of instances, to class together some which, while superficially alike, reveal differences when they are probed. But although this risk has not been entirely avoided, Professor Burton has given N.T. students an excellent working book.—Less widely known are the Abbé Viteau's instructive *Études sur le Grec du N.T.* (2 vols., Paris, 1893, 1896). The first is entitled *Le Verbe: Syntaxe des Propositions*. The second treats of *Sujet, Complément, et Attribut*. It is unfortunate that the study dealing with the elements of propositions should have appeared after that which is occupied with their syntax. The one would have most fittingly led up to the other. The result is a certain amount of overlapping. But the studies are very valuable. The author, who is evidently an accomplished classical scholar, takes a broad view of his subject. His grammatical principles are based on the study of the best of the earlier grammars. One misses several of the more important later works of German scholars.

Every possible aspect of the structure of clauses in the N.T. is examined, their mutual relations as well as their component parts. Especially valuable are the numerous parallels drawn from the language of the LXX. This makes the discussion fruitful beyond its own limits. Probably nothing can provide such important materials for rightly appreciating the precise relationship between the language of the N.T. and that of the LXX as a comparison of their grammatical structure. In that more than in vocabulary, etc., will their characteristics be disclosed. From this point of view, Viteau's work is an indispensable *Vorarbeit* for a scientific grammar of the LXX. Perhaps that which we have most to complain of in these volumes is a startling complexity of divisions and subdivisions. As a result, the discussion appears far less interesting than it is. And the author writes with a diffuseness which we do not expect to find in a French scholar, although he usually sums up his results at the close of each section. Possibly this apparent diffuseness may have had accuracy of statement for its aim. The method adopted is the patient one of tracing the structure of the clause from its psychological basis and then examining its exemplifications, with a copious supply of illustrative parallels.

There is still great room for the careful discussion of special points in N.T. syntax, in the light of contemporary philological research. The important investigations carried on under the direction of Professor Schanz in his *Beiträge zur Griechischen Syntax*, in the various portions of which are collected most accurate statistics of numerous constructions and other grammatical phenomena, afford abundance of matter which has still, in great measure, to be searched and applied, so far as it bears on the Greek of the N.T.—One most important source of help for syntactical discussions must be emphatically noted, namely, the invaluable articles and reviews by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore, which appears in the *American Journal of Philology* and the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, to say nothing of his excellent little edition of Justin Martyr's *Apology*. The acuteness and originality of Professor Gildersleeve's observations are remarkable. A review by him is often of more permanent value than many elaborate treatises.—As examples of the kind of investigation which lies within the reach of painstaking students we may mention that of C. W. Votaw on



*The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek* (Chicago, 1896), and Professor Deissmann's important monograph, *Die Neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'* (Marburg, 1892). The former supplies full and accurate lists of the various infinitival constructions, the only kind of foundation on which a solid grammatical structure can be reared. The latter is an instructive instance of that grammatico-theological research which yields such luminous results for the interpretation of the N.T. While Deissmann's main aim is to penetrate to the heart of the apostle's central expression ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, he examines the N.T. use of ἐν in the light of the classical language, and, above all, in relation to the usage of the LXX. His method is a model of scholarly thoroughness and lucidity. To trace the history of a construction or part of speech in

this exhaustive fashion is to have all the materials at one's disposal for forming a conclusion as to its later usage, say, in the N.T. It is along similar lines that adequate results in this department can alone be reached. Of course all such investigations must rise above mere mechanical accuracy. There prevails a tendency to draw up elaborate lists and tables of facts which may mean little more than an expenditure of manual labour. To discern what is of real significance in such dreary tabulations, to combine the relevant facts with insight, that is the faculty needful if genuine knowledge is to grow. Sometimes Deissmann is apt to be carried away by a grammatical literalism which he has to justify by exercising ingenuity. But that is seldom. His work is usually of the most solid construction.

## Gethsemane.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILLIGAN, M.A., B.D., CAPUTH.

WE have three accounts in the Synoptic Gospels of what we are accustomed to describe as our Lord's Agony in the garden of Gethsemane (Mt 26<sup>36-46</sup>, Mk 14<sup>32-42</sup>, Lk 22<sup>40-46</sup>). Nor need it cause us concern, though much has been made of the fact that we find no parallel account in the Gospel according to St. John. That Gospel is professedly a selection of certain events from our Lord's life, and if the scene in the garden did not fall in directly with the writer's aim there is nothing surprising in its omission. It is enough for us that St. John is clearly aware of its occurrence, and in one precious word has preserved the Saviour's own summing up of the final issue of His conflict (Jn 18<sup>11</sup>, cf. vv. 1-2).

Of the Synoptic accounts, St. Matthew's is, on the whole, the fullest, and adds certain interesting and significant particulars to what is apparently the original and traditional account in St. Mark. In their main features, however, the two accounts closely correspond. St. Luke's narrative stands on a somewhat different footing. It may be taken as agreed that chap. 22<sup>43-44</sup> form no part of the original text, though Westcott and Hort, who place them within double brackets, claim them as embodying a true evangelic tradition.<sup>1</sup> And

when they are left out, St. Luke's account is not only the shortest of the three, but undoubtedly gives a more 'subdued' report of the dread intensity of feeling under which the other two evangelists represent our Lord as labouring.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing, however, in his report to lead us to question its authenticity. And as we may safely set aside all attempts to resolve the Synoptic narrative into a mere mythical construction (as Strauss), or to analyse its constituent details into a reminiscence of certain events of Old Testament history (as Schleiermacher), we begin by assuming that the occurrence was real, and that the Synoptists have preserved for us an historically true account of it.

What happened was briefly as follows. After the farewell discourses, Jesus and the eleven apostles left the upper room, and, crossing the brook Kidron, came to a retired enclosure or garden known as Gethsemane, apparently because it contained an oil-press. Leaving the eight at the entrance, the Saviour took with Him, as on two other notable occasions, Peter and James and John, and no sooner did He find Himself alone with them than He 'began' to show signs of deep mental distress. How strong was the impression

<sup>1</sup> *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. App. p. 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Bruce, *With Open Face*, p. 296 ff.

made upon the disciples the words used to describe this state prove. He was greatly amazed (*ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι*) and sore troubled (*ἀδμονεῖν*), says St. Mark. He was sorrowful (*λυπεῖν*) and sore troubled, says St. Matthew. While both represent Jesus as describing His own state as that of one 'exceeding sorrowful (*περίλυπος*)'—encompassed, surrounded with sorrow—'even unto death.' So sacred and so terrible indeed was that sorrow, that not even the chosen three could be permitted to witness it in its fullest extent. And so, leaving them behind to abide and watch,—'with Me,' St. Matthew describes Jesus as adding, to indicate His desire for the utmost help that human companionship could afford,—the Saviour Himself went forward a little, or, in the striking word of St. Luke, 'was torn from them' (*ἀπεσπάσθη*) in the violence of His emotion, and falling prostrate upon the ground, poured out His whole soul in earnest supplication to God.

It is very significant of the independence of the gospel narratives that by no two of the evangelists are the words of the Saviour's prayer reproduced in exactly the same form. But its burden is always the same,—an earnest pleading that if it be possible 'this cup' should pass away from Him; but always provided, first of all, that God's will, not His, be done. Thrice He so prayed, twice at least according to St. Mark, 'saying the same words'; though, from a slight change of expression which St. Matthew indicates on the second occasion ('If this cannot pass away, except I drink it, Thy will be done,' instead of 'If it be possible, let this cup pass away from Me: nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt'), it is possible to imagine an ever-deepening insight on the Sufferer's part into the true meaning and necessity of the cup, and a consequent advancing calmness in facing it. After each prayer He returned again to the disciples, on the first and second occasions to rouse them from the sleep into which they had fallen, notwithstanding His earnest admonition to watch and to pray; but on the third to tell them, in tones of mingled irony and sorrow, that their sympathetic watchfulness was no longer required. So far at least as He was concerned, they might sleep on now. He had conquered in the struggle. And the hour had come when He must go forward to meet His appointed doom.

Such is the narrative, and the whole brings

before us not only a struggle of the severest kind, but one which is unique in the Saviour's life, so far at least as that life has been revealed to us. For though there are frequent indications elsewhere in the Gospels of Jesus being subject to human emotions, nowhere, with this one exception of Gethsemane, do we find this same intensity of emotion or even sorrow in its more directly personal form attributed to Him. He may have wept tears of pity (*ἐδάκρυσεν*, Jn 11<sup>35</sup>) by the grave of Lazarus. He may have burst into loud passionate lamentation (*ἐκλαυσεν*, Lk 19<sup>41</sup>) as He pictured to Himself the doom of Jerusalem. But here, and here only, are we confronted with the ideal Man of Sorrows, crushed under an apparently overwhelming burden, and praying in agony of spirit that even yet, if it be possible, this cup may pass from Him. How explain His prayer? Was not this the cup to which in some form He had all His life been looking forward, and whose necessity had been becoming ever clearer to His mind? Had He not just before, in words of surest confidence and hope, bade farewell to His disciples as He told them of the Father to whom He was going?<sup>1</sup> What new element was now added to the thought of His death which could thus lead Him, while still submitting His will absolutely to God's will, to shrink in such distress of spirit from its approach?

These are questions which for many reasons we would rather not put at all. It seems like rude profanation to seek thus to enter into this Holy of Holies of the Saviour's life. And even before we do so, we know that we shall find ourselves face to face with mysteries which we can never hope wholly to solve. And yet we cannot forget that this scene has been recorded for our instruction. Our Lord Himself took three witnesses with Him, that the memory of it might not be wholly lost. And it has been too often turned to wrong uses, and its true connexion with Christ's atoning work too often lost sight of, for us not to endeavour to understand it as best we can. Let us at least with all reverence make the attempt. And we shall perhaps best arrive at its true meaning by passing in brief review some of the leading interpretations that have been offered of it.

<sup>1</sup> We owe the record of these words to St. John alone, but the calm spirit underlying them is the same spirit that appears in, e.g., St. Matthew's account of the institution of the Supper (Mt 26<sup>20</sup> ff.).



Before doing so, however, it may be well to clear the ground by one general remark. Very many of these interpretations proceed on the assumption that in the well-known verse in Heb 5<sup>7</sup>, 'Who in the days of His flesh, having offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and having been heard for His godly fear,' we have an inspired comment upon Christ's prayer in the garden, and that therefore no interpretation can be accepted which does not show that that prayer received an immediate answer. But we shall do well, at the present stage at any rate, to keep out all reference to this verse. For not only is the exact meaning to be attached to some of its expressions in itself a matter of great difficulty, but it is uncertain how far it refers to the scene in Gethsemane at all. It certainly does not refer to it alone. And though we may afterwards find it useful in testing the truth of any interpretation to which we may be led, it must not be made the basis of any such interpretation. What in the meantime we are concerned with is the gospel narratives themselves. And the problem before us is, how to reconcile the mental attitude of Jesus, as it is there depicted, with what we have been previously led to expect of Him.

1. In trying to do so, we may at once set aside all those interpretations, favoured though they are by some of the Fathers of the Early Church, which deprive Christ's attitude of its directly *personal* character. Thus it has been conjectured that, just as on a previous occasion Jesus worked certain miracles for the sake of the Baptist and his followers, so now His actions and His prayers were intended to reassure His disciples in view of the crisis that was hanging over Him. Or it has been suggested that He had the needs of the Jews, or even of the traitor Judas, more particularly in view. But of such intercession for others there is not the slightest trace in the narrative before us. It was His own sorrow from which at this moment the Saviour was suffering—a sorrow so great that to Himself it seemed to be crushing Him 'even unto death.'

2. But while this is so, it is impossible to believe that it is from an immediately present death, from death there in the garden, and not from death on the Cross, that Jesus prays to be delivered. By whom this suggestion was first

made is not quite certain, but it has been recently adopted by Dr. Schauffler of New York, and Dr. Clay Trumbull, the editor of the American *Sunday School Times*; and there is no doubt much that is tempting in their advocacy.<sup>1</sup> It relieves Christ's prayer at once of the smallest appearance of weakness or ignorance, and invests it rather with the spirit of the loftiest heroism—the prayer of One who asked 'not for grace to escape the Cross, but for strength to reach it.' But no one will pretend that this is an interpretation which suggests itself naturally on a first reading of the passage; and it would probably never have been proposed at all but for the desire to harmonize Christ's prayer in the garden with the *heard* prayer of Heb 5<sup>7</sup>. And, when we come to examine it more closely, it is found to import an altogether inadequate meaning into some of the most characteristic expressions in the passage. The words 'this cup,' for example, according to the invariable usage of the Gospels, must be taken not as referring to the general lot of Christ, or even to an immediately impending death, however brought about, but rather to the appointed sufferings and death which awaited the Saviour on the Cross,<sup>2</sup> a conclusion confirmed by the equally significant references to the 'hour' of Jesus. Nor can the words, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt,' be taken as only a general expression of resignation on Christ's part into God's hands, as on this view they would be, but must be indicative rather of the conflict which Christ now experienced as accompanying the resignation He was still resolved to make.

3. It is, however, when we proceed to ask, What was the particular ground of His conflict? what caused it? that the real difficulties of our inquiry begin, and that the widest divergence of views is found to prevail. Thus there have never been wanting rationalistic critics, from the days of Celsus and Julian until now, who have ascribed Christ's prayer to *physical dread* of the sufferings He saw to be impending, and who in consequence have drawn unfavourable parallels between His conduct and that of many of the old saints and confessors.<sup>3</sup> But can we for a moment believe

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting Notes and consequent discussions in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, vol. vi. pp. 433 ff., 522 f.; vol. vii. pp. 3 ff., 34 ff., 118 ff., 502 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mt 20<sup>22</sup>, 23, Mk 10<sup>38</sup>, 39, Jn 18<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Origen, *Contra Cels.* lib. ii. c. xxiv.; *apud* Theod.



that He who showed so much more than a martyr's courage during life found that courage fail Him at the thought even of an agonizing death? Or is such an interpretation reconcilable with the Saviour's actual conduct under His sufferings, when not a cry of pain or of mere bodily anguish fell from His lips?

4. These same considerations may help us also to dispose of all attempts to find an explanation in the thought of the *human nature* of Jesus regarded by itself, and apart from the divinity with which He was equally endowed. Thus, to say nothing of such unworthy representations as that of Renan, who, with characteristic sentimentality, does not hesitate to picture Jesus as shrinking back in terror and hesitation from the death that was to end all, overcome by memories of His past pleasant life by the clear fountains and under the vines and fig-trees of Galilee,<sup>1</sup> it is surprising to find Neander thinking it sufficient to point out that 'as a man' (*menschlicher Weise*) Christ might wish to be spared the sufferings that awaited Him, though from a higher point of view He recognised their necessity.<sup>2</sup> For surely so to argue is to introduce an unwarrantable dualism into the personality of Jesus, a dualism which represents Him as swayed at different times by different sets of motives; and which, to go no further than the present instance, is contrary to that absolute resignation to His Father's will, which does not manifest itself only after His prayer, but is itself the underlying motif and crown of the whole prayer.

With what dangerous consequences, too, such an interpretation is attended is proved by the example of Keim, who, finding the starting-point of Christ's agony in the 'human and Messianic clinging to life, the human dread of death which drew him back from his destiny,'<sup>3</sup> can go on to speak of Jesus as exhibiting 'human weakness and opposing desires, an incipient but not a perfected sin,' even though 'in the next moment he

victoriously quitted the sinful frontier.'<sup>4</sup> But from all sin, even in embryo, Christ was wholly free. And besides, mere human *ἀσθένεια*, even if we could thus think of it wholly apart from the divine in Christ, would of itself be insufficient to explain the intensity of the agony which the Saviour now endured, and which, as we have already seen, is so clearly marked off from all previous experiences in His earthly life.

5. May the reason of that agony, then, lie not so much in the death itself as in its *contingent surroundings*, the agents and the manner by which it was brought about? That the Saviour's sufferings were in this way immensely aggravated must be obvious to all. To find that it was 'the elders and chief priests,' the rulers and religious heads of the nation, who were leagued against Him; to die at the hands of the men He was dying to save—all this must have added a terrible weight to the Saviour's burden, and contributed in no small degree to the exceeding sorrow which oppressed Him. But the question still remains, Does it exhaust that sorrow's significance? And with all deference to the distinguished scholars who have advocated this view,<sup>5</sup> we hardly think that it does. Had not Jesus realized clearly before that it was in this way His death was to be brought about?<sup>6</sup> And though there are not wanting even then traces of mental agitation on His part as evidenced by the feelings of amazement and terror which His attitude awakened in the minds of His disciples (Mk 10<sup>32</sup>), it only led Him to press ever more steadfastly forward, His face set as heretofore towards Jerusalem (Lk 9<sup>51</sup>). What made the difference now? What led Him to recoil not from the manner in which the cup was offered, but from the cup itself? It must have been something in that cup, in the very nature, therefore, of the death He was about to die, rather than in the means and agents by which His death was to be brought about.

6. That being so, it seems to us that we can never get a satisfactory answer to our problem unless in some way we connect the Saviour's sufferings here with His *vicarious*, His *atoning work*. That connexion has, no doubt, often been

Mops., in *Ev. Luca Com. Frag.* (*Patr. Gr.* t. lxvi. p. 724). The words of Vanini are often quoted in this connexion, when on the way to execution he pointed to a crucifix, saying: 'Illi in extremis præ timore imbellis sudor: ego imperterritus morior' (Grammondus, *Hist. Gall. ab. ex. Hen. IV.* lib. iii. p. 211 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> *Vie de Jésus*, p. 378 f. (Edit. 7<sup>me</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> *Das Leben Jesu*, p. 730 (Aufl. 4<sup>te</sup>), Eng. Tr. (Bohn), p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. Tr., vi. p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> See in particular the striking and independent statement of it by Dr. A. M. Fairbairn in *The Expositor*, 1897, vol. i. p. 114 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Mt 16<sup>21</sup>, 17<sup>22</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>, and parallels.

expressed in unreal forms, as when Calvin speaks of Jesus with the dread tribunal of God before His eyes crushed by the huge mass (*ingenti mole*) of our sins;<sup>1</sup> or as when Luther on one occasion actually goes the length of saying, 'When Jesus prayed in the garden he was truly in Gehenna and hell.'<sup>2</sup> But avoiding all such materialistic and exaggerated expressions, it seems impossible to doubt that it is to the knowledge of the close relation in which His death was to stand to human sin that the true bitterness of the Saviour's cup is to be referred. What was the exact nature, of that relation we may be unable to conceive, still more to put in words; but we know at least that it was so close that an apostle could venture to say, 'Him who knew no sin, He [God] made sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in Him' (2 Co 5<sup>21</sup>).

From the beginning of His public ministry Christ had foreseen that the work on which He had entered would in all likelihood end in His being put to death. That prevision had more recently become a certainty; and along with the certainty had come the consciousness of the necessary connexion between His death and the accomplishment of His saving mission. But now for the first time He realized to the full all that that connexion involved, and how terrible in consequence was the nature of the task He had voluntarily undertaken. Not for an instant did He think of drawing back from that task. But the very holiness and perfection of His Being made the cup He now saw Himself called upon to drink appear so awful that He prayed that, if possible, even yet 'this cup'—in the particular

light in which it had now revealed itself to Him—might still pass from Him.

So understood, it is obvious that the Saviour's prayer is very nearly related to the mysterious cry upon the Cross, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' (Mt 27<sup>46</sup>). For it is then that Christ actually experienced the closeness of that connexion between His death and the world's sin, the mere thought of which had so filled His heart with agony in the garden.

If, too, we are to find any reference to Gethsemane in Heb 5<sup>7</sup>, a reference to the cry on the Cross must certainly also be included.<sup>3</sup> Nor, if we are only careful to give the words their exact translation, need they then cause us any difficulty in connexion with the interpretation we have been advocating. For it is not to Him 'that was able to save Him from death,' but to Him 'that was able to save Him out of (ἐκ) death,' that Christ's prayer is there represented as addressed. Not escape from death, but victory over death which He had been called upon to endure as the fruit of sin, becomes then the leading idea. And this prayer, we know, was *heard*.<sup>4</sup>

But it is impossible to pursue this line of thought further. We must be content with simply reaffirming that the true cause of Christ's Agony is to be sought not in physical fear on His part, nor in the weakness of His human nature, nor even alone in the mode which the death that He saw to be awaiting Him was to be brought about, but in the nature of that death itself. It was because, in a sense which it is impossible for human thought to fathom, 'The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all,' that it may be said of Jesus in Gethsemane in the fullest sense of the words, 'Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow.'

<sup>3</sup> Comp. especially μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς (He 5<sup>7</sup>) with ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Mt 27<sup>46</sup>). See also Mt 27<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> For a defence of this interpretation, as against the ordinary view, see the Commentaries of Westcott, A. B. Davidson, and Moulton *in loco*.

<sup>1</sup> *Harmon. Evangel.*, Mt 26<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Steinmeyer, *The Passion and Resurrection History*, Eng. Tr., p. 44, note 2. Steinmeyer's own discussion of the problem is well deserving of careful study, even though one cannot accept the distinction he draws between Christ's being made 'sin' in the garden, and a 'curse' on the Cross.

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Three Essays.<sup>1</sup>

THESE three essays, now published separately, originally formed part of a volume dedicated to Stade by certain of his pupils in honour of his semi-jubilee as a professor. Weinell's essay is an extremely interesting discussion of the parables of Jesus as casting light upon His inner life. Certain deductions can be drawn from them, he thinks, regarding our Lord's early years at Nazareth, e.g. that He had been brought up in a small town, and that He had never been a pupil of Pharisaism, as Paul had. We should think of Christ more as a Prophet. To a prophet many experiences come as direct revelations from God, and accordingly we find Jesus uttering many of His most memorable parables under the direct stimulus of some event in His career, while others mark definite stages in the development of His inward life. Weinell writes throughout with Jülicher's great book on the parables full in view, and he adds to his valuable paper an appendix which contains some extremely fresh and illuminating morsels of exegesis.

Drescher offers us a clear and complete synopsis of all that can be gathered from the Pauline Epistles regarding Christ's life. He regards it as probable that Paul saw Jesus in the flesh. As to His Virgin Birth, we must say either that the apostle knew nothing about it, or that he speaks in terms which exclude it. When Paul claims the authority of the Lord for his directions, e.g. regarding marriage, he is quoting from the historical Jesus. The various facets of Christ's moral character are touched upon in some one or other of the Epistles; and there is a distinct assertion of His sinless perfection. We have interesting paragraphs on the institution of the Supper, the vast importance of the Resurrection for Paul, and a valuable discussion of the activity of the exalted Christ which, Drescher holds, Paul confined to the community of believers.

The essay should have a more comprehensive

<sup>1</sup> *Die Bildersprache Jesu*, by Heinrich Weinell, Privat-docent in Bonn; *Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus*, by Richard Drescher; *Luthers Auslegung des Alten Testaments*, by Karl Eger. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900.

title, for it really contains a sketch of the Pauline Christology. There is little in it that is new; even what we might be tempted to call its deficiencies and under-statements are old. But it is exceedingly useful to the student of Paulinism, and it is written with admirable lucidity.

Eger sets himself the task of examining Luther's sermons on Genesis and Exodus, in order to discover what principles of interpretation he followed. These may be summed up in the statement: 'Faith is not only the content of all Scripture statements, but also the principle of exposition by employing which alone the true content of Scripture can be ascertained.' Luther finds his own ideal of piety in the characters of the Old Testament; the patriarchs habitually exhibit the fruits of faith—patience and love; the godless, on the other hand, are prototypes of the Papists. The Reformer is sometimes hard put to it to justify the conduct of Jacob. But although the dogma of verbal inspiration leads him astray here and there, he remains true to his conception of faith as the key to all Scripture difficulties. Luther gave his audience not scientific exegesis, but edification. He is to be honoured for his repudiation of allegorical exposition. These sermons—and this we can see from Eger's admirable review of them—are a true revelation of his personality.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Aberdeen.

### Marti's 'Das Buch Daniel.'<sup>2</sup>

WE are now rich in commentaries on Daniel. This is plain to any one who knows the three latest. Behrmann's (in Nowack's series) is a painstaking and thorough exposition, and the lengthy Introduction is very helpful, especially the sections on the Aramaic dialect and the Versions. Driver's recent work reflects honour on British scholarship. A student who had no other apparatus in his hand would not be ill equipped. And Marti's excellent addition to the series which he is editing merits a respectful welcome. In its general outlines it resembles its immediate predecessors, but it

<sup>2</sup> *Das Buch Daniel*. Erklärt von D. Karl Marti. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. Mohr, 1901.



is the product of an independent mind. The Introduction is much briefer than either Behrmann's or Driver's. In the Commentary proper close attention is paid to the Aramaic forms and the many corruptions they have undergone. It may be doubted whether any previous writer has done better work of its kind than the clear, pointed indication of the goal aimed at, which is prefixed to each chapter of Daniel. And the detailed exposition, though usually concise, is so well done that it is a pleasure to read.

The point which will attract most attention is the theory here propounded to account for the bilingual character of Daniel. As everyone knows, chaps. 1<sup>1</sup>–2<sup>4a</sup> and 8–12 are in Hebrew, whilst 2<sup>4b</sup>–7<sup>26</sup> are in Aramaic. Professor Driver has given a convenient summary of the three principal attempts at explanation (p. xxii): (1) diversity of origin; (2) a Hebrew original, translated into Aramaic, and when part of the original was lost that part replaced by the Aramaic translation; (3) the 'Chaldeans' introduced as speaking what was believed to be their customary tongue, and the narrative then continued in this language because it was more convenient. Marti boldly presents us with a view which is almost the direct reverse of No. (2). He maintains that the whole was originally Aramaic; but because it would have been impossible to procure the admission into the sacred collection of a book not written in the sacred language, the opening and the close were turned into Hebrew, and Daniel was thus assimilated to Ezra. In confirmation of this he points out that the Aramaic portion reads like an original rather than a translation, whereas the Hebrew portion has an Aramaic tinge (אִשָּׁר לָמָּה, חַיִּב, 1<sup>4</sup>, מִדָּע, and גִּיל, 1<sup>10</sup>; זִרְעֵנִים, 1<sup>16</sup>; צָפִיר, 8<sup>5</sup>, 21; הַתְּמָרִים, 8<sup>7</sup> 11<sup>11</sup>; עֶמֶד, 8<sup>18</sup>; קֶדֶם = עֶמֶד, 8<sup>22</sup> etc.; כְּתָב, 10<sup>21</sup>; רָשָׁם, 10<sup>21</sup>; cf. 5<sup>24f</sup>, 6<sup>9-11</sup>, 13<sup>f</sup>.; חֲקָה, 11<sup>17</sup>; הַתְּחִבָּרוֹת, 11<sup>23</sup>; מְכַמְּנִים, 11<sup>43</sup>). This suggestion would doubtless come with greater force if it could be shown that the Jews of that age were accustomed to compose books in Aramaic; but even without this support it is not lacking in plausibility.

A few specimens will suffice to show the quality of the exposition. Marti thinks that what is said concerning the alteration of Daniel's and his friends' names (1<sup>7</sup>) may be a polemic against the prevalent custom of taking Greek names—Jason, Menelaus, Alkimus, etc.—in place of Hebrew

ones. This is somewhat unlikely. If the writer had meant this there would surely have been some hint of disapproval. Behrmann deems it impossible to attach a definite signification to the second and third kingdoms of 2<sup>59</sup>: he holds that the writer's interest was concentrated on the first and fourth, the second and third being added merely to make up the sacred number four. But it is much more satisfactory to say with Driver and Marti that the Median and Persian monarchies were distinct from each other in the writer's view, and that they are his second and third kingdoms. We have here a fuller explanation than is usually given of the phrase אָבֵל קָרַצַּי (= bring accusation against (3<sup>8</sup>), literally, *eat the pieces of*). A calumniator would so influence the mind of a prince or superior as to prevent his sending food or other gifts to the person accused. The accuser would then be said to 'eat the pieces,' as in Persian a messenger who does not deliver the present with which he was sent is said to 'eat' it. The puzzling word, פִּטֵּשׁ (3<sup>21</sup>) is, regarded as a later insertion or a gloss on סִרְבָּל. There is one noun fewer in Theod. and LXX than in M.T., and some of the Latin Fathers mention only two articles of dress. Driver (p. 69) ventures to state what were the obstacles which prevented the wise men from interpreting the inscription, 5<sup>8</sup>, 25: 'The puzzle consisted partly in the character or manner in which they were supposed to have been written—an unfamiliar form of the Aramaic character, for instance, or, as the mediæval Jews suggested, a vertical instead of a horizontal arrangement of the letters; partly in the difficulty of attaching any meaning to them, even when they were read.' Is it not safer to say, as Marti does: 'We need not trouble ourselves as to the reasons for their inability; conjectures are in any case needless'?

The two commentators agree in their treatment of 5<sup>25</sup>, 28, but the following quotation will show that the German supplements the English: 'The striking arrangement [a mina, a shekel, and half-minas<sup>1</sup>] lends much probability to Haupt's conjecture that the mina, the heaviest of Babylonian weights, points to the great king Nebuchadnezzar; that the shekel, which is so much less valuable, is the symbol of Belshazzar; and that the half minas refer to the divided Medo-Persian

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Driver himself has corrected the mistake 'half-shekels' in a letter to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

rule which did not follow immediately upon that of Nebuchadnezzar. The words seem, therefore, to have been a current witticism which summed up the history of Babylon and its downfall under the form of the items of an account. . . . It originated in Jewish circles, where in later times also we find weights used to indicate what people were worth (cf. the Talmudic designation of a son who is inferior to his father as "a half-mina, son of a mina"). There is an excellent note on 'one like unto a son of man' (7<sup>18</sup>), agreeing in the main with Driver's. But we cannot follow Marti in throwing doubt on our Lord's having called Himself *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and surmising that the title may have been put into His lips by the evangelists because of their own familiarity with it. The subject has been treated somewhat frequently in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES,<sup>1</sup> and we need only remark here that Professor Marti does not appear to attach sufficient weight to the fact that the evangelists never represent anyone but Jesus Himself as using this name. If it was so familiar to them, why did they not employ it themselves, or put it into the lips of others? Driver is a safer guide on this matter. "The son of man" differs evidently from "one like a son of man." The former, it cannot reasonably be doubted, was chosen purposely by Jesus to express His own view of His office. It may be doubted, however, whether in its origin it was connected by Him with Dn 7<sup>18</sup>. It seems clearly to represent Him as the true child of man, the ideal son of the human race, the representative of humanity. It is used most frequently in passages which refer to the earthly work of the Lord in the time of His humility, especially where the thought is prominent of His lowliness, or physical weakness, or humanity.' The 'seventy weeks' of 9<sup>25, 27</sup> are explained on the whole in the same way as by Driver, *i.e.* the *terminus a quo* is 586 B.C., the *t. ad quem* 164 B.C., and the middle period of sixty-two weeks is regarded as mistakenly lengthy, such an error being only too natural in a Jew of that period, who would be imperfectly informed as to secular chronology. The English commentator identifies 'an anointed one, a prince,' of v.<sup>25</sup> with Cyrus. Perhaps there is more to be said for the other view, which Marti adopts, that the high priest, Jeshua, son of Jozadak, is meant. At all events this would agree with the use of 'an anointed one' in v.<sup>26</sup>, where it is ad-

<sup>1</sup> See vols. x. xi.

mitted that we must see the high priest Onias III., who was assassinated by Andronicus.

The above examples are enough to show the estimate we have formed of the latest addition to the literature on Daniel. No student can dispense with Driver. Those who read German will do wisely in adding Marti to their store.

Winchcombe,

J. TAYLOR.

## The Idea of the Kingdom of God in Theology.<sup>2</sup>

As all who have any knowledge of the Ritschlian theology are aware, the idea of the kingdom of God plays a most important part in it. About three years ago one of the critics of the school, R. Wegener, published what he described as 'a critical examination of A. Ritschl's Idea of the Kingdom of God in the Light of History.' The intention of the book was to discredit Ritschl's theology by showing that he derived his use of the idea from the rationalism and moralism of last century. In the book now under review this attack on the Ritschlian position is met by a statement of the use made of this idea in Christian theology, with a view to a qualified justification of Ritschl's treatment of the subject. It is not at all necessary to follow the author in his rapid but interesting survey of the varied conceptions, which at different times have sought shelter under this conveniently elastic phrase, although this survey serves so far as a defence of Ritschl against the criticism of Wegener, as it shows that he cannot be justly charged with the offence of wantonly changing the content of a strictly defined expression. Eschatological, ecclesiastical, mystical, evangelical, pietistic, rationalistic, ethical conceptions have all found refuge in this term. It has been used to express the state of grace as well as of glory; the visible Church as well as the invisible community formed by obedience to the law of love; the individual relation of the soul to God as well as the universal purpose of God for all mankind; the present rule of Christ in His saints as well as their future reign with Him; the association and activity of the truly converted as well as the O.T. theocracy. What claims special notice in this historical statement is the account

<sup>2</sup> *Die Idee des Reiches Gottes in der Theologie.* Von Johannes Weiss. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. M. 3.



given of the teaching of Jesus. His conception is represented as *prophetic*, an anticipation of the approaching victory of God over the devil, an anticipation which sometimes became so vivid and confident, that He spoke as if the dominion of the devil had already been overthrown, and the authority of God had been already established. Not Jesus, but the evangelists are responsible for the use of the phrase 'the kingdom of God' to cover 'all that is of importance for the outer and inner life of the community.' In His use of the term there was no ambiguity; it is they that have made it so elastic in its application. It may, however, be seriously questioned if Jesus' conception was so narrow and poor, and if the evangelists' so enriched and widened it. It is very much more probable that the term would have the fullest content and the widest scope on the lips of Jesus, and that afterwards it was subjected to limitations, when used by men of lower spiritual stature. This is, however, a subordinate topic in the book, and must not be allowed to divert our attention from its principal object, the examination and defence of Ritschl's use of the idea.

Ritschl's conception of the kingdom of God as God's effective dominion in the world through the community, founded by Christ, which renders Him a voluntary obedience, is declared to be exegetically indefensible, as the New Testament represents the kingdom as transcendent, as introduced by God's act, and not dependent on man's action. This assertion is probably more confident than all the evidence warrants. With better reason it is pointed out, that in Ritschl's earlier conception the ethical aspect of the kingdom as a task to be done was more prominent than the religious as a good to be enjoyed. With some probability the co-ordination of the two aspects in his later treatment of the subject is ascribed to the influence of Kaftan. But, while for the latter the good is communion with the risen Christ, for the former it is dominion over the world through faith in God's providence. He fails, however, in bringing these two elements in his later conception of the kingdom into organic unity. An examination of his system proves that his soteriology is complete without the doctrine of the kingdom, and that in his teleology, where the kingdom is essential, his doctrine of redemption has no necessary place. There are thus two lines of thought running parallel in his theology. This is a just criticism.

This inconsistency in his thinking finds its explanation in his mental history. An attempt is made to meet the objection that Ritschl, as it were, equates God and His kingdom by explaining that, as far as our knowledge is concerned, we can know only as much about God as He makes known of Himself in His purpose in the world; but the fault one has to find with Ritschl is that he will not allow theology to form even such a conception of God as affords an adequate explanation of His purpose. Again, while Wegener's charge that Ritschl took his view of this world-purpose from the Enlightenment is answered by pointing out that he claimed to be dependent always and only on the Christian revelation, yet Weiss himself calls attention to the significant fact that Ritschl cannot quote any words of Christ, the founder of the kingdom, in support of the doctrine he develops regarding the relation of the kingdom and God as love. On this point it must be said that Ritschl deceived himself, as his doctrine of God and His kingdom is neither so scriptural nor experimental as he imagined it to be. What he regarded as the evil leaven of speculation has got into his pure meal. His speculative doctrine of God's eternity is rightly held by Weiss to offer no adequate explanation of the difficulty, that the kingdom, which is represented as being not only God's purpose for the world, but even His purpose for Himself, comes into actual existence only in the community founded by Christ, as from Ritschl's standpoint especially it is quite illegitimate to solve historical difficulties by metaphysical subtleties. Weiss seems also justified in drawing the wider conclusion, that it is impossible to identify God's purpose in the world with any historical institution founded at a particular time. Such are this writer's criticisms, mostly justified.

His general conclusion regarding the place of the doctrine of the kingdom of God in Christian theology is this. In pious Christian circles generally, where the Bible is read, where the gospel is prized, the doctrine of redemption must be regulative of theology; and it has already been shown that Ritschl has been able to state that doctrine completely without giving any prominence to the idea of the kingdom. For apologetic purposes, however, the doctrine of the kingdom is of great use. The belief in God's rule in the world can be insisted on in opposition to the scientific assumption that nature is a rigid



mechanism. But it can further be maintained that God's protection can be claimed only by the obedient to His purpose. Accordingly the moral combines with the religious point of view. The idea of the kingdom, as combining God's care of, and His claim on man, can be employed as the organizing principle of ethics, and as a brief expression for the religious view of the world. While Ritschl's statement of the moral end is tautological, as he represents the organization of mankind through actions done from the motive of love, both as end and as means, his statement can be corrected by conceiving the kingdom of God as the organization of humanity, in which the will of God becomes more and more a permanent power for good, operative through education, example, customs, and institutions. Ritschl is certainly justified in maintaining that this end of man's moral activity is also God's purpose, and thus passing from the moral to the religious aspect of the kingdom, for the belief in God's providence is genuinely Christian, and has a large place in the teaching of Jesus. As Jesus does not claim to be the founder of the kingdom, and as God's providential guidance of humanity cannot be regarded as beginning with His appearance, Ritschl's position must be abandoned, and all human history must be interpreted from the standpoint of the kingdom. The completion of the kingdom on earth must be supplemented by the Christian hope of immortality, so that we may be able to conceive of all generations as participating in the final good. This thought is not foreign to Ritschl's theology, as he recognizes that the consummation of the kingdom lies beyond the conditions of the present world. This brief indication of the contents of this book should serve to show that both as a critical and a constructive effort on so important a theme it deserves attention and commendation. A. E. GARVIE.

### Weiss on the Johannine Epistles.<sup>1</sup>

THE veteran New Testament scholar and exegete, Professor B. Weiss of Berlin, has published after

<sup>1</sup> *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*. Begründet von H. A. W. Meyer. Die drei Briefe des Apostel Johannes. Auflage an neu bearbeitet von Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Pp. 195. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price 3s. 6d. net.

eleven years a new edition of his commentary on the Johannine Epistles. In the new *Meyer*, the Commentaries on the Gospels, on Romans, on Timothy and Titus, and on Hebrews are also by Professor Weiss, which in itself is sufficient evidence of the estimate placed upon his work in Germany. In this country his Commentary on the Fourth Gospel is perhaps the best known, and the high esteem with which it is regarded by those most qualified to judge makes a commentary by the same hand on the Johannine Epistles of more than ordinary value.

In the present edition, the author has aimed above all at greater concision and greater lucidity, relegating more largely to footnotes the discussion of opposing views. He has taken account of new editions of the commentaries of Luthardt and Holtzmann, the former of whom has come nearer to prevailing views, while the latter has adopted some of Weiss's own interpretations. For the First Epistle, he had before him also the work of Karl, who, 'under pretence of a wider view of the doctrine and language of the Epistle, confuses everything, and enforces his own preconceived opinions by a royal abuse of the actual text.' For the Third Epistle, Weiss expresses his indebtedness to the instructive disquisitions of Harnack.

But neither Harnack nor Holtzmann nor any other has shaken Weiss in his firm adherence to the Johannine authorship of these Epistles, as set forth by him in his *Introduction to the New Testament* and in the previous edition of this commentary. All three Epistles are manifestly by the same hand, and by the hand that wrote the Fourth Gospel, namely, by John the Apostle. In the First Epistle the writer declares himself an eye-witness of the Divine glory revealed in the historical figure of Jesus; in the Second and Third Epistles he calls himself 'The Elder' as being now the sole survivor, amid a new generation of Christians, of that older generation who were privileged with their own eyes to see 'the Word made flesh.' All three Epistles were probably written from Ephesus, the Second and Third before the First, the First before the Gospel. The First Epistle was written with the purely spiritual aim of confirming its readers in the practice of the Christian life. It refers more than once to the false teaching of Cerinthus, but is still more concerned with the practical danger arising from the abuse of the Pauline doctrine of grace. 'My little

children, let no man lead you astray, he that *doeth righteousness is righteous.*' The 'Elect Lady' of the Second Epistle is beyond question a church; the 'well-beloved Gaius' of the Third Epistle was probably a member of the same.

As for the commentary proper, it has the merits that are common to Professor Weiss's exegetical works. It is not mystical, it is not philosophical, there are not many gleams of imagination or flashes of insight; but there is a strong sure grasp of Johannine teaching, and there is always a splendid sanity. It may be well to indicate the views taken by Weiss of one or two difficult passages; the arguments by which these are defended may be sought in the book itself.

On 1 Jn 3<sup>9</sup> ('Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because His seed abideth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God') Weiss concludes an interesting discussion thus: 'By referring the new birth to the word of God as the *σπέρμα*, the apostle certainly means to emphasize the fact that, in this word of His, God is Himself the agent. It follows as a matter of course that the man for whom his new birth from God has become as it were a permanent condition (*γενένηται*, perfect), cannot sin, since God who is permanently active within him, cannot be the agent of what is contrary to himself, that is, of sin.' And in a note this remark is added: 'The apostle clearly assumes that where and in so far as acts of sin are still found in the Christian, the new birth in its fullest sense has not yet taken place within him. The very nerve of the apostle's conception is, that every defect of moral activity in the Christian life points to a defect in the relation to God and Christ, that is, to a religious defect, and can find its remedy only there.'

In 1 Jn 3<sup>19</sup> Weiss translates thus: 'Hereby (namely, if we learn to love not in word but in deed and in truth) we shall know that we are of the truth, and in His presence shall persuade our heart that, should our heart condemn us, He is greater than our heart, and knows all.' When our sins and shortcomings make us doubt whether we are in Christ at all, He knows that we really are of the truth because by His omniscience He searches the deepest depths of our heart, and sees that we love not in word but in truth. This may be on other lines than the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith alone, but in view of the abuse of

that doctrine it was the only satisfactory solution of the problem of assurance.

On 1 Jn 5<sup>6</sup> ('This Jesus is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not in the water only, but in the water and in the blood'), Weiss remarks: 'In view of the ordinary use of *ἔρχεσθαι* in John, ὁ ἐλθών (note the aorist) must refer to the fact of Christ's historical appearance. It follows that δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος denotes in a purely local sense two historical experiences through which He passed, and these experiences can only be His baptism with water and His bloody death, which are regarded here simply as historical facts. . . . The addition, "Not in the water only," etc., proves that the whole statement has a reference to the heresy which distinguished the man Jesus from the heavenly aeon Christ, and united the latter with the former only at the Baptism. The said heretics could admit that the Χριστός came in the water, but they could not admit that He came in the bloody death of the cross, before which He had already in their view taken His departure from the man Jesus; whereas for the apostle the death on the cross was the culminating point of the revelation brought by the Son of the love of God.'

ROBERT A. LENDRUM.

Kirkliston.

### 'The Old Testament Quotations.'

THIS is the second part of Dr. Hühn's valuable work, *Die Messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim historisch-kritisch untersucht und erläutert*, the first part of which appeared in 1899. The first design was to show the use made by N.T. writers of Messianic prophecies, or O.T. passages which they considered Messianic, but the design has naturally grown in the execution. Every reader of the Bible knows that there is close historic connexion between the O.T. and the New. He is familiar, in a general way, with the fact that the framework even of the religion of the N.T. is largely Jewish. The more he studies the N.T. the more extensively and deeply do its roots seem to him sunk in the Old. Hence he will welcome a book

<sup>1</sup> *Die Alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente.* Von Dr. Phil. Eugen Hühn, Pfarrer in Heilingen bei Orlamünde. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1900. M.6.



like Dr. Hühn's, of which it is not too much to say that it is the most systematic attempt yet made to render a full account of the debt, literary and doctrinal, of the second part of the Bible to the first. Dr. Hühn has enjoyed the very efficient collaboration of Dr. P. W. Schmiedel of Zürich, who was his teacher in former days in Jena, and whose name offers a pledge of conscientious and scholarly workmanship which not the most determined opponents of his undoubted 'neological' bias can afford to ignore. The book is not one to be 'read through' any more than a city register. But it should lie on the student's table alongside of Dittman's *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*,<sup>1</sup> and should be consulted at the proper place for a basis of exposition of any important N.T. text or passage. Dr. Hühn goes through the whole New Testament,—book, chapter, verse,—and his aim is not merely to indicate the passages in the O.T. (including the Apocrypha) actually cited in whole or in part, but also to detect the much more indefinable element of O.T. 'reminiscence,' even in places where there is hardly a trace of similarity in word or phrase. This involves skill comparable to that of the chemist extracting a primary essence from composite matter; and, in relation to the 'reminiscences,' opinions will necessarily differ as to the exact measure of relevancy to be conceded to many of the author's references. No one can know better the difficulty of the task than one who has tried it. In a retrospective chapter ('Rückblick'), p. 269, the author is able to tell us from experience that a division of reminiscences into 'conscious' and 'unconscious,' however naturally it might be suggested by the clearly defined phenomena of some passages, is yet impracticable as a basis for systematic work. The line between 'conscious' and 'unconscious' vanishes too easily even for the youngest eyes. Hühn confesses that he has found even the divisions, actually adopted, into passages quoted *with* and passages quoted *without* a formula of citation difficult to carry out, and that the reference of a passage to the one or the other class is 'often more or less subjective' (*ibid.*).

Some of the results summarized in the 'Rückblick' are of striking interest, as, *e.g.*, that the

<sup>1</sup> Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 3s. 6d. Dittman gives the words of the Hebrew text and the LXX in the case of every passage cited. Only the Gospels and Acts have yet been published.

Apocalypse, while it contains only 5 O.T. 'citations,' as against 84 in Romans and 62 in Hebrews, has more 'reminiscences' than any other N.T. book. Next to it in this respect comes Matthew, but Matthew has only 437 against 453 in the Apocalypse, while the combined reminiscences of Romans and Hebrews amount only to 363.

Such a result will possibly tend to corroborate the opinion that the N.T. Apocalypse is a transformation and interweaving of documents of the apocalyptic species that were, in their original form, perhaps even more 'Jewish' than the Book of Daniel, or, indeed, anything in the O.T. But Dr. Hühn hints at nothing of the kind, and it must not be thought that he writes in the interest of any special critical opinions. He wishes to give a complete summary of a very large and important class of facts, and he has brought to his task an amount of industry and skill such as have never yet been expended on the field to which he has applied them.

This notice—too brief for the subject—may serve to call the attention of students to a source of help in regard to all the N.T. books which is much handier than a library of commentaries, and which, in regard to one important element of every N.T. book, supplies information and suggestion hardly to be found in the same degree even in a complete set of commentaries. A *supplementary* chapter ('Nachträge'), which begins with a reference to W. C. Allen's article in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (December 1899) on the genealogy in Matthew, testifies to the extreme care the author has taken to bring his work to the highest level of attainable accuracy.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

## Baptism in the Norwegian Church.

THE question of Baptism is evidently fermenting in Norway just now. Of the ten articles in the three issues of the *Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift* already published, no fewer than three deal with that subject, namely, 'The Rule of Faith of the Ancient Church in its Relation to the Baptismal Confession and Holy Writ,' by Professor Lyder Brun; 'Swiss Anabaptism,' by Rev. Christen Brun; and 'Baptism in the New Testament,' by Professor Odland, D.D.

Dr. Odland's article extends to sixty pages, and



deals with the subject in three parts: (a) the origin of Baptism; (b) the baptismal practice in apostolic days; (c) the nature and significance of Baptism.

The Norwegian professor considers that Mt 28<sup>19</sup> contains a positive command to baptize, but he does not find in that verse or in Mk 16<sup>15, 16</sup> the institution of Baptism. Nor does he find it in Jn 4<sup>1ff.</sup>, for he holds that that baptism was merely a passing incident, limited to Christ's first appearing, and to be considered exclusively as a temporary continuation of the work of the Forerunner, just as Jesus in His first sermon took up, *ipsisimis verbis*, the subject of the Baptist's appeal to repentance. He considers that Christ's first activity was essentially a work of preparation, He being practically His own Forerunner, the people being not yet quite ripe for the preaching of the kingdom of God as a kingdom already present in His own person. And there is no trace of Baptism in the Gospels after Christ began His Messianic work. Dr. Odland deems it significant that there is no hint of Baptism in the instruction to the disciples when despatched in pairs upon their mission throughout the land (Mt 10<sup>2ff.</sup>). Yet, in the Acts time after time the receiving of Baptism followed the preaching of the apostles as its normal result. He controverts Keim in placing the institution of Baptism at the Supper, and Schenkel in placing it in the period preceding Mk 10<sup>38</sup>. He concludes that any institution of Baptism by Christ during His life would have left some trace in the Gospels. In order, therefore, to find the origin of Baptism, the reports at the close of Matthew and Mark must be carefully examined and their historic validity tested. After a most careful examination, he comes to the result that the historic character of the traditional words of Christ in Mt 28<sup>19</sup> and Mk 16<sup>15, 16</sup> cannot be maintained; they merely convey to us the conviction arrived at by the Early Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, that it was the will of the Lord that the Gentiles should be missioned and the rite of Christian Baptism employed.

He does not see how it can well be doubted that in the apostolic age Baptism was into the name of Christ alone. He admits that the words in Ac 2<sup>38</sup> 8<sup>16</sup> 10<sup>48</sup> need not *per se* imply such hypothesis. But it is natural for a historic representation to employ an abbreviated expression to designate Baptism as a *Christian* institution, as

the initiatory rite into the Christian Church. On the other hand, several pertinent passages in Paul's writings definitely assume that Baptism was exclusively administered in the name of Christ. In 1 Co 1<sup>18-15</sup> for example, the apostle indirectly contrasts a Baptism into his own name with the Baptism which the Corinthians had actually received. Dr. Odland's view is that Mt 28<sup>19</sup> cannot be proved to be a prescribed formula. It is only a résumé of what Jesus on that occasion said, a summing up of a fuller teaching about Baptism, its significance and requirements. And he maintains that although the Didache and Justin in a later age regarded these words as a formula prescribed by Jesus, that does not prove that they were originally meant to be such.

He takes up the various objections which have been made to the historic tenability of the synoptic tradition on the points, in question, and, after dealing with them, concludes that the difficulties undeniably connected with the acceptance of the authenticity of the record of Mt 28<sup>19, 20</sup> are not insuperable. 'But still we have only arrived at the position that the passage may *possibly* relate to a trustworthy tradition. For wise historic inquiry the old rule holds true—*Quicumque praesumitur bonus, donec probetur contrarium*; and the *possibility* of trustworthiness has considerable weight in assuring the historic genuineness of the contents of the tradition. And there are undoubtedly positive instances which affect the scale to the distinct advantage of Matthew's reliability.'

He holds that the record of the baptismal command given by the Risen Christ can be proved to be historically trustworthy. According to the Acts, it is not open to doubt that the practice of Christian Baptism was in use on the day of Pentecost (Ac 2<sup>38-41</sup>), and from that day Baptism became a regular institution in the Church. Dr. Odland controverts Weiss in thinking that Peter, of his own initiative, went back to the Johannine Baptism; and holds that Christ must have given instructions and a command. Paul was baptized, and introduced Baptism wherever he laboured; and the way in which the apostle, in 1 Co 10<sup>1ff.</sup>, indirectly compares Baptism and the Supper is an evidence that in both of these acts we have direct institutions by the Master. Professor Odland treats of the disputed passage, Eph 5<sup>26</sup>, thus:—

'The apostle here sets forth Christ's purpose in

giving Himself for the Church, with these words: *ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀγιάσῃ καθάριας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι*. Notice how the last two words are connected with what goes before. The exposition, according to which ἐν ῥήματι is to be referred to ἀγιάσῃ, is now practically and properly given up. The very position of the words is against it. Besides, by such an interpretation, we must regard the non-articled ῥήμα as a kind of *nomen proprium*, and understand it of the gospel or the Word of God generally, which is not only without analogy, and therefore arbitrary, but must in reality be called impossible. The position is this, that ῥήμα expresses a purely formal notion; it designates *the word* only as spoken, as speech; it does not, like λόγος, refer to the content of that which is spoken, and it cannot therefore *per se*, without further definition, designate the gospel. Thus there can only be a choice between the connexion of ἐν ῥήματι with τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος or with καθάριας. But the former of these is excluded by the lack of the article as a connective, since neither τὸ λουτρόν nor τὸ ὕδωρ connects itself with ἐν ῥήματι so as to form a unity. There is thus nothing left except to regard ἐν ῥήματι as a new and more precise definition to καθάριας, by which the apostle must be understood to have desired to avert a misunderstanding, as if the cleansing from the pollution of sin was an effect of the water itself as such. It is not the water *per se* that cleanses; but when that water has cleansing effect, it is only in virtue of a word spoken. By whom the word, which gives the cleansing power to the water of Baptism, is spoken, there can, from the connexion, be no question. It is by the One who is the subject of the καθάριας, more precisely defined by ἐν ῥήματι, therefore Christ. The apostle, according to this passage, must have been aware of some saying of Christ whereby He promised that the cleansing from the guilt of sin, which is the fruit

of His giving Himself up to death, should by Baptism be imparted to the individual as personal property; and thus Baptism may be fairly designated as depending on a direct injunction of Christ.

‘Thus in the apostolic age the use of Christian Baptism was referred back to an institution by Christ. But since this institution is not found within the limits of Christ’s natural life and activity, the only possible alternative is that the Risen Christ prescribed Baptism; and consequently the record in Matthew’s Gospel, and likewise the close of Mark’s, is from this side also very strongly confirmed.’

In dealing with the Nature and Significance of Baptism, Dr. Odland carefully examines (a) Christ’s utterances about Baptism; (b) the pre-Pauline doctrine of Baptism; (c) Baptism in the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 Peter; (d) the Pauline teaching about Baptism. He sums up Paul’s view thus: ‘Paul really regards Baptism as a sacred act which, by its characteristic form in an external, visible manner, portrays what inwardly takes place in the subject of Baptism, namely, cleansing from the impurity and deliverance from the power of sin. When, therefore, he lays stress on faith as the instrument of righteousness and, in places, of newness of life, it is not his purpose to connect these divine acts of grace with faith as its immediate result, but only to emphasize that it is faith alone that is required from man. But what subjectively is dependent on and effected by faith, is objectively effected by Baptism. Faith, consequently, is merely the stretching out of the empty hand to grasp and appropriate what God in the gospel has offered, and what He in Baptism gives; and it is only when faith is filled up by God with His gifts that it becomes in the fullest sense *fides salvifica*.’

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Dundee.

# What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

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## IV.

### The Gospel of John.

1<sup>1-24</sup> is unfortunately on a lost leaf. But they are to be found in the Curetonian manuscript, and therefore not lost to the Old Syriac versions.

1<sup>34</sup>.—‘And I saw, and bear record that this is the *chosen* of God’ (with Codex Sinaiticus and the Curetonian). Possibly this is the original form, for John’s knowledge of our Lord’s relation to the Father was probably less at this period than what St. Peter afterwards attained to, as we know from Mt 16<sup>16</sup>. There are obvious reasons why over-zealous scribes might change ‘chosen’ to ‘Son.’ They knew it from other sources to be true; then why not say so? The Palestinian Syriac has ‘the Son of God, his chosen.’

\*1<sup>88</sup>.—‘and beheld them following,’ is omitted.

1<sup>88</sup>.—‘which is to say, being interpreted, Master,’ is naturally omitted; ‘Rabbi’ or ‘Rabban’ being an Aramaic word (with the Curetonian and the Peshitta).

1<sup>40</sup>.—‘And the name of one of these disciples of John, was Andrew, the brother of Simon.’ ‘Peter’ is omitted (with the Peshitta), but then Simon had not yet received the name. The first clause of this verse agrees with the Curetonian, which, however, adds ‘Cepha.’

1<sup>41</sup>.—‘And Andrew *saw* Simon his brother *on that day*, and saith unto him, My brother, we have found the Messiah’ (almost with the Curetonian, which omits ‘on that day,’ and ‘My brother,’ and adds ‘Cepha,’ and almost with the Peshitta).

\*1<sup>42</sup>.—‘which is, being interpreted *into Greek*, Peter.’

1<sup>44</sup>.—‘Now Philip was *by his family* of Beth-Saida, of the city of Andrew and Simon.’

1<sup>47</sup> to 2<sup>15</sup> is on a lost leaf. This portion is wanting also in Cureton’s MS.

\*2<sup>17</sup>.—‘*When he did these things* his disciples remembered that it was written,’ etc.

2<sup>17</sup>.—‘The zeal of thine house *hath eaten me up*’—not ‘shall eat’ (with the Peshitta and the

Palestinian Syriac). ‘Shall eat’ has the majority of witnesses on its side, but ‘hath eaten’ is supported by the Hebrew text of Ps 69<sup>9</sup>.

\*2<sup>23</sup>.—‘in the days of the feast of unleavened bread,’ instead of ‘at the passover, during the feast.’

\*2<sup>24, 25</sup>.—‘But our Lord did not trust himself to them, and needed not that any should testify about the *work of man*: for he knew *the heart in man what it is*.’

\*3<sup>6</sup>.—‘and that which is born of the spirit is spirit; *because God is a living spirit*.’ The Curetonian and the Old Latin Codex Vercellensis have ‘because God is a Spirit, and of God it is born.’

3<sup>8</sup>.—‘so are they which are born of *water and of the Spirit*’ (with Codex Sinaiticus, the Curetonian, and some Old Latin MSS).

\*3<sup>13</sup>.—‘the Son of man, which is *from heaven*.’ This has no corroboration; but it seems to be an improvement.

3<sup>15</sup>.—‘That whosoever believeth in him *should not perish*, but should have eternal life.’ Here we have the reading of the Authorized Version (with the Peshitta and some Old Latin MSS).

\*3<sup>18</sup>.—‘in the name of the only Son’; ‘of God,’ is omitted.

\*3<sup>20</sup>.—‘lest his deeds should be *seen*.’

\*3<sup>23</sup>.—Here we have the name ‘Ain Nun,’ the Fish Spring.

\*4<sup>5</sup>.—‘a certain town of the Samaritans, which was called *Shechem*,’ instead of ‘Sychar.’ Some light is thrown upon this by a statement of St. Jerome, quoted by Tischendorf. Under the name Sichar in *De nominibus Hebraicis*, he says, ‘Corrupte autem pro Sichem quae transfertur in humeros, ut Sichus legeretur usus obtinuit.’ And again, ‘Alioquin Hebraice Sichem dicitur: ut Joannes quoque evangelista testatur: licet vitiose ut Sichar legatur, error inolevit: et est nunc Neapolis urbs Samaritanorum.’ (*Quaest. Hebr. in Genesim.*)



4<sup>6</sup>.—‘and the fountain of water of Jacob was there.’ Orientals make so decided a distinction between the *‘ain*, ‘spring, fountain,’ *πηγή, βρύσις*, and the *‘bir*, ‘well,’ *φρέαρ*, that we wonder to find both words used in the same narrative. A well is something that has been dug or formed artificially, whereas in the spring or fountain the water gushes naturally from the ground. What is now shown as Jacob’s Well, near Nablûs, certainly is a well. Perhaps it might deserve both epithets, for it may have been fed from a fountain near at hand on Mount Gerizim.

V.<sup>8</sup> is here placed between v.<sup>6</sup> and v.<sup>7</sup>, and the fact that our Lord had sat down is twice repeated. ‘And our Lord came and sat above the fountain . . . that he might rest from the toil of the way. And his disciples had gone up to that town to buy themselves food. And while our Lord sat, it was the sixth hour. And there cometh a certain woman of Samaria,’ etc. (with the Curetonian).

4<sup>23</sup>.—‘for the Father even seeketh these worshippers, *those who worship him in spirit and in truth*.’ This is a repetition of the idea in the former clause of the verse (almost with Codex B of the Palestinian Syriac version, and the Old Latin Codex Veronensis).

\*4<sup>25</sup>.—‘he will *give* everything.’

\*4<sup>27</sup>.—‘And while they were talking, his disciples came and wondered that with the woman he was *standing* and talking.’

This slight detail in the narrative is found, so far as we know, in no other manuscript. But it is quite in keeping with our Lord’s character that He should have forgotten His own weariness, and should have risen to His feet in order to impress more vividly on the woman those great truths which He was revealing to her. And the change of attitude may have been prompted by an innate feeling of the chivalry which was eventually to blossom out of His teaching. Standing is not the usual habit of the Jewish Rabbi when he is engaged in teaching, so it is all the more remarkable that our Lord should have shown so much courtesy to our sex in the person of one of its most degraded representatives. The little word *gâem*, ‘standing,’ has so much significance that we cannot suppose it to be a mere orthographical variant.

4<sup>27</sup>.—‘What hast thou said unto her?’ instead of ‘Why speakest thou with her?’ (almost like the Coptic).

\*4<sup>30</sup>.—‘and every one who heard went out to him.’

4<sup>30</sup>.—‘And the reaper *straightway* receiveth wages’ (with Codd. Bezae, Veronensis, and the Curetonian).

4<sup>38</sup> to 5<sup>5</sup> is on a lost leaf.

5<sup>12</sup>.—‘They asked him, Who is the man that said unto thee, Take up, and walk?’ is omitted (with the Old Latin Codex Veronensis). The sense does not suffer by the loss of this verse.

V.<sup>26</sup> to v.<sup>45</sup> is on a lost page.

\*6<sup>4</sup>.—‘And the feast of the *unleavened bread* of the Jews was nigh.’

\*6<sup>10</sup>.—‘in number about five thousand,’ is omitted.

6<sup>11</sup> is imperfect, being difficult to read, but we notice a variant, ‘and he distributed to his disciples’ (with the Authorized Version and with Codd. Bezae and Veronensis). It may have come here from Mt 14<sup>19</sup> or 15<sup>36</sup>, or Mk 8<sup>6</sup>, or Lk 9<sup>16</sup>, and in this case our palimpsest has the interpolation.

\*6<sup>18</sup>.—‘and they filled twelve baskets with the remains of these five barley loaves *and of these two fishes*.’

\*6<sup>18</sup>.—Here we have an addition, ‘Now the men which did eat of this bread were five thousand’; evidently by a transposition of v.<sup>10</sup>.

6<sup>18</sup>.—‘And *the lake* was tumultuous against them, and a great wind blew,’ etc. (almost with the Curetonian). The word ‘sea’ is used in v.<sup>16</sup>.

\*6<sup>32</sup>.—‘Jesus therefore said unto them,’ is omitted, although the sense seems to require it.

\*6<sup>39</sup>.—Instead of ‘And this is the will of him that sent me,’ we have only ‘This is it.’ Possibly the scribe has dropped a line, but possibly also it is intentional.

6<sup>42</sup>.—‘Is not this Jesus Bar-Joseph? and we know his father?’

6<sup>42</sup>.—‘and mother,’ is omitted (with Codex Sinaiticus, the Curetonian, and the Old Latin Codex Veronensis).

6<sup>46</sup>.—‘save he which is *with* God,’ instead of ‘save he which is from God’ (with the Curetonian).

6<sup>47</sup>.—‘He that believeth *on* God hath life’ (almost with the Curetonian).

\*6<sup>63</sup>.—‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth *the body*; but ye say, the body profiteth nothing.’

6<sup>64</sup>.—‘who they were that believed not, and,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian).

6<sup>69</sup>.—‘that thou *art the Christ, the Son of God*’ (with several Old Latin MSS, almost with Codex Alexandrinus, the Curetonian, the Peshitta, and the Palestinian Syriac). The Curetonian omits ‘*the Christ*,’ and the others add ‘*living*’ before God). This emphasizes the higher degree of knowledge possessed by Simon Peter over that of John the Baptist, as shown in Jn 1<sup>84</sup>. It is observed in the majority of ancient manuscripts.

6<sup>70</sup>.—‘Have not I chosen you *all*,’ instead of ‘the twelve’ (with the Curetonian).

\*6<sup>71</sup>.—‘Judah the Iscariot,’ instead of ‘Judas of Simon Iscariot.’

\*7<sup>1</sup>.—‘because he would not walk *openly* in Judæa.’

\*7<sup>12</sup>.—‘And there was much murmuring because of him in that *great multitude which had come to the feast*.’

\*7<sup>14</sup>.—‘And in the midst of the days of the feast of *tabernacles*,’ or literally, ‘and when the days of the feast of tabernacles were divided,’ (with the Curetonian).

7<sup>21</sup>.—‘I have done one work *in your sight*, and ye all marvel’ (with the Curetonian).

7<sup>32</sup>.—‘*And the chief priests* and the Pharisees heard that the people murmured’ (almost with some Old Latin MSS).

7<sup>35</sup>.—‘will he perhaps go teaching *the seed of the Gentiles*?’ instead of ‘will he go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks?’ (with the Curetonian).

\*7<sup>36</sup>.—‘And what is the word that he said, I go away, and ye shall not find me,’ etc.

7<sup>37</sup>.—‘*the last day*,’ is omitted (with the Curetonian).

\*7<sup>40</sup>.—‘of a truth this is the *Christ*.’

\*7<sup>41</sup>.—‘Others said, This is the Christ,’ is omitted.

\*7<sup>45</sup>.—‘And these officers returned, and came to *those multitudes* and to the Pharisees; and the priests and the Pharisees said unto them, Why have ye not brought him?’

\*7<sup>48, 49</sup>.—‘For who of the chief men or of the Pharisees has believed on him? only this mob, who knoweth not the law.’

7<sup>49</sup>.—‘are accursed,’ is omitted.

7<sup>50</sup>.—‘he that came unto him before *by night*’

(with Codex Bezae and the Peshitta, almost with Codex Alexandrinus and the Old Latin Codex Monacensis).

7<sup>50</sup>.—‘being one of them,’ is omitted. The Coptic version and some Old Latin MSS have both readings.

7<sup>58</sup> to 8<sup>11</sup>, *i.e.* the story of the woman taken in adultery, is omitted (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and many other ancient Greek MSS, also with some Old Latin MSS). Tischendorf says that ‘St. John certainly never wrote this narrative; but that it is found in the MSS of his Gospel from the third century onward.’ Dr. Hort says that ‘the argument which has weighed most in its favour in modern times is its own internal character,’ but that ‘it presents serious differences from the diction of St. John’s Gospel, which strongly suggests diversity of authorship.’

‘When the whole evidence is taken into consideration,’ he continues, ‘it becomes clear that the section first came into St. John’s Gospel as an insertion in a comparatively late Western text, having originally belonged to an extraneous independent source. That this source was either the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* or the *Expositions of the Lord’s Oracles* of Papias is a conjecture only; but it is a conjecture of high probability.’

‘Erasmus showed by his language how little faith he had in its genuineness.’

This section stands after Lk 21<sup>38</sup> in the archetype of the Ferrar group of Greek MSS. This Dean Alford considers to be its apparent chronological place; though why it should have dropped out of Luke’s Gospel cannot be readily explained.

With regard to this and two other interpolated passages, we must recollect that they all have the prestige of tradition in their favour; and that though they may never have been penned by the evangelist in whose narrative they occur, they are records of what was believed by Christians of the Apostolic Age, from whose memory the genuine words and deeds of the God-Man had not yet faded. As such they are entitled to our profound respect, especially when they harmonize so well as this does with our Lord’s life and character.

## Deissmann's 'Bible Studies.'<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. JAMES HOPE MOULTON, M.A., LATE FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE appearance in English of Deissmann's famous *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897) is an event of unusual interest. Of course there are few scholars who would care to confess that they had not read the books in the original, for they undeniably belong to the exceedingly small class to which the much-abused term 'epoch-making' properly belongs. But there are many who do not read German, and many of those who do would probably admit that the language is a perpetual irritant. (Why were not German industry and acuteness bestowed on the speakers of *any* other language, except perhaps Russian and Chinese? I know a German Ph.D. who finds French easier reading than his native tongue, and the knowledge emboldens me to explode thus after years of suffering!) But this is by the way, serving to point my own gratitude to Dr. Grieve. He has made the book read like an original English work; while its faithfulness is guaranteed not only by the lucidity of the work translated but also by the co-operation of Dr. Deissmann himself in the revision of the proofs.

I shall not attempt here to give a table of contents, but only to show in a few words why this book holds so unique a position among recent biblical works. Deissmann was not of course the original patentee of his central thesis, but he is the first to seize upon the new material that the last decade has provided, and use it in a way which gives us a wholly new and indispensable tool for the study of the Greek Bible. We can appreciate the peculiar freshness of Deissmann's insight even when he is laying under contribution the *Inscriptions*, a source which has been available for generations, though of course new discoveries are continually being made. But the use of the papyri is the most characteristic feature of the book. Here the material has been accumulating during the last ten years with bewildering rapidity.

<sup>1</sup> *Bible Studies*. Contributions, chiefly from Papyri and *Inscriptions*, to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity. By Dr. G. Adolf Deissmann, Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg. Authorised Translation by Dr. Alexander Grieve. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901.

How rapid the growth has been is best realized by observing that in the four years since Deissmann's *Neue Bibelstudien* was published there have appeared four goodly volumes of papyrus texts from Drs. Grenfell and Hunt,—apart from the theological *Amherst Papyri*,—while the Berlin papyri have grown from one and a half volumes to two and a half big folios; moreover, the *Inscriptiones Maris Egei*, from which Deissmann gathers great spoil, are now in three volumes instead of one. The classical world is more or less inclined to be disappointed that the rubbish-heaps of Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum have yielded great masses of old receipts, private letters, wills, incantations, *et hoc genus omne*, and so little to go with the treatise of Aristotle and the poems of Sappho and Bacchylides. With Deissmann to guide him, the biblical student will not sigh for recovered fragments of classical literature. The trivial, utterly unliterary fragments from Upper Egypt, in which we see the ancient world in undress uniform, have an instructiveness of absorbing interest. For they give us, as nothing else can, the vernacular used in daily life by the earliest readers of our New Testament. In Deissmann's fascinating pages we are shown scores of familiar biblical words and phrases which now turn out to have been part and parcel of the ordinary vocabulary of later Greek. One after another, idioms which we have regarded as 'Hebraisms,' and words which have been classed as 'Biblical Greek,' show themselves in everyday scribblings of Greek-speaking Egyptians or in formal and laboured inscriptions of Greeks from Asia Minor or the islands, who had assuredly not formed their style on the Septuagint. It follows that the New Testament, except where it is actually *translated* from Semitic originals, is written in the normal language of the Greek world, heathen and Jewish alike, with differences in its style according as its various writers approximated more to the vernacular or to the literary style of the day. As papyri multiply, the remaining specimens of 'Biblical Greek' may be expected to dwindle, and 'Hebraisms' to be more and more restricted in their range.

It is possible that in the delight of the new dis-



covery we may be in danger of going a little too far, and repeating in a more scientific style the extravagances of the Purists of old. If we read the Greek writings of men accustomed to think in Latin,<sup>1</sup> we find Latinisms, and every comparative philologist is familiar with like phenomena in other fields. The denial of Hebraisms, therefore, or the minimizing of them, in the New Testament writings where a direct Aramaic or Hebrew original is not in question, must depend upon the extent to which Greek was a native tongue to the writers. If it was with them an *acquired* tongue, they were sure to fall into 'Hebraisms' now and then. Most of us know some cultured foreigner, domiciled for many years in England and speaking English with perfect ease and fluency. Is their English ever *quite* free from Gallicisms or Germanisms, as the case may be? Except, therefore, in the case of writers like St. Paul and St. Luke, who must have spoken Greek from infancy, the question of Hebraisms is bound up with the question whether Palestine was really bilingual. If it was not, and Greek was definitely learned by the best educated people, in late boyhood or in mature life, there simply *must* have been Hebraisms in their Greek; and the absence of these goes far, if established, to prove that Greek was perfectly familiar to ordinary Galilæans from early days. I shall neither advocate nor quarrel with the conclusion here, but it is as well for us to see whither we are being led.

Let me turn awhile to 'lower criticism,' in which I find very little to say. I notice '4th cent. A.D.' on p. 188 for 'B.C.', and Σελεύκον for Σελεύκου on p. 312. In a few cases we should have been grateful to the translator had he accommodated his references to English editions of foreign books. Cremer is translated, though not from the last edition. So are Blass's *Pronunciation* and Buttmann's *N.T. Grammar*. The references to Winer, where not to the new edition by Schmiedel, are to Winer-Lünemann.<sup>1</sup> But this is little altered from the *sixth* edition, which Dr. Moulton edited in English; it is quite wrong to say (p. xv) that his work ' = 3rd German edition.' On p. 192 there might have been a reference to Buresch's

very important article, 'Τέροναν,' in *Rhein. Museum*, xlv. 193-232: this, however, is an omission of the author and not the translator.

Finally, I may note the very welcome information that Professor Deissmann has more Bible Studies in store for us. I very much hope they will be translated *pari passu*, so that English readers may not have to wait; it will be a very strange and disappointing thing if the reception given to the present volume should not encourage this suggestion. As it stands, the book hardly justifies the inference the reader naturally draws from the statement that it contains 'Dr. Deissmann's most recent changes and additions.' There are changes and additions, but there is no attempt to incorporate systematically the work on new material, for this (as already stated) is to go into a new book. In many places the new material will involve no small amount of change. I have summarized in the *Classical Review* for February 1901 a mass of points from the papyri, nearly all bearing upon the accident of N.T. Greek, for which purpose I have examined the papyri published up to date. One or two trifles will show how this new material affects statistics. Deissmann (p. 183 f.) quotes only *one* example of ἀπαβών, and *eight* of ἀραβών; I have *twelve* of ρρ and *eleven* of ρ. The occurrences of the noun ἐλαιών -ώνος (p. 208) are about doubled when the newly published texts are brought in; and for εἰ μὴν (p. 206 f.), instead of only *two* quotations there are *six*, none later than the first century A.D. It may be worth while to add that fuller statistics as to ἐάν for ἄν after relatives and conjunctions reinforce strikingly the conclusions suggested on p. 204 f. I find ἐάν only four times in papyri B.C., against eight cases of ἄν; but in the first century A.D. it is 25 against 7, and in the second 80 against 9, after which there is a sudden drop in the popularity of the construction. It seems clear that ἐάν was normal during the first two centuries, ἄν being perhaps mainly literary. These specimens of grammatical gleanings<sup>2</sup> after Deissmann, in papyri which were not accessible when he wrote, will perhaps serve to suggest how much is left for the acute observer himself to reap in unharvested fields. We shall all hope that his new sheaves will be gathered soon.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Viereck, *Sermo Græcus quo senatus populusque Romanus uti sunt* (Göttingen, 1888), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> A few lexical points are collected, together with a summary of grammatical results, in the *Expositor* for April.

## The Resurrection of Life and the Resurrection of Judgment.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

'There shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust.'—Acts xxiv. 15.

THESE words were spoken by St. Paul in the presence of the Roman governor of Judæa, Claudius Felix, in reference to charges made against the apostle by the high priest and elders, as being a mover of insurrection, and ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. The apostle repels the charge by showing that his preaching differed in no essential feature from that of his adversaries, and that both he and they had the common hope that there would be a resurrection of the just and unjust. This mention of the resurrection of the unjust was probably not unnoted by Felix. He was a thoroughly bad man, as the Roman historians of the day very distinctly tell us, and a dimly-felt sense of the possibility here or hereafter of retribution made him tremble, as we are afterwards told, when judgment to come was pressed home upon him by the imprisoned apostle.

Men, however, nowadays, even though they may be as bad as Felix, do not tremble when they hear of this resurrection of the unjust, or of judgment to come. They regard these things, and the warnings that flow from them, as belonging to an old-world theology that has now become outworn and obsolete. And though there are few who would care openly to say so, there are many, I fear, who feel a sympathy with these delusive persuasions, and either put aside the whole subject of future retribution or rest on vague hopes that all will, in some way or other, come right at last. Their inner feeling is that if men live generally honest and neighbourly lives, there will be nothing seriously to apprehend when the resurrection of the unjust as well as the just becomes one of the realities of the future.

But there are many thousands, and tens of thousands, and the number, thank God, is steadily increasing, who, when the subject of the resurrection, and especially the resurrection of the individual—the resurrection of the body—is brought home to them, are conscious of questions rising

in the soul, sober and reasonable questions, which Holy Scripture awakens, and to which Holy Scripture alone can minister the answer. Such a text, for example, as that which I have chosen, plain and simple as are its words, what thoughts it awakens as to the fundamental difference of the two aspects of the general resurrection, the resurrection of the just, and the resurrection of the unjust! Just and unjust, we know from Holy Scripture, will alike hear the voice of the Son of man, and, as He Himself has distinctly revealed, will come forth and receive their final award. And the nature of that award the Lord Himself has thus plainly set forth, 'they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill to the resurrection of judgment.' The resurrection of the just is to life, and to everything that is involved in that blessed and inclusive word, life; the resurrection of the unjust is—the change of expression is very noticeable—not to damnation, as our Authorized Version renders it, but to judgment, to a final examination upon which the final decision irreversibly turns.

We have thus from the lips of our future Judge the precise meaning of the words on which we are now meditating—the resurrection of the just; and that on which our thoughts ever anxiously rest—the resurrection of the unjust. That resurrection is a resurrection, not due to any assumed innate immortality, but a resurrection that is experienced by the unjust, for the express purpose that they may be placed before the judgment seat of Christ, and, in the realistic language of the Revelation of St. John, be judged out of the things written in opened books other than, and separate from, the Book of Life.

If such be the meaning of the second portion of our text, if the resurrection of the unjust as named by the apostle is, in the fuller and more explicit language of our dear Lord and Master

Himself, specified as the resurrection, not of sweeping condemnation, but of judgment, or, in other words, a just consideration of all the deeds and misdeeds of the past, we may endeavour to ascertain, as far as may be possible in so profound a subject, all that is involved in the first portion of our text, the resurrection of the just, or as our Lord has been pleased more distinctly to reveal it to us, as the resurrection of life; 'they that have done good,' He says, 'shall come forth unto the resurrection of life.'

For the unjust, for those that have done ill, there is reserved the resurrection of judgment; for those that have done good the resurrection of life.

Now what is exactly meant by the resurrection of life? Does it mean merely a resurrection into or unto life in the general sense of the word, or does it mean a resurrection characterized by life in its fullest scriptural sense, and in the highest meaning of that most blessed and significant word?

There can be no doubt as to our answer. The unjust have a resurrection of life in a certain and special sense; they are called forth by the voice of the Son of God, and they live; but they live only that they may stand before their Judge and hear from Him the final award. Their resurrection is, as we have already seen, a resurrection of judgment.

But the just, how will it be with them?

Here we seem to be entering into the deeper mysteries of revelation, as some at least of the holy company of the just will not come into judgment, in the sense in which the word has hitherto been used. Nothing can be more plain than the words of our Lord in the very passage on which we have been dwelling, 'He that heareth My word, and believeth Him that sent Me,' is the Lord's express declaration, 'hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment.' And again, in an earlier passage, when our Lord was conversing with Nicodemus, and was speaking of the Son's mission into the world, the same declaration is made, 'He that believeth on the Son of God is not judged.'

We seem, therefore, perfectly justified in saying that, however we may interpret the words, this great spiritual truth cannot be explained away—that among the just some there will be, so blest and so highly favoured, that for them, when the Lord comes to judge the quick and the dead, there will be no judgment.

But how can we reconcile this momentous truth with the general tenor of the teaching of Holy Scripture in reference to the final judgment? Is there any passage in God's holy Word that appears to imply or to involve this exemption from judgment on the part of some among the general company of those who are, here and elsewhere, spoken of as the just? Can there be any other resurrection than that which is the blessed accompaniment of the Second Coming of the Lord? Yes, verily, there is a passage little heeded in the current interpretation of such subjects as those on which we are now meditating, in which an earlier resurrection is not only implied but specified. If we are willing to abide by the plain and indeed emphatic declaration of one of the closing chapters of the last book of Holy Scripture, we must admit that there is a first resurrection, and that those who are counted worthy of that resurrection will live and reign with Christ during the mystic interval, spoken of in Scripture as the thousand years, at the close of which it is distinctly said that the rest of the dead were raised again to life and to judgment. Of this first resurrection I spoke two or three years ago,<sup>1</sup> and I have met with nothing since that time that has led me to modify my conviction that Holy Scripture, plainly and faithfully interpreted, does reveal to us a resurrection prior to the general resurrection—a resurrection of the specially-chosen, of those who will be assessors to the Lord, and will be with Him whithersoever He goeth—the sons of the first resurrection.

We now see who those are who, as our Lord says twice most distinctly, come not into judgment, and, though indisputably present at the last closing scene of all human history, when the dead, the great and the small, as Holy Scripture expressly says, will stand before the Throne, will not then be judged, their names being already written on the pages of the Book of Life.

We have now fully considered the plain and simple words of the text, and have seen, under the explicit teaching of our Lord, what the resurrection of the just and of the unjust, or, in the language of our Lord, the resurrection of life and the resurrection of judgment, must be understood to involve and to imply.

Here we pause. The nature of the final award,

<sup>1</sup> See THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for June, 1898, p. 401 ff.



especially in the case of the unjust, cannot possibly be even touched upon in a short sermon like the present, but it may be of some use to have investigated the full meaning of the apostle's words, and to have obtained some further elucidation of the holy and inspiring truth that there are those who will not come into judgment, but, as our Lord Himself has said, 'are equal unto the angels, and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.'

One question only remains. Has any revelation been vouchsafed to us of the spiritual character of these chosen and highly blest ones, these who might at first seem to belong to a standard far above anything to which we could ever hope to attain? Yes, this our Lord has been pleased fully to reveal to us, and in language so simple, that its very simplicity seems at first to fill us with amazement. In one of the two passages in which our Lord speaks of those who will not hereafter be judged, He says only that 'he that believeth on the Son of God is not judged.' In the other passage He speaks with more explicit reference to Himself, and says, 'He that heareth My word, and believeth Him that sent Me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life.'

What an answer then has been vouchsafed to us! How blessed and how monitory! Blessed, because the whole mystery of the future is here

disclosed to us as dependent on our relation to Him who will hereafter be our Judge. It depends solely and uniquely on faith. But how can we ever hope for a faith so great and so intense as that which will supersede even judgment? Our only answer can be that if such faith be present, He will see it and bless it. To Him are known all the inner secrets of the poor human heart, not by the insight of omniscience, but by the experience of a love that vouchsafed to take our nature, and thus, as it were, to learn all those movements of the soul which indicate the varying degrees of faith in a Saviour. He will see and know, and He will quicken and elevate. But the monitory thought must also ever arise. If such be the power of faith, how will it be with the lower powers of faith? What will be the future in the case of those who have only a conventional belief in Christ, or in the case of those who have none? To such questions we can absolutely return no answer save this,—that He who knows every secret of the human heart will be our Judge, and that faith in Him, even in its lowest and feeblest forms, will never be counted as though it were not, or never found a place in the heart.

We may sum up all our meditations in one single sentence—on faith in Jesus Christ, incarnate, crucified for us, and risen, depends all our future here and hereafter.

## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE NEO-PLATONISTS: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF HELLENISM. By THOMAS WHITTAKER. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*. 8vo, pp. 243. 7s. 6d.)

There is just one thing this fine book lacks, it lacks a good style. A good style is like good common sense, a man must be born with it. And as gifts are wisely distributed, a good style does not always go with the perseverance that makes good scholarship. We have therefore often to make our choice between Froude and Freeman. In this case, especially as the style is far from intolerable, we do not hesitate. We are glad to receive a finely touched scholar's ex-

position of a most interesting product of human thought.

The chapter that has most attracted us is the one on the Polemic against Christianity. Mr. Whittaker has worked over this subject anew, and reconstructed Julian's scheme of anti-christianity with freshness. He concludes that Julian was not concerned for polytheism so much as for philosophy, in other words, that he was less a religious man than a humanist. But perhaps the best chapter in the book is the one on the Mysticism of Plotinus. It is the most difficult, and Mr. Whittaker feels that. He leaves unsaid as much as he says. The whole subject of mysticism has

yet to be handled satisfactorily. Mr. Whittaker's chapter is short, but it will have to be read.

A STUDY OF SOCIAL MORALITY. BY W. A. WATT, M.A., LL.B., D.PHIL. (*T. & T. Clark.* Crown 8vo, pp. 306. 6s.)

Morality is of more interest at present than religion. And that is an excellent sign. For our Lord was as emphatic as Samuel in saying that to obey is better than sacrifice. How heartily, then, should we who believe that, though morality is impossible without religion, yet religion without morality is sounding brass, how heartily should we welcome the present interest in morality and so capable a book as this. Dr. Watt limits himself to social morality, which is perhaps enough for any man to study or to practise. Within that range he is at home, all the recent literature being at his command and all the knotty points being sufficiently considered. But the strength of his book is its restraint. He rarely pronounces judgment. He always opens up the subject to show its interest, he always succeeds in getting one interested in it. Then like an artist of merit he lets our own mind give or delay giving the judgment. He passes on, and we are richer, if less satisfied.

THE TASTE OF DEATH. BY P. T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D. (*Clarke.* 16mo, pp. 127. 1s. 6d.)

The note of assurance is returning to our pulpits. And with it the note of surprise. When the Gospel is a may-be there is nothing surprising in it. When it is known that the Son of God loved me and gave Himself for me, the surprise is mighty and everlasting. Where is the assurance and the wonder of it to be seen more impressively than in this small volume? We do not know. And it is the deep thought of a man to whom the deep thinkers of our time have disclosed themselves. He knows what culture has done for us, but it is what Christ has done for us that surprises him.

THE MESSAGES OF JESUS. BY THOMAS C. HALL, D.D. (*Clarke.* Fcap 8vo, pp. 262. 3s. 6d.)

This is the ninth volume (though only the fifth issued) of the series entitled 'The Messages of the Bible.' If it had been issued first, it would have given the series the best possible start. For it deals with the message of deepest interest in the Bible, and it is written with ability and freedom. Only the Synoptic Gospels are covered. The

message of Jesus contained in the Fourth Gospel will no doubt be found much coloured by its medium. For this series is unquestionably bold in its criticism. We shall see when it comes. Meantime there is an undeniable attractiveness in the form in which Christ's messages in the first three Gospels are here set forth. And there is no hiding it that they are messages for all time.

THE LIVING LORD AND THE OPENED GRAVE. BY THOMAS A. GURNEY, M.A., LL.B. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 328. 6s.)

This is the bed-rock of Christianity—the opened grave and the living Lord. Through this we have boldness to enter into the holiest; without this we are of all men most miserable, for we are yet in our sins. It is, as Mr. Gurney puts it, 'the high enthroned Christ, the Christ of St. Mark's, Venice, not as we see him in later mediævalized Churches abroad, the Infant in the Virgin's arms.' Mr. Gurney's book is, we suppose, a volume of sermons, but it has the sustained interest of an orderly treatise on a great subject. How great the subject is, only a man so heroically assured of it can tell us. How small and mean seems the groper after proofs of the resurrection or evidences for the immortality of the soul, when we look down upon him from the mountain where the Glorified Saviour reveals Himself to faith.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have issued the fourth volume of *The City Temple Pulpit* (8vo, pp. 296, 3s. 6d. net). Take every opportunity of making the series known; it is greater than some of us have yet discovered, and it will abide longer than some of us yet imagine. Dr. Parker hides his greatness within a curtain of idiosyncrasy. But the veil is easily rent.

HIDDEN WELLS OF COMFORT. BY THE REV. L. A. BANKS, D.D. (*Kelly.* 8vo, pp. 300. 4s. 6d.)

The feature of most prominence in these sermons is the amount of poetry they quote. Preachers on this side of the Atlantic find that their hearers are restive under two short quotations. Dr. Banks will quote a whole long poem, follow it with another, and find room for a third before he is finished. The other noticeable feature is the profusion of anecdote. When these two features are taken together there is not much room left for a sermon. Yet the sermon is here, pungent and practical.

There is no theology, but there is unhesitating faith in the Son of God who loved us and gave Himself for us.

THE AGE OF DECISION. By P. N. WAGGETT, M.A.  
(Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. 162. 2s. 6d. net.)

'Whatever recoveries a profligate may make—and in God's mercy he shall, by grace and pardon, one day find a place in heaven—yet he will never here recover the keenness of judgment, or the nicety of mind, which might have been his. Whatever else can be, intellectual supremacy, leadership, and refinement can never be the possession of the man who has degraded his body and his mind in fleshly sin. Let us not deceive ourselves about this. There is no limit to God's pity; there is no sin which the precious blood cannot wash away. But God's laws are not dethroned by His pardon and mercy, and a man may as well enter for a three-mile race with a sprained foot and think by a profound resolution to outstrip his competitors, as suppose that by any diligence whatever the mind which is gravely stained by profligacy can be the weapon of keenness and the measure of sanity which God meant it to be.'

The quotation is long, but it saves weak words. For it is thoroughly characteristic of the small volume of sermons which Mr. Waggett preached to young men in Oxford. It shows how science and theology unite to keep the hands clean and the heart pure.

THE BODY OF CHRIST. By CHARLES GORE, M.A.,  
D.D. (Murray. Crown 8vo, pp. 345. 5s. net.)

When we speak of the Body of Christ we usually mean His resurrection Body. Canon Gore means the Church. He has good excuse for the expression, though he admits that it is second best, the one he had chosen first having been already appropriated. It is the Church, it is the sense in which the Church is the Body of Christ, and the functions she discharges in that capacity, that form the subject of Canon Gore's book. He tells us that it arose out of a desire to prepare himself for the Fulham Conference on Ritual and the Holy Communion. So it deals with matters controversial, and is not a set treatise. It deals with matters that are in controversy to-day, and it will be obsolete when they are out of controversy to-morrow. But there are men who have been sent to speak to their own day, and Canon Gore

is one of them. Canon Ainger has been labouring to tell us in the *Pilot* what 'charm' is. Let him read Canon Gore. It is conviction with an open mind, candour with something kept to oneself, common humanity with a dash of undeniable distinction. Canon Gore does not give us a great deal of information here (there is nothing less charming than mere information), but he touches us in so many pleasant ways that he leaves us open to receive information from any quarter. We should read this book first, and then Canon Moberly's new book on *Personality*. The conclusions which Canon Gore reaches are familiar enough; it is only interesting that *he* reaches them. And it is most promising for the future of the theology and the Church that so trusted a leader of the High Church movement is still so young and so heroic.

Under the title of *Christ and Human Life* Messrs. Longmans have published four essays and a sermon by Principal Darwell Stone (crown 8vo, pp. 135, 2s. 6d. net). The theme throughout is Christ's place in the world as its moral centre and final satisfaction. To the Jew first, and next to the Gentile is He all in all, and then to modern thought and life. So liberal is the culture and so clear the faith that the little book is worth many times its price.

UNITY IN CHRIST. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON,  
D.D. (Macmillan. Crown 8vo, pp. 314. 6s.)

Dr. Armitage Robinson is slowly rising from the ranks of scholarship to popular recognition. He has been known to the few as a scholar for many years; he will yet be known as a great preacher of the glad tidings of God. This is a volume of such sermons as comes to us only once or twice in the year. Let their subject be what you will, they would be great sermons; but their subject is great as their treatment of it. Unity in Christ is their subject. We know how often we have been mocked with promises of unity that meant 'You give and I take all round.' Dr. Robinson is a scholar and a Christian; and when he speaks of unity in Christ, he means it; when he prays for it, he does not mock God, but prays in the very spirit of the Master. One of the sermons in this volume has already appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. *Ex uno disce omnes.*



RECONSTRUCTION IN THEOLOGY. BY HENRY CHURCHILL KING. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 270. 6s.)

If the time for reconstruction has really come, we congratulate the generation that is growing up. We of the present generation have had mostly criticism, and we have had enough of it. If we were able, before we die, to see some reliable if not unassailable results established, we should be comforted. The Professor of Theology in Oberlin Theological Seminary believes the time has come. He sends us this book to show that the time has come for reconstructing our theology, and to teach us how to do it. The thing he dreads is a breach in America between the scholar and the preacher, such as exists in Germany. We dread it in this country. To avoid that, he would face modern scholarship in every department of study, and take what it has to give. He knows of nothing in any science that will overthrow that which is vital in Christianity. And as his book proceeds, we gather confidence in his insight as we already admire his candour. He acknowledges that evolution takes a large view of the universe, and he is not content with a less; he takes a yet larger view and finds both God and sinful men in it. The foolish notion of a fall upwards he discovers neither in science nor in religion; but he finds place, after the last sweep of science, for a God in Jesus Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. It is a strong book, and may even mark an epoch in theology.

Proctor's has been for half a century the student's standard *History of the Book of Common Prayer*. It has now been thoroughly revised and almost entirely rewritten by Walter Howard Frere, M.A., and sent on, we believe, into another half-century's circulation (*Macmillan*, crown 8vo, pp. 719, 12s. 6d.). It had already been three times re-edited, but re-editing would not do any longer. The great attention given to the early history of the Book of Common Prayer and the consequent revision of judgment and acquisition of knowledge, made it necessary to alter entirely and rewrite the earlier portion. Less has been done on the later history, and it may be that subsequent editions will need alteration there. But for the present the book is up to date and worthy of the best educational traditions of its great publishing firm.

When Messrs. Macmillan announced their

'Library of English Classics,' they announced at the same time that it would proceed if it succeeded. It has succeeded. The twenty-fifth volume already lies before us. It is Walton's *Compleat Angler* (8vo, pp. 508, 3s. 6d. net), with which is bound up the Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson. The edition is that of 1876; the present editor, Mr. A. W. Pollard. It is a wonder of price and perfection.

Messrs. Macmillan have now published Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* (two vols, crown 8vo, 7s.) in uniformity with their latest edition of his works, thus making that edition nearly complete. It now lacks only the *Unity of the New Testament* and the *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*. It is a wonder that by this time Maurice is not obsolete, he was so much a man of his own day. But he is with us still, and we can read him with profit still, for the spirit of the man and the style of the writer are things that never wax old or vanish away.

We rejoice to see a new edition of the anonymous book *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (*Macmillan*, crown 8vo, pp. 205, 4s. 6d. net). It will win its way more rapidly yet. For it is more precious than gold, yea than much fine gold. Be the author known or unknown, he is unknown to us, but his book is a special treasure. It is the thinker's version of such popular books as that entitled *If Christ came to Chicago*.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: HER DIVISIONS AND REUNIONS. BY C. G. M'CRIE, D.D. (*Macniven & Wallace*. Crown 8vo, pp. 394. 5s. net.)

This is the book which the bewildered Englishman has been asking for. All the disputes and denominations, all the secessions and reunions are here. Henceforth—until another union takes place—familiarity with Scottish ecclesiasticism will be expected even in English drawing-rooms. For the book is as pleasant to read as it is easy to remember. Dr. M'Crie has the whole course of Scottish Church history so clear before his mind's eye that he can select the great movements and the leading men without an effort. Smaller men and ineffective movements are not permitted to bewilder or betray. And if his own mind is quite made up as to the Divine or

Satanic origin of the movements, there is no loss in that. His decisive judgments give vigour to his writing.

What is the impression which this history of disputes and reconciliations makes? Certainly not painful. Not once is the dispute about beggarly elements or worldly advantage. The men sometimes did more nobly than they knew, but they were noble men.

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CHARLOTTE HANBURY: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

EDITED BY MRS. ALBERT HEAD. (*Marshall Brothers*. 8vo, pp. 244. 6s.)

'If any man be in Christ, a new creature!' And the apostle would have assented readily if you had whispered, 'especially any woman.' There is no literature in this book, and it is only living Christianity that makes a book that is not literature worth reading. The autobiography is mere jottings, — jumbles, the editor rightly enough calls it. And yet it will be read and read and do more good than the most stately work of literary art.

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SALVATION BEYOND DEATH. BY G. WINGFIELD HUNT, B.A. (*Mowbray*. Crown 8vo, pp. 258.)

A writer in the *Nineteenth Century* once said that he understood what would become of the sheep and what would become of the goats, it was the alpacas he was concerned about. Mr. Hunt's concern is about the alpacas also. And in spite of our Lord's words dividing *all mankind* into sheep and goats, he finds a distinct place for them in the world to come. The difficulty arises from mistaking the meaning of redemption. One is redeemed or not redeemed. If redeemed, then wholly redeemed and accepted in the beloved, presented without spot unto God. It is really not beyond Christ's power to do it. 'Now unto Him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.'

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THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HEBREWS. BY THE REV. EDWARD DAY. (*Nimmo*. Crown 8vo, pp. 263. 5s. net.)

The first volume of 'The Semitic Series' being by Professor Sayce, it was not clear whether

modern criticism would be recognized or resisted. The second volume makes it clear. Mr. Day works over his subject after giving hearty welcome to critical results. He is as doubtful about the Deuteronomist and as determined against the Chronicles as a Kittel or a Kautzsch. His book is therefore wholly different from other popular books on Hebrew life and custom which are in our hands. Indeed, no better idea could be had of the difference historical criticism has made than by comparing this book with Kitto. There are whole chapters here, like the one on the Clan, that had not risen above Kitto's horizon. And as to order, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Kitto's last is here first, and his first last. Mr. Day writes confidently and in language that is curiously modern. David is a sheikh; Abigail 'the comely, wise, and efficient wife of an old churl.' But it is a vivid picture, and we thank him for it.

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THE EVANGELICAL SCHOOL IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. BY H. C. G. MOULE, D.D. (*Nisbet*. Small crown 8vo, pp. 126. 2s.)

The opening of the century gave occasion for the publication in the *Record* of the papers here gathered together. They tell the story of evangelical life in the Church of England during the nineteenth century. It is only a sketch, but it is by a master's hand. No touch is ineffective, for no word is unsympathetic. When Dr. Moule comes to look forward to the century that lies in front he does so in 'humble hope.' There are many hindrances to evangelical life, but he hopes that evangelicalism is greater than any party and will yet be the salvation of England.

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Messrs. Nisbet have published a volume of *Family Prayers* for four weeks, morning and evening (2s. 6d.). There is no great distinction about the prayers, and that is perhaps as it ought to be. Each of them ends with the Lord's Prayer.

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Mr. Nutt has begun to publish translations of certain German monographs on 'the Ancient East.' The first is by Professor Wiedemann on *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead* (16mo, pp. 68, 6d. net, in paper covers). The start is auspicious. Wiedemann is lucid and authoritative. And the

translation, which is by Miss J. Hutchison, is spirited. One thing only might have been done for improvement. Headings to the numerous sections would have cost little and been worth much.

#### A HANDBOOK TO OLD TESTAMENT HEBREW.

By S. G. GREEN, D.D. (*R.T.S.* 8vo, pp. 332. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. A. B. Davidson's grammar remains unsurpassed, but many have endeavoured to provide books for beginners in Hebrew containing more exercises or reading lessons. Of these this is the greatest. There is space for practice enough, and the space seems to be always well used. The order of easy to difficult, so hard to maintain in Hebrew grammar, is here heroically held to. And abundant examples make every step a steady stepping-stone. The book is large and the price is consequently a little prohibitive, but surely a working knowledge of Hebrew is worth the money as well as the pains.

*Fruitful or Fruitless*—it is a good title. For it carries within it the solution of all theological controversies, the test of all religious life. It is the title of 'a Book of First Meditations,' written by Canon Hoare, and published by the Religious Tract Society.

#### THE MINOR FESTIVALS OF THE ANGLICAN CALENDAR.

By W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A. (*Rivingtons.* Crown 8vo, pp. 477. 6s. net.)

In certain obscure corners of the Book of Common Prayer there are certain obscure names. Who are they and why are they there? To answer both questions Mr. Simpson has written his book. First he tells enough of the history of the Book of Common Prayer to show why these names are there. And then he gives a short reverential history of the persons whose names they are. So we have brief biographies of S. Lucian, S. Chad, S. Alphege, S. Swithun, S. Crispin, S. Lucy, and many more. And at the end we have the list of books from which the biographies have been gathered.

#### THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By THE REV. LEIGHTON PULLAN. (*Rivingtons.* Crown 8vo, pp. 300. 4s. 6d. net.)

For those who wish to know about the authorship and date of the books of the New Testament,

who wish to begin at the beginning, who wish to retrace none of their steps, this is the book. Relying on Sanday's and on Turner's work in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, Mr. Pullan has not been ashamed to write for the uninitiated, he has not been afraid to write clearly and confidently. His book is for students, but it has no dry examiner's look about it. The style is good, the language picturesque. In the work that lies before us of showing that the foundations of the faith are laid upon the rock of historical fact, this welcome book should take a responsible place.

Messrs. Rivingtons have published *A Manual for Confirmation*, by the Rev. T. Field, D.D. (pp. 112, 1s.), as one of their 'Oxford Church Text-Books.' It is a book from which one may learn to take an exalted view of Confirmation, or whatever its equivalent may be called. There is no lowering of the flag here. There is no opening left for any substitute in place of right living.

### Atonement and Personality.<sup>1</sup>

THE Scottish mind is credited with a natural affection for *metaphysics*. Add to that a comfortable training in theology, and then the Scotsman is fairly ready for the battle of life. Then when he condescends to read a theological treatise by a mere Englishman, he is always mightily astonished that things which have been familiar to himself since boyhood are only dawning on the Englishman's intelligence, and are evidently being regarded as wonderful discoveries of the mind.

Canon Moberly is an Englishman. He has written a large volume on Atonement and Personality. The Atonement has been the Scotsman's favourite study for generations, and if a Scotsman takes to the reading of Canon Moberly's book, he will find nothing new. He will find everything modern enough, or rather he will find a curious mixture of the very ancient and the very modern.

<sup>1</sup> *Atonement and Personality.* By R. C. Moberly, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. John Murray. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 418, 14s.



And he will say that if Canon Moberly knew less of the Fathers and more of the Reformation theology, he would not have spent his time in saying things about the Atonement which have been so often and so admirably said before.

But with Personality it is different. Here the Englishman is on his own ground, the Scotsman is not seen. The discussion of Personality, at least as it applies to the Lord Jesus Christ, is very far from new certainly. But in its present phase it is both new and eminently English. And Canon Moberly has made it a special and prolonged study. Here the most omniscient Scot will find good reading. It is not that many sure results are obtained. Perhaps it is rather that old results are disturbed. But at least new possibilities are opened up for thought and for reverence. Especially is this the case in the discussion upon the Holy Spirit. Canon Moberly rightly says that most religious people simply give the Holy Spirit the go-by. They can scarcely be said to have so much as heard that there is a Holy Spirit. Canon Moberly does little to make the doctrine accessible to the ordinary mind; but he discusses it with ability, he closes some doors and opens others, and he enables us to see above all other

things how absurd it is to detach the Holy Spirit from Christ.

In the whole discussion of Personality Dr. Moberly is at home and happy, and it is enough to make his book a welcome book. It is a new subject in popular theology. Till Mr. Illingworth wrote, it was scarcely recognized in theological manuals. Dr. Moberly has fixed its place for at least a generation in all theological thought and writing.

To return for a moment to the Atonement. Canon Moberly has added to his book a long supplementary chapter on 'The Atonement in History.' The living modern interest which runs through the whole volume does not desert this chapter. One feels indeed that what should be said about it generally, is that it is extremely interesting rather than extremely valuable. It is astonishing that there is no reference to the greatest book of recent times on the subject, Scott Lidgett's *Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*. It is more astonishing that Canon Moberly passes with a bound from Abelard to Maurice. But the limitations of the book as well as its excellences are reflected in this chapter. And it cannot be said either that Dr. Moberly seeks to hide its limitations or that he deliberately despises what he does not know.

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## Contributions and Comments.

### Mr. Moffatt on Apologetics in Criticism.

You spoke in the last number of Mr. Moffatt's *Historical New Testament* in terms of deserved praise. We all hail with pleasure the accession of so able a writer to the ranks of serious students of theology. His book is no doubt a valuable one, and will advance the cause of theological learning.

I am not sure that for myself I care very much for the new translation. I fail to see that it was needed or that much is gained by printing at length the whole text of the New Testament. To study the Books in chronological order would only mean turning over a few pages at a time of our existing Bibles. It also seems to me that

Mr. Moffatt writes as if his principle were more novel than it really is. As far back as Conybeare and Howson we had St. Paul's Epistles arranged in the order in which they fell in the chronology of the apostle's life. And Dean Farrar did the same thing not only in his *Life of St. Paul*, but also in his *Early Days of Christianity*. Besides this there must have been many theological teachers who for years past have made a point of pursuing this order of study with their pupils. At the same time the principle is of course really important, and it will be more firmly established by Mr. Moffatt's vigorous advocacy.

However, the light in which I suppose that Mr. Moffatt's book will be most generally regarded will be mainly that of what is commonly called an Introduction to the study of the New Testa-

ment. It can quite well rest its claims upon that ground. It represents wide reading, which is yet well under control, strong and independent judgment, along with clear and able presentation.

My reason for troubling you with this letter is not that I desire to call in question any of the merits that others have seen in Mr. Moffatt's work. On the contrary, I should wish to add my own cordial testimony to them. Nor should I do this, if the point that I am about to raise were merely personal. But I think that the time has come when a few words on the point in question may be of public advantage.

The clear-cut impression which Mr. Moffatt's book gives is partly due to the readiness and decision with which he distributes critical epithets on the work of his predecessors. He does this quite without fear, though I could not so unreservedly say without favour or disfavour. The lines on which his partialities run are sufficiently apparent. But what I demur to, and wish to enter a remonstrance against, is the tendency which he shares with a few, chiefly of the younger and more assertive German writers, to set down every argument that happens to tell in favour of tradition to apologetic motives. 'The whirligig of Time brings about its revenges' sometimes in strange fashion. The keenness which some writers display in scenting out apologetics reminds one of the Grand Inquisitor in his search for heresy. It perhaps naturally happens that the victims are sometimes innocent, or at least think themselves so.

I should like the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES to judge whether this is not the case in an instance which affects myself. In a conspicuous place, towards the end of his Prolegomena, Mr. Moffatt writes as follows:—

'Indeed, its excellence [that of the New Testament literature] becomes visible and intelligible only as the forms in which it has been preserved are allowed to pass the test imposed by the ordinary canons of historical and literary science when these are fairly applied; any attempt to preclude this analysis as irrelevant or dangerous must be firmly set aside. Such attempts read more or less into the literature: they do not read it for itself. A concern to establish the historicity and continuity of the faith is praiseworthy; but when it assumes the advocate's garb and intrudes upon the study of early Christian literature, it is apt

to bring a leprosy of incompetence which taints even work that is professedly written upon critical principles (cp. 'International Critical Commentaries,' *Romans*, p. xli, *Luke*, p. v).'

For the first of the two incriminated passages I am responsible; for the second, my friend, Dr. Plummer. The language used in respect to them is strong, unpleasantly strong,—so much so, indeed, that I am inclined to ask whether the first question is not really one not so much of criticism as of good manners. The reader shall judge. But I should like him also to see the passage to which exception is taken. I suppose the reference must be to the first of the two paragraphs on p. xli.

'The apostle had some real knowledge of the state of the Church to which he was writing. Here we see the importance of his connexion with Aquila and Prisca. His intercourse with them would probably give the first impulse to that wish which he tells us that he had entertained for many years to visit Rome in person. When first he met them at Corinth they were newly arrived from the capital; he would hear from them of the state of things they left behind them; and a spark would be enough to fire his imagination at the prospect of winning a foothold for Christ and the Gospel in the seat of empire itself. We may well believe—if the speculations about Prisca are valid, and even without drawing upon these—that the two wanderers would keep up communication with the Christians of their home. And now, very probably at the instance of the apostle, they had returned to prepare the way for his coming. *We cannot afford to lose* so valuable a link between St. Paul and the Church he had set his heart on visiting. Two of his most trusted friends are now on the spot, and they would not fail to report all that it was essential to the apostle to know. He may have had other correspondents besides, but they would be the chief. To this source we may look for what there is of local colour in the Epistle. If the argument is addressed now to Gentiles by birth and now to Jews; if we catch a glimpse of parties in the Church, "the strong" and "the weak"; if there is a hint of danger threatening the peace and the faith of the community (as in chap. 16<sup>17-20</sup>)—it is from his friends in Rome that the apostle draws his knowledge of the conditions with which he is dealing.'

I am conscious of being rather in the dark,



but I imagine that it must be the unlucky words italicised that serve to stamp this paragraph with the 'leprosy of incompetence,' though they are quite harmless, at least in intention.

The state of the case is this. My colleague and I were of opinion that chap. 16 was an integral part of the Epistle to the Romans; Mr. Moffatt thinks that the greater part of it was originally a Note addressed to Ephesus. And I suppose he suspects me of inventing, or at least using, speculations about Prisca and Aquila to bolster up an untenable tradition. If he does think this, he is mistaken. So far as the tradition is concerned, I consider myself perfectly free to accept or reject it strictly according to the evidence. The question as to the integrity of the Epistle to the Romans I regard as a literary problem in no way different from what a like problem might be if we were dealing with the Letters of Seneca. Certain phenomena in the Epistle require an explanation. We need to know how St. Paul came to have such acquaintance as he has with the internal condition of the Church at Rome. The mention of Prisca and Aquila suggests a possible means of explaining this. For that purpose we put it forward, and for no other. If chap. 16<sup>1-16</sup> were not part of the Epistle, the case would not be very different. We should still have to find some channel of communication with the Church at Rome; and if it were not supplied by Prisca and Aquila, it would have to be supplied by someone else in a position like theirs. The case was argued in our commentary strictly on its merits; and I do not think that Mr. Moffatt can produce anything inconsistent with this.

Of course we may be wrong. I quite allow that there is a case of considerable strength on the other side. Mr. Moffatt has stated this case very forcibly; and I fully intend to give to his statement the best consideration I can. The conclusion to which we came might be described as provisional. I should not consider myself debarred by it from changing my opinion if the balance of argument or of evidence seemed to be really altered. On questions like these it is largely a matter of mental idiosyncrasy. One mind sees one set of difficulties more strongly than another. That is all. But I cannot allow that the imputations made against us are in any degree justified.

The same thing appears to me to hold in regard to the reference to Dr. Plummer. Page v of his Preface is taken up with a harmless enumeration of the sources from which he has drawn his illustrations. What can be found to take exception to in this I cannot conceive.

A fate seems to pursue Mr. Moffatt's references in this part of his Prolegomena—or at least my opportunities for verifying them. On p. 71 a hardly less injurious charge is made against Canon Gore and Dr. Driver. I have the Preface to the tenth edition of *Lux Mundi*, to which there are two references; and neither of these seems really to the point. The rest of the work I have only in the original edition; so that the two references which follow may be out of place. The sixth edition of Dr. Driver's *Introduction* marks the pages of the older edition; but there again I fail to find anything relevant.

Mr. Moffatt speaks of those 'who, conceding the rights of criticism within the province of the O.T., decline to admit the legitimacy of similar historical research in the N.T. literature, upon the ground either that the latter collection possesses certain qualities of finality and authority which exempt it from being judged by the canons of ordinary treatment, or that it was "produced under very different historical conditions."'

Here two things are combined together that are on a very different footing. I am not aware that either Canon Gore or Dr. Driver has ever sought to preclude the criticism of the N.T. on the ground that it 'possesses certain qualities of finality and authority which exempt it from being judged by the canons of ordinary treatment.' I cannot conceive that either of them would do so. But it is another thing to say that the N.T. 'was produced under very different historical conditions' from the O.T. This is a proposition that is not only exceedingly true, but it is one that I very much wish that Mr. Moffatt would fully face both in its details and in the consequences that follow from it. As he is turning his attention to N.T. Introduction, it would be quite germane to his subject; and I should very much like to see the whole question thoroughly handled.

There would be two distinct branches to the inquiry: (1) the actual conditions under which the books were written, with reference to the methods of writing, editing, and preservation in use at the time; and (2) the circumstances of



transmission through which their texts have reached us.

I cannot easily imagine a greater service than to work out this inquiry in an adequate manner. I, for one, hold my judgment in suspense on many matters until it is concluded. Certain preliminary ideas connected with it are indeed the main barrier which separates a great part of Mr. Moffatt's position from my own.

There is not, so far as I know, any impassable gulf between us. Sometimes he seems to me too ready to assume that differences are greater than they are. Only one such difference in my case could be described as involving in any sense a question of principle; and that perhaps is not insuperable. I willingly acknowledge that all his opinions hang together with real logical cohesion. They form a distinct ledge or terrace on the slope of the hillside. I consider that mine are the ledge parallel to and next above his. If I should ever think it right to come down from this (and I do not in my own mind exclude the possibility), it is very much to his level that I should descend. If he is eager to make a convert he has the opportunity. But it would be wise policy on his part to learn to distinguish between a certain holding-back of judgment, which prefers the Scottish verdict 'Not proven,' until it is really convinced, and an obstinate prejudice, which refuses to allow any value to an opinion that differs from its own. And if he desires to save himself from the risk of misunderstanding and misrepresenting others, he will find it worth an effort to read what they write with a sufficient modicum of goodwill. W. SANDAY.

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## The Opening Verses of the Book of Ezekiel.

PROFESSOR BUDDE ended his instructive article (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, October 1900, p. 39 ff.) on the above subject with the words, 'Whether other solutions of the problem present fewer difficulties, is open to serious doubt.' Nevertheless, I venture to offer the following brief remarks on the point in question:—

1. The expression, 'in the thirtieth year' (v.<sup>1a</sup>), does *not* refer to the year of the prophet's *own* life. Budde's view that it does is not favoured by the

ויהי with which the book commences. This word, indeed, has given rise to such opinions as the following. Klostermann (*S.K.*, 1877, p. 408 ff.) held that Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> is the remnant of a preceding biography of Ezekiel; Budde (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1892, p. 41) pronounced ויהי the sign of an 'undoubted damage' to the text; while Merx (*Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1883, p. 73) suggested that Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> is a note which originally stood at the end of the book and was afterwards placed at its beginning. But ויהי does not necessitate the supposition that a portion of the book has been lost. In judging of this expression, one has overlooked the words, 'and it came to pass in the days of Xerxes,' with which the Book of Esther commences. This ויהי, therefore, not merely introduces writings which are the continuation of another book (cf. Jos 1<sup>1</sup>, Jg 1<sup>1</sup>, etc.), but was used as a favourite commencement of their narratives by Hebrew writers, who were in general inclined to give a copulative connexion to their sentences. Hence its presence in Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> does not support the view that this verse is the remnant of a biography of the prophet. Moreover, if such a biography had gone before, we should scarcely have expected the note, 'and I found myself among the exiles, by the river Chebar' (v.<sup>1a</sup>). From this source, then, *no support* is lent to the opinion that in v.<sup>1</sup> we have an indication of the year of the prophet's life. On the other hand, that opinion is *opposed by more than one circumstance*. (a) It would remain unexplained why precisely *that* element of the text got lost upon which the understanding of the text was absolutely dependent. We cannot therefore assume, with Budde, that לחי ('of my life') has dropped out after 'in the thirtieth year.' (b) There is not the slightest shade of probability that the statement of the year of the *prophet's life* would have been followed by that of the particular month and the day. Such procedure on the part of Ezekiel would actually have tended to confuse his readers, who must have inferred, from the mention of the month and the day, that a *known* method of reckoning the months was in view. Had the prophet's birthday been previously mentioned, or was it so well known that the reader could reckon from that day to the fourth month? It is a pity that at least now this knowledge of Ezekiel's birthday has been lost.

2. The certainty of the preceding negative thesis is *not* affected by the difficulty of discover-

ing an era that will suit the expression 'in the thirtieth year.' At the same time, however, such a discovery cannot be pronounced impossible. (a) There is not, indeed, the smallest likelihood that this era had its starting-point in the year 622 B.C., when the book of the law was found in the temple (2 K 22<sup>8</sup>); although the Targum on Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> remarked long ago, 'in the year 30 from the time when the high priest Hilkiyah found the book of the law.' There is no (other) trace whatever of any system of reckoning from the year 622. (b) But the era which Ezekiel has in view as the starting-point of his thirty years may be the year (625 B.C.) of Nabopolassar's accession to the throne of Babylon. The prophet, who lived in Babylon, could assume that this era was familiar to his readers. Do we not similarly read in Neh 1<sup>1</sup>, 'And it came to pass in the month Chislev of the year 20,' where the narrator assumes it to be known that he reckons the years from the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes I. (465-424)? Again, was it not natural that the *first* date in Ezekiel's book should correspond with the publicly recognized system of reckoning? In this way the personal dates in other parts of the book (8<sup>1</sup>, etc.) were *connected* with an objective fixed point. To be sure, if we go thirty years forwards from 625 B.C., we come only to 595, and yet it is added in v.<sup>2</sup> that this thirtieth year was identical with the fifth year of the deportation of king Jehoiachin. The latter event is usually assigned to the year 597, so that the fifth year of the deportation would be 593 B.C.. But I have previously (*Einleitung*, p. 270), on other grounds, fixed on the year 599 as that in which the deportation of Jehoiachin took place. If so, 595 is at once the thirtieth year of the 'era of Nabopolassar' and the fifth year of the deportation of Jehoiachin. (c) It is an untenable notion that the thirty years are to be reckoned from the beginning of the seventy years which Jeremiah (25<sup>11</sup> 29<sup>10</sup>) fixed as the duration of the exile. The basis of this notion is found in the circumstance that Ezekiel (4<sup>6</sup>) fixes the duration of the exile at forty years, whence a reader may have supposed that the beginning of the prophet's activity coincided with the thirtieth of those seventy years. It is to be regretted that Bertholet (*Kurzer Hdcom.*) should have given his approval to this explanation, which he attributes to Duhm. For these numbers 70 and 40 must have been regarded even by the exiles as so-called round numbers (cf. art.

'Numbers' in Hastings' *D.B.* vol. iii.), otherwise they could have been in no doubt about the end of the exile. Besides, this explanation of the thirty years rests upon the supposition that this date was first introduced into the text of Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> by a later hand. This leads to a third thesis—

3. It is not v.<sup>1</sup> that is the anonymous part of 1<sup>1-3</sup>. On the contrary, this verse exhibits not indistinctly Ezekiel's characteristic mode of expression. For the way of expressing the month and the day of the month which we find in v.<sup>1a</sup> is met with, as far as I have observed (*Syntax*, § 315a), only in Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, 18, Ezk 1<sup>1</sup> 8<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>1</sup> 29<sup>1</sup>, 17 30<sup>20</sup> 31<sup>1</sup> 33<sup>21</sup> 45<sup>18</sup>, Hag 2<sup>1</sup>. Hence v.<sup>1</sup> is not to be regarded as a secondary addition and to be struck out, as by Cornill in his *Ezekiel* (1886), p. 179. On the contrary, it is vv.<sup>2f.</sup> that deviate from Ezekiel's usual mode of expression. For he is accustomed to speak of himself in the first person (e.g. עשיתי, 24<sup>22a</sup>) except where the concurrence of the divine 'I' necessitates his exchanging his own 'I' for his name, as in 24<sup>24a</sup>. But in v.<sup>1</sup> this exchange would have taken place without that motive, if the verse came from the pen of Ezekiel himself.

4. Vv.<sup>2f.</sup> are a later expansion, and I am now inclined more than formerly to the opinion that this expansion is due to a later hand than that of Ezekiel himself.

5. V.<sup>3</sup> does *not* contain a modified form of the original *title* of the Book of Ezekiel. For, at least in my judgment, it would be quite incomprehensible why this title was moved out of its place. This difficulty attaching to his theory is frankly admitted by Budde. But was the Book of Ezekiel, then, from the first *without* a title? No; but the title might consist of the simple superscription יְחֶזְקִאל ('Ezekiel'). At least the detailed titles which meet us in Is 1<sup>1</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, etc., are rightly held by many scholars to be secondary additions. Arguments against the—absolute—originality of these detailed titles are found in the general use of the verb חזה (cf. ראה, Is 6<sup>1</sup>, etc.), in the employment of כִּי־נָא, Mal 1<sup>1</sup> (cf. Jer 23<sup>33ff.</sup>), and in the asyndetic succession of the names of the kings, Is 1<sup>1</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, Mic 1<sup>1</sup> (cf. my *Stilistik*, p. 216<sup>34</sup>).

Such are the five propositions which I beg to submit regarding the opening of the Book of Ezekiel. Let others judge whether they do not present fewer difficulties than the theory of my colleague, Professor Budde.

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ED. KÖNIG.



## Amos ii. 6 and vii. 6.

2<sup>6</sup>: על-מכרם בכסף צדק  
ואביון בעבור נעלים:

Because they sell the innocent for money,  
And the needy for the sake of a pair of shoes (sandals).

8<sup>6</sup>: לקנות בכסף דלים  
ואביון בעבור נעלים:

To buy the reduced for money,  
And the needy for the sake of a pair of shoes.

I. What is the force of the expression, '*for the sake of a pair of shoes*,' in these passages? It is usually assumed to mean 'for the sake of a mere trifle.' But the parallel expression, 'for money' (בכסף) in each case, hardly supports the view that the object contemplated in the second clause, was of trifling value.

Why then should the prophet have selected a *pair of shoes* in this connexion? It seems to me that the key to understanding the expression aright lies in the use of the '*shoe*' (נעל) as a conventional symbol in legal transactions. As is well known, '*to cast the shoe over anything*' was a recognized formality for taking possession of a thing (e.g. land); while, on the other hand, to take the shoe off and give it up was a symbol of renunciation of rights and possession; cf. Ru 4<sup>7</sup>, 'Now this was the custom in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning exchanging, for to confirm all things; a man drew off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour: and this was the manner of attestation in Israel.' In all probability the same custom is alluded to in Ps 60<sup>10</sup>, where the phrase, '*Over Edom will I cast my shoe*,' seems to be a metaphorical way of saying, '*I will take possession of Edom*' (see further on this subject, Benzinger, *Archäologie*, p. 348). The passages in Amos, then, which we are considering, may mean that the needy are wronged by the oppressor in order that the latter may secure not merely a worthless pair of shoes or their trifling intrinsic value, but what lay behind these symbols, namely, the goods and property, the possession of which would be formally renounced by the transfer of the shoes.

It should be remembered that during the period of Amos' prophetic activity oppression of the poor by the rich was rife, and one of the commonest forms it took was that of land-grabbing. The small landholder was gradually squeezed out of the land. Compare the striking denunciation of

this evil by a younger contemporary of Amos—Isaiah (chap. 5<sup>8</sup>): 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land!'

The age was a commercial one, and developed the characteristic vices of commercial civilization; there was a vast growth of urban at the expense of rural life; great wealth and great poverty existed side by side; bribery and corruption (especially of the judges) were rampant, and, as is always the case under such conditions, the poor were robbed and oppressed.<sup>1</sup>

II. It remains to determine the general reference of the two passages. To what class or classes does the prophet refer in 2<sup>6</sup>? Driver (Camb. Bible, *ad loc.*) makes one clause (the former) refer to the 'venal Israelitish judges,' who 'for a bribe, pronounced the innocent guilty,' while the final clause refers 'not, it seems, to the unjust judge, but to the hard-hearted creditor who, if his debtor could not pay the value of some trifling article, was forthwith sold by him into slavery (2 K 4<sup>1</sup>, Mt 18<sup>25</sup>).' This exegesis seems hardly satisfactory, assuming, as it does, a violent transition from one clause to the other, of which there is no indication in the original. Both clauses in the original are governed by a single verb (מכרם), and would naturally refer to one class of oppressors only. These very likely are the unjust judges (cf. esp. צִדִּיק, probably used here in a forensic not an ethical sense, as Driver points out), who are willing to pervert justice not only for a direct bribe of money, but for the sake of more indirect but no less tempting prizes—the little property, landed or otherwise, which may be conveniently transferred by means of the poor man's shoes. Another advantage of this interpretation lies in its avoidance of the awkward zeugma ('sell' in two senses). 'Sell' in both clauses will thus be understood in a metaphorical sense, namely, as 'betray' or 'ruin.'

This explanation receives, it seems to the writer, a striking confirmation from the remarkable LXX reading in 1 S 12<sup>3</sup>, where for the M.T., וּמִיד מִי לָקַחְתִּי כֶּסֶף וְאֶעְלִים עֵינַי בּוֹ, 'Of whose hand have I taken a bribe to blind my eyes therewith,' we have in the Greek Version, ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς τίνος

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further Professor G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. i: chap. 3.



ἐλῆφα ἐξέλασμα καὶ ὑπόδημα; ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ κ.τ.λ., *i.e.* בִּי לַקַּחְתִּי כֶּפֶר וְנַעֲלָיִם עֲנֵי כִי, 'Of whose hand have I received a bribe (in money) or a pair of shoes? Testify against me,' etc. This reading is confirmed by Ecclus 46<sup>19</sup>, where Samuel is made to say, according to the original Hebrew text (ed. Cowley and Neubauer, p. 32): בּוֹפֵר וְנַעֲלָיִם מִ(מִּי לַקַּחְתִּי) 'From whom have I taken a bribe or a pair of shoes?' This is a plain allusion to the Samuel passage, and seems to prove that the reading נַעֲלָיִם, 'pair of shoes,' was current in the Hebrew text of 1 S 12<sup>3</sup> when Ben-Sira wrote.

On the interpretation given above, the expression would appear to be freed from difficulties in all the passages where it occurs.

In Am 8<sup>6</sup>, 'To buy the reduced for money, and the needy for the sake of a pair of shoes,' the reference (as the context shows) is not to corrupt judges, but to greedy and rapacious merchants. Here again the verb *to buy* (קָנָה) may be understood, in a metaphorical sense, as = to get into one's power (for a somewhat similar metaphorical use of קָנָה, but in a good sense, cf. Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Ps 74<sup>2</sup>).

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## Was it Bubonic Plague?

THE remarkable narrative in the fifth and sixth chapters of 1 Samuel seems to have been early felt to need explanation. Hence the additions to the text which we find in the LXX and the Vulgate. The difficulty was to account for the sudden reference in 6<sup>5</sup> to the 'mice that mar the land,' whereas in the earlier part of the story we are told only of a plague of 'emerods,' *i.e.* 'hemorrhoids.' To meet the difficulty, the quite gratuitous suggestion was made, and seems to have been generally accepted, that, contemporaneously with the plague of 'emerods,' there had been a devastation of the fields by field-mice.

But this is not convincing, and must always stand without corroboration.

What is wanted is an explanation which shall suggest itself as springing out of the known facts, and accounting in a natural way for what took place, without requiring any arbitrary addition to the narrative.

Residence in South China during several severe

visitations of 'bubonic plague,' and a visit to Bombay while it was at its height there, suggested to me an explanation which seems to meet the case. To one who has passed through this experience, the idea almost inevitably suggests itself that the Philistines suffered from an outbreak of bubonic plague, and that their offering consisted of golden models of the buboes which are its characteristic symptom, and of the rats which bear a very close relation to the diffusion of this deadly pestilence. I have since found that this explanation has occurred to others, and had been hinted at by Professor G. A. Smith in an 'Additional Note' appended to the second edition (1894) of his *Historical Geography of Palestine* (p. 670). But though the suggestion is not new, it is perhaps worth while to state the case a little more fully.

Let us look first at the text and the words employed. Of the words, the most important is עֲפָלִים, from עָפַל, 'to swell,' which in the older interpretation has been taken to mean 'hemorrhoids,' and by others has been translated by 'nates' and taken to refer to the part affected, the אָ being regarded as local rather than instrumental. The latter rendering arises from a misapplication of the meaning of the root, which is 'rounded,' or 'swelling.' Taking it in this sense, and giving אָ its common instrumental sense, we get the rendering in 5<sup>6</sup>, 'smote them with swellings,' or, as in R.V., 'with tumours.' (In A.V. the phrase, 'in their secret parts,' in 5<sup>6</sup> is an unauthorized addition, or conflate rendering. The precise position of the swellings is not specified in the text.) What is spoken of is, in short, a virulent and fatal disease accompanied with swellings. There can be no doubt that it was a disease closely akin to the plague which has long been endemic in certain spots, and has now for some years been epidemic in China and India, and has even reached the shores of Britain. Marked as it is by swellings of the glands in groin and armpit, it is known as 'bubonic plague,' so that Kautzsch's (or rather Kittel's) rendering here for עֲפָלִים, 'Pestbeule,' is doubtless strictly accurate.

There is a feature in 5<sup>12</sup> which further confirms this interpretation. It is there said that 'the men that died not were smitten with the tumours.' This does not mean only that all suffered from the disease, even if they escaped death. There may

be a more specific reference to the nature of the disease. In bubonic plague the buboes, or 'tumours,' do not always show themselves. In the majority of cases death occurs before their full development. If the patient survives till the buboes are fully developed, he has a fair chance of recovery. Sometimes the bubonic swelling has been lanced at this stage with good results. Hence it is specially true that those who do not die are in the fullest sense 'smitten with the tumours,'—even more so than those who die of the disease.

This word מִצְרַיִם occurs again in Dt 28<sup>27</sup>, where it is associated with the 'boil of Egypt.'

So far all is simple. But in 6<sup>4</sup> mention is suddenly made of 'mice,' with the additional note in 6<sup>5</sup>, 'mice that mar the land.' The translators of the LXX, followed by the Vulgate, and possibly following some Hebrew copies, seem to have felt this mention of 'mice' to be so abrupt as to need introduction and explanation. They therefore added in 6<sup>1</sup> the words, 'καὶ ἐξέζεσεν ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν μύας,' and in 6<sup>5</sup>, 'καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἀνεφύησαν μύες· καὶ ἐγένετο σύνχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει,' this last clause displacing the words in R.V., 'even Ashdod and the borders thereof.'

But any such explanation is wholly unnecessary, and the only difficulty is to understand how any early writer, copyist or translator, at all familiar with bubonic plague, should have thought it needful or admissible.

Hitzig recalls in this connexion (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 124, 125) the association of Apollo with plague, under the epithet 'Smintheus,' from σμίνθος, 'a mouse.'

Professor P. Smith (*Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, p. 43) rather hastily dismisses the idea of the mice symbolizing the pestilence, as an 'ingenious hypothesis' of Hitzig, although he notes that 'Wellhausen came to the same conclusion independently of Hitzig.' He even (p. 41) dismisses the mice altogether, rejecting, not only the additional details of the LXX, but also every reference to them in the Hebrew text. Somewhat overstraining the words of 6<sup>4</sup>, 'one plague was upon you all,' he declares that this could not have been said 'if the author had known that two plagues had been sent.'

But the duality complained of disappears if we think, not of a plague *and* a visitation of mice, but

of a 'rat plague,' as bubonic plague is commonly called in China now. The 'mice,' more properly, rats, cease to be an arbitrary addition to the story, and appear as an essential part of it. One is inclined to suggest that even the author of the 'additions' in the LXX text understood the situation thoroughly, and that only a mistaken interpretation of the moderns has led to the idea of a devastation of crops by mice in addition to the plague of boils. The words added in 5<sup>6</sup> may be readily understood of rats swarming in the country, perhaps because of an unusually mild season, and carrying death into the towns by bearing with them the seeds of pestilence out of the festering drains and channels by which they entered the homes of the crowded population.

In any case, and apart from the archæological lore, the association of the rat with bubonic plague is now perfectly familiar to millions of people in China and India. A Chinese literary graduate in my employment remarked to me one day, with a good deal of concern, that he had found a dead rat in his house. Shortly after he was absent from his work, and a day or two later a message came that he had died of plague. In Bombay two years ago those in charge of a girls' boarding school were in daily anxiety on account of the prevalence of plague in the neighbourhood. One day a dead rat was found in the house, and immediately, with the approval of the whole mission, the school was dismissed and the girls sent to their homes. Letters frequently come to hand from Chinese preachers saying that 'the rat plague has appeared here'; and requests are made for leave of absence in order to remove wife and children because 'the rats are dying in neighbouring houses.' Only to-day a Chinese Christian came to tell me that his wife, perfectly well at noon on Friday, had died at noon on Saturday. 'She had been quite well,' he said, 'but several rats had died in the house.'

This close association between rats and plague is not a mere matter of popular impression. It is now accepted as a cardinal fact in scientific measures for the prevention of the disease. Dr. Patrick Manson of London, one of the greatest living authorities on tropical diseases, strongly urges a vigorous effort to destroy the rats as of the first importance in efforts to prevent or abate visitations of plague in Oriental cities. The British Government in Hongkong, and govern-



ment officials in Japan, have offered rewards for the destruction of rats. Japanese doctors have even made efforts to exterminate them by inoculating a few rats with 'rat typhus,' and setting them free to spread the disease. Living among the garbage of filthy drains, and making their way readily from house to house, rats are at once the earliest victims and the most dangerous propagators of bubonic plague.

Granted, then, the plague buboes as the disease pointed at, the sudden mention of rats in 6<sup>4,5</sup> needs no explanation. To those familiar with these deadly epidemics, the figure of a rat at once explains itself as a most vivid and fitting symbol. And when we read of the 'mice that mar the land,' we do not need to explain the phrase as implying destruction of field produce and devouring of crops. The word *שׁוֹחֵט* can also mean to 'corrupt' or 'defile,' *i.e.* by spreading through it the deadly virus of plague, or desolating it by death.

The golden tumours and the golden 'mice,' or rather rats, are thus a complete and vivid picture of the plague in its causation and its effects, and the suggested dedication of these to the offended deity accords with all we know of primitive conceptions.

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## St. Paul's Equivalent for the Kingdom of God.

IN pointing out as he did lately in the *Journal of Theological Studies* the different styles of writing and distinct types of thought which the Gospels and Epistles show, Professor Sanday has done good service. For not content with noting the fact, he has gone on to ask whether the equivalents for cardinal expressions in the one may not be identified in fresh forms in the other. This is a most suggestive inquiry, and promises to be fruitful of results if it be pursued as Professor Sanday himself pursues it in one instance. The article referred to seeks the Pauline equivalent for the 'Kingdom of God' of the Gospels, and finds it in the 'Righteousness of God.' That this is true will be readily acknowledged by all who read this interesting study; but is it the whole truth? Professor Sanday will be the first to forgive an attempt to supplement his own solution by means of what is perhaps as important as anything, if a

full answer is to be given to the question he raises. The present article will be in no way opposed to his, but will aim at becoming its complement.

A study of the idea of the Kingdom of God in the Old Testament shows that the aspect always most prominent in Hebrew thought was that of a life of well-being to be realized in the security of God's protection, where obedience is gladly rendered to His laws, and the blessing of His presence is enjoyed. 'Happy is the people, that is in such a case: Happy is the people, whose God is the Lord.' When that ambition is fulfilled, God's Kingdom is come. There is little or no thought of the organized nationality, or body corporate; little or none of the abstract dominion of the Divine King. With a practical-mindedness which is characteristic of the Hebrew Scriptures, the emphasis is always laid on the life of well-being to be found where God reigns and His people are loyal to His rule. In illustration of this it will be enough to quote two instances:—Is 32 opens with the announcement, 'A King shall reign in righteousness,' and the description passes into one of a holy, happy people, the whole forming one of the most complete portraiture of the Messianic Kingdom. Again, Ps 22<sup>27</sup> looks forward to the day when 'All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee; for the Kingdom is the Lord's: and He is the Ruler over the nations.' And as evidence that the same point of view was preserved as time went on, a citation from the Psalms of Solomon may be added, 'They that fear the Lord rejoice in prosperity, and thy lovingkindness is upon Israel in Thy Kingdom. Blessed is the glory of the Lord, for He is our King' (5<sup>21</sup>).

This aspect of the life to be realized where intercourse between God and His people is close and constant, remains the primary aspect of the Kingdom in the Gospels. It is impossible to force on the expression as used in their pages the sense of an organization; and it is equally impossible to read it as if it meant merely the supremacy of God. It is the life of the Kingdom that is the real theme; the life that is only found where God reigns in righteousness and His servants rejoice in holiness before His face. Many of the parables are illustrations of this life. It is this life which comes 'without observation,' and already is 'at



hand.' The Kingdom 'is not of this world,' for the life of the world, and the life of the Kingdom are in direct contrast. And the expression, 'Enter into life' (Mt 18<sup>8, 9</sup> 19<sup>17</sup>; cf. 7<sup>13</sup>), is practically synonymous with 'Enter into the Kingdom' (e.g. Mt 5<sup>20</sup> 7<sup>21</sup> 19<sup>23</sup>); while the two meet in Jn 3<sup>5</sup>. The idea of the Kingdom of God becomes indeed far more spiritual in the Gospels than in the Old Testament, but to the last the fundamental point in it remains the same, namely, the life to be realized by a people living in allegiance to God and in the blessing of His presence. The Apocalypse well expresses the spiritual faith in the old Hebrew figures when it portrays God's Kingdom victorious over all its enemies—'A voice came forth from the throne, saying, Give praise to our God, all ye His servants, ye that fear Him, the small and the great. And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Hallelujah: for the Lord our God, the Almighty, reigneth. Let us rejoice and be exceeding glad, and let us give the glory unto Him' (19<sup>6</sup>).

Now it is from this point of view that St. Paul regarded the Kingdom of God. It is obvious that, on one side, the Righteousness of God, as St. Paul uses the term, expresses the life of the Kingdom. But it is characteristic of the apostle that he develops the idea upon another side. More than any other writer in the N.T. he appreciates that the life of the Kingdom is no growth of an earthly soil, but the originating inspiration of a new creation. St. John indeed fully grasped his Master's teaching that one must be begotten from above or one cannot enter the Kingdom, and so he often urges that 'everyone that loveth is begotten of God.' But St. Paul's attention is fixed less on the individual, less on the origin of the new life, and more upon its actual manifestations in the new *race* which Christ has created, the true Israel of God. God's people are endowed with a life which is not the life of all men; it is a life breathed into them from above: it dwells in them, and is the fountain of their powers and graces: it is a *πνεῦμα* wherein they share one and all, and yet it is but one *πνεῦμα* for them all, and none can live to himself, because the life of each is realized in the life of all. It thus comes to pass that St. Paul uses the term *πνεῦμα* in a way in which it is hardly used by any other writer,

making it equivalent in sense to 'the life of the Kingdom of God.'

It is well to observe that the term *πνεῦμα* lent itself naturally to such use. As Lightfoot says:<sup>1</sup> 'Substantives in *-μα* formed from the perfect passive appear always to have a passive sense. They may denote an abstract notion or a concrete thing; they may signify the action itself regarded as complete, or the product of the action; but in any case they give the *result* of the agency involved in the corresponding verb. . . . In many cases the same word will have two meanings, both, however, passive; . . . e.g. *ἄρπαγμα*, the "robbery" or the "booty." . . . But in all cases the word is strictly passive; it describes that which might have stood after the active verb, either as the direct object, or as the cognate notion.' The earliest use of *πνεῦμα* illustrates this well, *πνεύματα ἀνεμῶν* (Herod.), meaning 'breaths of wind.' By a figure common to many languages (cf. *spiro*, *spiritus*) the 'breath' was made to stand for the life, and later for its inmost principle; but the word continued to serve for the twofold purpose of expressing the process of breathing and the air breathed, and later for the living being or spirit and for an inspiration received. Even in its highest employment it retains its original colour, so that *τὸ πνεῦμα* represents not God in His absolute being, but the manifested activity of the Living God. The Deity is perceived from a human standpoint, in virtue of man's experience of the Divine activity; and *πνεῦμα* is either the Divine Agency, the Spirit, or the result of Divine agency, inspiration. In the latter sense it is often plural, *πνεύματα*, 'gifts of inspiration,' or 'faculties' received from the hands of God as occasion may require, or as He bestows them upon one person or another. But it is used no less in the singular, particularly by St. Paul, when it means that continuous bestowal of life and power upon the people of God, which may take various forms under varying circumstances, but which is yet essentially one endowment from all the sons of the second Adam, and is in fact the continuation of the Incarnation. 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same Divine Life' immanent in the whole company of believers; 'To each one is given the manifestation of the Divine Life for the commonweal'; 'All these gifts and powers the one and the same Divine Life generates' (*ἐνεργεῖ*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Coloss.* p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Co 12<sup>4, 7, 11</sup>.

To find any adequate rendering of *πνεῦμα* in this sense is by no means easy. A good deal is lost in the English versions by translating it constantly by 'spirit.' In the majority of cases the word is better rendered by 'inspiration': but in a whole group of passages in St. Paul this also is inadequate, and the sense would really be better brought out if one were to employ the paraphrase 'the Life of the Kingdom of God.' Some few of these may be quoted in illustration of this, and as helping to show that the real equivalent for the Kingdom in St. Paul's writings is often to be found in *πνεῦμα* or *τὸ πνεῦμα* as expressing the life realized under God's sovereignty and in His presence among His people. Such are the following:—

'Now the Lord is the Life of the Kingdom; and where the Life of the Kingdom of the Lord is, there is liberty' (2 Co 3<sup>17</sup>).

'Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Life of the Kingdom of His Son into our hearts' (Gal 4<sup>6</sup>).

'The flesh [*i.e.* the lower life natural to us in and of the world] lusteth against the Life of the Kingdom [*i.e.* the higher life into which we are initiated as members of God's Kingdom], and the Life of the Kingdom against the flesh. . . . Now the works of the flesh are . . . such like: . . . they which practise such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Life of the Kingdom is love, joy, peace,' etc. (Gal 5<sup>17-22</sup>). With this compare the very close parallel, 'The Kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Life inspired' (Ro 14<sup>17</sup>).

'There is one Body, and one Life of God's Kingdom' (Eph 4<sup>4</sup>).

'If there is any fellowship in the Life of the Kingdom' (Ph 2<sup>1</sup>).

'Born after the flesh . . . after the Life of the Kingdom of God' (Gal 4<sup>29</sup>); which is a Pauline paraphrase of 'Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the Kingdom of God' (Jn 3<sup>3</sup>).

Other instances might easily be added.<sup>1</sup> The point to be observed is that while *πνεῦμα* very commonly means an inspiration of life or power given, both in St. Paul's writings and elsewhere, it is characteristic of him to think of this bestowal of a life above man's natural life as being made not only from time to time, and to this or that

person, but as being a constant endowment of the new humanity which Christ created and which is attained in the society of His followers. It is an environment no less than an impulse for each individual; for the Christ did not come to save individuals in isolation, but to proclaim the salvation of all in the Kingdom of God, in the Life of which the lives of its several members find their fuller realization. And it is this larger Life of the whole on which St. Paul's mind is intent, when his Master's message of the Kingdom recurs to his thoughts.

To work out the results of this line of thought upon the old question of the relationship between the Kingdom of God and the Church might repay one, but to do so would be out of place here. It is enough to notice now that the organized community was never a prominent idea in the Kingdom, and that it became even less so as time went on, and God's purposes were made clearer. This is a suggestive fact. If we are to keep in touch with the prophets, with the Lord Jesus, and with His apostles, we must think of the Kingdom not as an organization, but mainly as a Life that springs in the sunshine of God's presence; in short, as a common inspiration.

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### Note on John xx. 29.

THE notes in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for April on Latham's *The Risen Master* suggest another minute personal touch in this verse. John had believed before he saw the Lord (Jn 20<sup>8</sup>). Can we not imagine that when the Master said, 'Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed,' He cast a look on John which made him know that that saying was the reward of his faith? With that exquisite reserve which always characterizes his references to himself, John simply records this without even a hint that it was meant for him. But he knew and understood. It may be noted that this exposition is more consistent with the use of the aorist principles—literally, 'Blessed are they that did not see and yet believed.'

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

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<sup>1</sup> Ac 5<sup>20</sup> affords an extra-Pauline instance that is striking.



## Ezekiel's Priests and Levites— A Disclaimer.

IN his criticism of my *Sacerdoce lévitique* last month, Dr. König appears to have misunderstood a certain passage, and attributes to me a meaning which I did not intend to express. I must, accordingly, beg that the Editor will do me the favour to place before the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES the original words of the passage in question (p. 193 f.)—

Le discours d'Ezéchiël suppose donc, tout au moins en théorie, l'existence de deux catégories bien distinctes de ministres du culte au sein de la tribu de Lévi; l'une comprenant les lévites auxquels les emplois inférieurs revenaient de droit; l'autre comprenant ceux qui, de droit, n'étaient point astreints à ces emplois, *puisque* [= 'since,' not 'because'] l'obligation de les exercer désormais constituait pour eux une déchéance et un châtement.

In answer to Dr. König's remarks on p. 300<sup>b</sup> f. I have only to point out that, according to the requirements of French syntax, the particle *désormais* attaches itself to the word *exercer* and not to *constituait*.

A. VAN HOONACKER.

Louvain.

## Elijah the Tishbite.

THE great prophet Elijah is called in 1 K 17<sup>1</sup> 21<sup>17, 28</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>8, 8</sup> 9<sup>36</sup> 'the Tishbite,' a designation which must have been due to his having sprung from a place or a family named *Thisbe*. There is no family of this name mentioned in the O.T., and it could scarcely have been passed over in silence if the term 'the Tishbite' was intended to set forth its existence as well known. Hence we must think of a place of this name. There was one such in the territory of Naphtali, for it is said of Tobit that he was ἐκ Θέσβης, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐκ δεξιῶν Κυδίας τῆς Νεφθαλείμ (To 1<sup>2</sup>). But the Heb. words מְחֻשֵׁבִי גִלְעָד must contain the name of a locality in Gilead, for Elijah could not be called 'the Tishbite' because he belonged 'to the settlers of Gilead.' This interpretation of the Massoretes is one of despair. The Targum felt this long ago, and read גִּלְעָד מְחֻשֵׁבִי מְחֻשֵׁבִי, i.e. 'who was of Toshab [Levy, *Targumwörterb.* ii. p. 564, mentions

also the form תְּשֻׁב, *Teshúb*], and belonged to the settlers of Gilead'; and D. Kimchi (*Comm.* on 1 K 17<sup>1</sup>) explained this in these words: 'Elijah was originally from a city whose name was Tosháb, and he settled afterwards in Gilead' (מְעִיר שְׁמָהּ). This view stands self-condemned, for it leaves the title *h-tishbí* unexplained, a title which must have been correctly transmitted, seeing that all the sources are at one in expressing it in spite of their differences in regard to the following Hebrew words. The only correct conclusion is that there was a place Thisbe in Gilead. This was recognized also by the Greek translator in the letters ΜΑΨΒΙ, as is evident from the ἐκ Θεσβῶν of BA or Θεσσεβῶν of Lucian; and Josephus adopted the same view, tracing, as he does, the origin of Elijah ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβώνης τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος χώρας (*Ant.* viii. 13. 2).

The name of this place passed unrecognized because it ended with a י instead of a ה. This strange י must have been present in the text that lay before the Greek translators, as the plural forms Θεσβῶν or Θεσσεβῶν show; but so far as I know, the י has never hitherto been explained. All the more recent grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries I have consulted are silent about it. Hence I should like to put forward the following explanation. It appears to me that this place-name belongs to the category of words which have retained the third radical consonant ז (z) in their spelling. This group consists of the following:—שָׂדֵי, *sadai* (Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, etc.), the archaic form of the word *sadeh*, 'field'; שָׁמַיִם, 'heaven' (cf. my *Lehrgeb.* ii. 76, 516<sup>1</sup>); מִצְרַיִם, Ps 140<sup>9</sup> (so pronounced by D. Kimchi in his *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, fol. 164<sup>b</sup>); עָלִי, עָרִי, אֵלִי (cf. the discussion of these three prepositions in my *Lehrgeb.* ii. 309 f.); and the name תְּשֻׁבִי, derived from the verb שָׁבִי, might readily join this group because proper names naturally incline to retain older forms. This last remark is illustrated by the circumstance that the ancient form of the feminine ending (at) is retained far more frequently in proper names than in generic words (cf. אֶחָת, etc., as enumerated in my *Lehrgeb.* ii. 424 f.). The same phenomenon may be observed in comparing the personal name חִזִּי (2 Ch 33<sup>19</sup>) with the *nomen appellativum* חִזְיָה.

ED. KÖNIG.

Bonn.



### A New Work on South Arabia.

THERE has just been published (by the firm of Brill in Leiden) a book of nearly 800 pages, entitled *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, vol. i., 'Hadramôut.' Its author is Graf Dr. Carlo Landberg, well known as the first authority on the Arabic vulgar dialects. Reserving for a future occasion a more detailed account of this extremely important work, we would for the present simply point out that both the text (specimens of the Hadramitic language, in poetry

and prose, accompanied by a full commentary [pp. 1-515]) and the lexicon appended [pp. 517-741] contain a rich mass of information for the study of Hebrew words. It turns out that the modern dialect, hitherto almost unknown, of the ancient incense country, Hadramaut, has retained words which occur elsewhere with the same sense only in ancient Semitic languages such as Bab-Assyrian or Hebrew. On this account, apart from any other, the study of the above work may be most warmly commended to every Hebraist.

Munich.

Fritz Hommel.

## Entre Nous.

'FOR even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table.' The word is *κύματα*, 'the household dogs.' On which the Rev. A. C. Mackenzie, M.A., of Dundee, sends the following illustration:—

'In the April number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, the Rev. David Smith, M.A., puts in a suggestive and ingenious plea (much needed in the case) for the humanities concealed by the apparent inhumanity of the saying of Jesus to the Syro-Phœnician woman. Mr. Smith lays stress, not unduly, on the diminutive. In further illustration may I relate an experience. Some years ago I was on holiday in a parish in the Highlands of Scotland, where the collie is regarded almost as one of the family. In the absence of the minister, I was called to visit the sick mother of a large family of young boys. She was a distant relative of the family with whom I lodged, and the collie of the house, with which I had formed a friendship, followed me. The boys knew the collie (a fine specimen of his kind, full of fun and gentleness), and in a few minutes they were rolling and tumbling about the hearth, welcoming him as an old friend. It was summer twilight, and the boys were half-undressed. The log fire threw fitful gleams of light over their rounded and bronzed limbs, reminding one of a canvas of Murillo's. I remarked to the mother, "Your boys are very good-natured." In the soft accent of the place, still more enfeebled by illness, she said, "O yes, *they're just like doggies*." One has only to be ignorant of what the collie is to a Highland family, and to sever this saying from its tone and surroundings, to make it into a very harsh saying indeed.

*In situ*, its humanity is the one thing about it that is most striking. The common sense of most N.T. readers has supplied the corrective which Mr. Smith's scholarly investigations have brought to bear upon a saying which, ignorantly or prosaically read, creates, as he says, a feeling of dismay.'

Canon Lister and the Rev. T. S. Dickson point out that, in the adoption of Mr. Beard's theory regarding the linen cloths and the napkin, Mr. Latham has been anticipated by Mr. R. M. Benson, who welcomes it in an elaborate note in the fourth volume of his *Final Passover*. In Canon Armitage Robinson's new volume of sermons, entitled *Unity in Christ* (Macmillan), the same explanation is given, evidently without any knowledge of Mr. Beard, Mr. Benson, or Mr. Latham, but from a scholar's study of the apostle's language. 'No human hands,' says Dr. Robinson, 'unwound the linen cloths in which the body had been swathed. Rather, it seemed, that they were undisturbed, and simply left an empty shell, as the resurrection change released the body from its material limitations and gave it a new spiritual freedom. Even the napkin that was about His head and face was not unfolded, but was rolled up as before, though it had fallen on one side.' The last remark is not in keeping with Mr. Beard, who held that the napkin still lay unmoved on its ledge, the head having simply left it. The rest is remarkably close.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

'I HAD a long talk,' wrote the Principal of an English Theological College, 'with Dr. So-and-so' (naming the distinguished occupant of a Scottish Theological Chair); 'it turned chiefly on the dearth of students of theology.' With the same post came the April issue of the *Biblical World* of America. Its first article, for which the editors—the Professors of Theology in the University of Chicago—are jointly responsible, is entitled 'The Decrease in the Number of Theological Students.'

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'According to official statements,' begins this article, 'there are at present in the Protestant theological seminaries of the United States approximately two hundred fewer men than last year.' The decrease is not confined to any single denomination, but is pretty evenly distributed, although the Presbyterian schools seem to have suffered most. And the editors of the *Biblical World* (who are themselves of the Baptist denomination) proceed to consider the reasons.

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The Presbyterian colleges have suffered most. Now the Presbyterian Church has recently passed through a great and prolonged controversy regarding the criticism of the Old Testament. It is probable then, is it not, that the Higher Criticism is the cause of the decrease? That would be a simple explanation, and not a few are already

satisfied with it. But the editors of the *Biblical World* find that it does not stand examination. 'Men,' they say, 'are not being kept from the seminaries because of this fear of Higher Criticism. Indeed, one might almost infer from the statistics that the loss of students was in some sort of ratio to the so-called *soundness* of an institution. The progressive seminaries as a rule suffer less than others, if, indeed, they do not report an actual increase in attendance.'

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Well, then, it must be due to fear on the part of active-minded young men that in entering the ministry they will lose liberty of thought. But if that is so in America—and the *Biblical World* seems to admit that it may be so, having no other explanation to offer—it is certainly not so in this country. It is true that one still hears a creedless Christian cry out against the tyranny of the creeds, but it is a cry that has no pathos in it now, and perhaps not much sincerity. There may be an occasional young man who would claim freedom in the ministry to be something else than a Christian. But they who stop short of denying the Foundation upon Whom the Christian Church is laid are now perhaps less restrained by custom, creed, or professional etiquette in the Christian ministry than in any other of the learned professions.

So the reason has not been found yet. But the fact is there. And it is as unpleasant a fact as the lover of the Lord Jesus Christ could have to face. For the people cannot hear without preachers. The seed cannot be sown, the harvest cannot be reaped, without a due provision of devoted and sufficiently accomplished labourers.

The editors of the *Biblical World* believe that labourers are not wanting, but that they are not sufficiently accomplished. In America men are entering the ministry in ever increasing numbers who have had no proper theological training. They mention various means by which this is made easy. And they say that 'the ministry is being recruited from the ranks of men not as well educated as are many persons among their congregations, unfitted to cope with the pressing problems confronting organized Christianity.' They do not deny—how could they?—a place to the comparatively untrained evangelist. They say that such ill-trained men unquestionably accomplish much good. But they hold it impossible to regard them as fitted for the leadership of churches. 'Standing, too, generally as the champions of crude theology and misleading interpretation of the Bible, notably of the prophecies'—(they are speaking of America, remember)—'they inevitably tend to divorce the church from the intellectual forces of their communities.'

What is to be done? Ministers, says the *Biblical World*, must send their own sons into the ministry. Churches must urge their bright young members to look upon the ministry as a desirable lifework. Parents must again desire their Christian boys to be ministers. 'Christian people of culture and wealth, as well as those of sobriety and poverty, must once more take up the prayer that the Lord will send labourers into His vineyard—and see that they go.'

To the same issue of the *Biblical World* Professor G. L. Robinson of the M'Cormick Theological

Seminary, Chicago, contributes an article on 'The Wells of Beersheba.' It deals with one of the oldest and keenest debates in biblical geography—how many wells there are at Beersheba. Two years ago the question seemed to be settled. For in February 1899, Professor Gautier visited Beersheba for the express purpose of ascertaining the number of the wells. He was led to do so by a communication from Dr. Trumbull to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES in 1897, and he sent to this magazine the result of his investigation. He wrote: 'There are but three wells at Beersheba. Besides these we have not been able to discover any remains of other wells in the neighbourhood. I think, therefore, that the question of the number of the wells may be considered as settled, at least as far as our century is concerned.'

If Professor Gautier meant the century which was just closing, it was a modest hope. Perhaps that is what has given Professor Robinson boldness to open the controversy again. He visited Beersheba on 11th May 1900, and he now writes to say that he saw five wells containing water (of which four were in actual use), and two others which may soon be cleared out.

After describing the five opened wells, which he visited one after another, Professor Robinson comes to the first of the two that are yet unopened. It was evidently a well which had long ago been stopped up. 'For we saw distinctly the grooves of the ropes which had been used at one time in drawing water. Grass covered the hollow depression, while loose stones lay about on the circular mound which surrounded the well's mouth. I asked one of the Arabs when it would be dug out. He replied: *When God wills.*'

Six were found. But 'Beersheba' probably means 'the Seven Wells.' There must be a seventh. 'At this stage in our investigations, however, we were delayed, being almost baffled by the unwillingness of the Arabs and of our Gaza guide to show us where the seventh well might be.



At last, after repeated solicitations, the guide whispered, "I will show it you if you won't tell anyone"—that is,' adds Professor Robinson, 'any one of the Arabs. I promised him to keep it an eternal secret from all his clan.'

'He led me almost due west from Well No. 5, a distance of about 150 feet, bade me climb with him over a low wall, and, when he reached a certain spot in what was about the middle of a small garden, he said, "We are standing upon an ancient well now."' He then told Dr. Robinson that he himself had made this little garden the month before, that as he dug down he came upon stones built in the form of a well, which he had removed and built into the wall that surrounded his garden. Dr. Robinson went with him, and saw the stones. Some had the marks of ropes, while others were scooped as if for water-courses or aqueducts.

The explanation of the miracles in the Gospels which at present seems to satisfy their unbelievers best, is that Christ was a little in advance of the science of His day. When He took the daughter of Jairus by the hand and raised her up, He understood the ways of hypnotism better than the women who laughed Him to scorn, imagining that she was dead. When He healed the centurion's servant without even seeing him, He already relied upon the powers of our most recent and astonishing science of telepathy. And when He walked on the water He showed an acquaintance with the laws of gravitation which we have scarcely attained to yet.

It is an explanation that deserves the kindest consideration. Certainly it does not carry us very far. For it is clear that if Jesus did all these things by means of His scientific knowledge, He was more than a little in advance of His day. And the question arises, Where did He gain His knowledge of science? The miracles may be explained, but the Miracle is more inexplicable than ever.

Still, it deserves the kindest consideration. For is it not possible that it is the real explanation after all? It is issued in the interests of science. It is an effort to keep both science and Jesus. In so far as it keeps science and a merely human Jesus it fails. But science, if it is not falsely so called, must surely agree with a supernatural Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that He was in advance of the scientific knowledge of His day. We believe, do we not, that in His miracles as in all His working He takes care that everything be done decently and in order? Is it not at least possible that when we do know more—much more—than we know now, we shall see that the miracles in all the Bible are in strict accord with the laws of God's natural and spiritual universe?

And more than that. It is just possible that we have already reached the explanation of some of the miracles of the Bible. When we go back as far as the Wilderness Journey we come upon the crossing of the Red Sea and the provision of Manna. We have learned that gales blow there, violent and persistent enough to raise the waters as a wall, and leave a possible passage for an army. We do not count the crossing of the Red Sea less a miracle on that account. And now that we have discovered the marvellous nature of Manna, and unlike the Hebrews who 'wist not what it was,' can actually describe it scientifically, we do not the less believe the saying that is written, 'He gave them bread from heaven to eat.'

We have found out what Manna is. The 'Strange Story of Manna' is told in the *Sunday Magazine* for May by Mr. G. Clarke Nuttall, B.Sc., and occupies the foremost place in the magazine.

The most widely accepted suggestion as to the nature of Manna has been that it is the sap of the Tamarisk. That suggestion is now abandoned. Manna is a plant. It is one of the Lichens. Its scientific name is *Lecanora esculenta*, or the edible Lichen. It is greyish yellow in colour and grows on grey limestone rocks, in the form of a wrinkled

crust so like the rock itself that it is easily overlooked. It is found over great tracts of South-West Asia, near Constantinople, in the Crimea, the Deserts of Arabia, the Sahara, and the Deserts of Algeria.

As it ripens, the Manna gets detached from the rock. Then, when the whirlwinds come, its feather-weight pieces are caught up and carried far from their native home. And at any place or any moment a sudden shower of rain may bring them down and lay them along the ground so as to cover it to the depth of several inches. 'In August 1890, in the neighbourhood of Diarbekir, in Turkey in Asia, there was a sudden local rain and an abundant shower of Manna, which fell over an area of about half a mile in circumference. The Manna was in small spherules, yellowish on the outside and white within, and was eagerly gathered by the natives, who regarded it as food rained down from heaven. They ate it raw, or ground it down into meal, which gave a palatable and easily-digested bread. Some of this Manna was sent by the Director of the Central Dispensary at Bagdad to French scientists for examination, when it was found to be the Lichen called *Lecanora esculenta*.'

So the Manna which 'our fathers did eat in the desert' was a Lichen. But what is a Lichen? Here the scientific wonder begins. We speak of a Lichen as a plant. But it is the union of two plants. These two plants have agreed to live together, for the same reason as some people are said to marry, because they are so unlike one another. This also is a new discovery. Or rather it is newly accepted. For although it is thirty years since Dr. Schwendener made the suggestion, it was only in the closing years of the century that the improvement in microscopes turned the ridicule with which his suggestion was at first received into wonder and scientific assurance.

One of the two plants that make up a Lichen is an Alga. It is tiny and green, the simplest

green plant in the world, for it consists of a single roundish cell filled with a jelly-like substance and green colouring matter. Still this green cell is capable of performing all the functions of a more elaborate plant. It absorbs nourishment from air, soil, and water, and grows thereby. The other plant is a Fungus. It consists of a mere network of interlacing white threads. It is a degraded plant, the microscopists say, a product of degeneracy. It is now incapable of manufacturing its own nourishment out of the elements around, and so it takes to some green plant, such as the little Alga, and gets its food supplied to it ready made.

What return does the Alga obtain for this? When Dr. Schwendener first described the Manna Lichen, he said that the Fungus was a master living by the sweat of the brow of his slave the Alga. But the figure was overstrained. If the Alga gives food, it receives protection, and it seems to be as unable to thrive without the protection of the Fungus as the Fungus is unable to live without its food. In short, it is an establishment that is conducted on terms of strictly mutual advantage.

'Moses gave you not that bread from heaven.' No, we see now how completely beyond the reach of Moses that bread is. And yet it is only one of the earthly things. How long will it be ere we understand the meaning of the heavenly thing which follows—'but my Father giveth you the true Bread from heaven'?

Although we have worked with Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien* since their issue, the translation in one handy volume is a welcome relief. It is not only that it incorporates Deissmann's most recent corrections and additions, it is also that it is a bound book, faultlessly printed, and translated into easy accurate English.

Deissmann's *Bible Studies*—to use the new comprehensive title—is one of the few books that

are fresh enough to fascinate. But it is more than good reading. There are very many passages, especially in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, turning perhaps upon an ill-understood word, which it either rescues from mistake—or at least makes more precise and living.

Take an example. Take it from the less frequently illustrated Epistles. In James 1<sup>8</sup> occurs the expression 'the trying of your faith worketh patience'; and in 1 Peter 1<sup>7</sup> 'that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.' The 'trying' of James and the 'trial' of Peter represent the same word (τὸ δοκιμῖον). In the first passage a possible though not very natural meaning is obtained; in the second it is difficult to find either sense or grammar.

Expositors have always felt the difficulty. They have tried various meanings. They have tried different meanings in the different passages. Cremer suggested *exploratio* for James and 'verification' for Peter. But the Greek word is found nowhere else with either meaning. The difficulty arose from taking the word to be a substantive (= τὸ δοκιμῆον, *means of testing*). It is true that no instance of an adjective had been elsewhere found. But now the papyri and inscriptions have been searched. The word has been found as an adjective. The difficulty is resolved.

In pawn tickets and marriage contracts the adjective is found. It is used of buckles and other articles of gold. It means simply *valid, standard, genuine*. It is equivalent to a commoner form (δόκιμος). Hence in both passages the neuter of the adjective is used as a substantive, and the meaning is 'that which is genuine.' Luther catches it exactly in Ja 1<sup>8</sup>, when he renders *ewer Glaube, so er rechtschaffen ist*, 'your faith, so it

be upright, worketh patience.' And that meaning suits 1 P 1<sup>7</sup> equally well, 'So that what is genuine in your faith may be found more precious than gold—which, in spite of its perishableness, is yet proved genuine by fire—unto praise and glory and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ.'

In the *Expositor* for April Canon Cheyne writes a homily on 'Few Things Needful.' His text is Lk 10<sup>41, 42</sup>, 'And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.' There are two readings. One is represented by the Authorized Version as above, and is followed by Tregelles and Tischendorf. The other is expressed in the margin of the Revised Version, 'But there is need of few things, or of one'; it is the reading of Westcott and Hort. Canon Cheyne follows neither. Claiming the right to use 'the trained subjectivity of a methodical modern critic' in preference to 'the ill-regulated subjectivity of ancient scribes,' he drops the words 'or of one,' and adopts the simple brief expression 'there is need of few things.'

Professor Cheyne does not think that the things of which Christ said only a few were needed were supper dishes. He believes that the reference is wider than the provision for a feast or the due entertainment of a guest. Our Lord spoke as in the Sermon on the Mount. The 'few things' were 'the material necessities of a modest human existence.' The poet, in fact, accurately interprets this saying in the lines—

Man wants but little here below,  
Nor wants that little long.

But Dr. Cheyne does not write this homily to recommend contentment. There is room for the preaching of the gospel of simplicity of life; but his purpose is to preach the gospel of simplicity



in theology. He holds that it is as true in theology as in life that few things are really necessary; and when many things are sought after, when our creed is composed of many particulars, the effect is both distracting and disastrous.

What then are the few things that it is necessary for us to believe? Alas! Dr. Cheyne does not tell us. He seems to say that the time has not yet come to tell us. 'Long and careful discussion would have to precede any such attempt.' But he mentions one thing. 'It is not a doctrine of Inspiration. It is not a definition of Incarnation. It has nothing to do with Priesthood or with Sacramental Grace. It is this, that faith in the highest sense has for its objects neither books nor doctrines, but persons.'

The remark is not new, and Dr. Cheyne knows it. The question is, Who are the persons? Dr. Cheyne quotes the text, 'Believe in God, believe also in Me,' and the text, 'Ye search the Scriptures, for ye think that in them ye have eternal life . . . and ye will not come to Me that ye may have life.' He quotes these texts though they are found in the Fourth Gospel. For, 'though partly coloured by the doctrines of the Evangelist,' they 'convey one of the most fundamental ideas of Jesus, who knew Himself to be the Saviour of men.' The 'persons,' then, appear to be God the Father and Jesus the Saviour of men, and since even the

capitals to the pronouns are Dr. Cheyne's own, all seems well.

And all is well when Dr. Cheyne goes on to add that 'the centre of gravity in theology can never be shifted from the person of Christ.' But then comes this sentence: 'The Jesus whom we call Master is at once the historical Jesus of Nazareth, and that ideal form which becomes more and more glorious as man's moral capacity increases.' So the persons in whom we are to trust are God and the historical-ideal Jesus Christ. The historical Jesus we know, but who is the ideal Christ? Canon Cheyne says that without the historical Christ the ideal Christ could never have beamed upon us. It is, therefore, he says, 'our highest object as biblical critics to revive, however faintly, the outlines of the historical picture of Jesus, and to recover the first principles of His teaching.' But what then? Then he says it is our business 'to comprehend better those great ideas and those wonderful experiences of the New Testament writers which are the afterglow of that morally gorgeous sunset when Jesus of Nazareth finished the work which had been given Him to do.'

'The afterglow of that morally gorgeous sunset.' Then there was no sunrise that followed? 'It behoved the Christ to suffer'—that was the 'sunset when Jesus of Nazareth finished the work which had been given Him to do'; and all the rest was 'afterglow.'

## Science and Faith.

BY THE REV. G. FERRIES, D.D., CLUNY, ABERDEENSHIRE.

A SKETCH of the origin and growth of Science shows that its roots lie in religious belief, and that during the greater part by far of its history, it continues to be closely related to religion. At length the independence of science is recognized, with the results that, on the one hand, there are

conflicts with traditional faith, and for many persons a definite and whole-hearted assent to religion becomes a very difficult matter; and, on the other hand, if one has attained to faith, and is also in sympathy with modern thought, the advance of science proves to be in a high degree stimulating

and quickening to his highest aims. Religion itself leaps into new life; it is infected by a stronger love of truth; the freshness of the newly opened up fields that lie all around is contracted by it in turn.

## I.

HISTORICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THE BIBLE  
AND SCIENCE.

Before Science could achieve its independence, human thought had to pass through many preparatory stages. Vast as the difference is, alike as regards methods and results, between the intellectual activity of primitive peoples and that of the present age, there has been a continuous course of development from the earliest times till now. The men of the O.T. brought God into direct connexion with all that happened, and had no eye for the intricate network and the constancy of natural causation. According to their conviction it is God that makes the grass to grow for the cattle and herb for the service of man; He makes the winds to blow, and the thunder is His voice; and so on. In our age, on the other hand, the material world is interpreted by investigating the forces which are found to be inherent in itself, no supramundane spiritual power being recognized as a factor in any case under examination. The difference appears to be complete. And yet through certain ideas as intermediaries, especially the idea of *law*, and certain practices, especially the organization of human conduct, which is in the last resort the leading aim alike of religion and science, there is a community established between the ages; and as regards the differences, history bridges the separating gulf. Men of faith promulgated the first beginnings of science. Seeing that among the ancients life as a whole was rested on a religious foundation, its institutions and customs being referred to the will of the gods and drawing their sanction from it, worship was a matter of the first importance and had to be carefully regulated. So it was especially in Old Israel. In the rules of worship, which were both exact and comprehensive, we have already an adumbration of the precision and exhaustiveness of later science. And morality, which is now admitted by most thinkers to have relative independence, was subsumed under religion as cognate with the duty of worshipping God, or as one manifestation of obedience to Him.

Rules of life were prescribed for the Israelites with punctilious minuteness, extending to their private and social concerns, dictating what they were to do both in the house and in the field, applying indeed to every sphere of worldly activity. Religion, experimental knowledge, such as it was, and daily practice in the world were closely interwoven. Life in general and in detail was viewed and moulded in the light of lofty thought.

The same people were led by the motive of faith to record their nation's *history*. Inasmuch as God was acknowledged as the governing power in their midst, there was a felt obligation, while it was also a high privilege and pure pleasure, to recall the great things He had done for them and their fathers. The past was investigated with that devoted care which sincere faith is calculated to ensure. Laws of history too were brought to light; reason, it was found, went to the making of it. It was shown by many examples that religion and righteousness exalted the nation, whereas rebellion and wickedness had involved disaster. The same laws, according to the prophets, would operate in time to come, and that too not in Israel only but also among all the Gentiles (Is 61<sup>11</sup>). Thus the idea and the germ of a philosophy of history may be said to have been implanted in Jewish thought.

As it was the vocation of the Jews to be the bearers of the true religion to the world, and as the discipline which they endured served for that precise purpose, they were not stimulated like the Greeks to develop the purely intellectual side of their being by the assiduous cultivation of earthly arts. Their attainments in the secular sphere were meagre, and their thought moved in the plane of popular ideas (see, *e.g.*, arts. in Hastings' *D.B.* on 'Astronomy,' 'Genesis,' 'Medicine,' 'Natural History'). Whereas recent science operates by means of analysis, and the specialized study of the minutest parts of things, the minds of the Jews habitually reverted to the whole of existence, to the presence and working of the sovereign Creator in the occurrences of the world. But the result is that they bring home the truth to men in every age, and it is one of the principal lessons to be derived from them, that the profoundest thoughts regarding God and His moral law and universal rule may be fused together with an elementary knowledge of material nature, that the highest wisdom may be acquired by those who are comparatively untutored in the worldly sense. Thus instead of

anxiously endeavouring to reconcile the items of early Jewish thought relating to nature with the results of modern discovery, we should observe that the very want on the part of the writers of Scripture of thoroughgoing scientific knowledge in any of the special branches is instructive from the point of view of religion. At the same time, far from any antagonism being manifested by those writers towards the aims of science, we rather discover adumbrations of it, connecting links between it and the faith of Scripture, a rational ground and stimulus for the pursuit of it over unlimited fields. For the Jewish religion presents large ideas regarding God and the world which were destined to be suggestive and fruitful in later research. As 'the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof' (Ps 24<sup>1</sup>); as He is its Creator, and as 'Wisdom was by Him' when He made and established the heavens and earth and sea (Pr 8), the conviction was gained, and it has never been lost, that the world is orderly and intelligible throughout—a cosmos, not a chaos. The idea of the *unity* of God, which was permanently established through Jewish Monotheism, suggested and warranted the bent of science towards unity of knowledge. And again the *eternity* of God implied the inviolability of the principle of order. Above all, the conception of *law*, which in its moral aspect pervades the Books of Scripture, was destined to play an important part in the elucidation of the visible realm, and to this day it remains the most influential conception employed by the man of science. When the Creator and Preserver of all things was habitually viewed as a God of law, the belief that the observed sequences of nature are also an expression of law was readily awakened and confirmed. 'It was the notion of divine laws,' says Zeller, 'that first led to that of laws of nature.'

Passing to the N.T. we find that Jesus, completing the thought of the O.T., represents the world as pervaded by the power of God, who knows all that happens in it, and with a Father's care provides for all the needs of His creatures. It is implied that all the operations of the universe are guided by intelligence as well as love. Jesus, however, came to reveal the spiritual God and to bring men to eternal salvation, and so He is concerned to exhibit the world in the light of eternity, and its processes in their aspect as parables illustrative of spiritual and everlasting truth. Further, while revealing the highest truth, and calling Him-

self 'the truth,' He embodies it in concrete form in a Life: the *rationale* of the spiritual facts has yet to be set forth. It is St. Paul who takes up the task of theology. This apostle gives a reason for the faith, labours to show that while there cannot be salvation by obedience to the law, there is a way to the desired end which is at once older and newer, namely, the righteousness of faith, a way known to Abraham, but opened up in perfection once and for ever by the death of Christ. The intellectual work of theology has advanced from this basis through the Christian centuries till now; but the O.T. had previously entered on the pursuit, when Ezekiel pointed out that salvation is of grace, and that thus alone Israel could be truly sanctified. On the other hand, worldly knowledge or art was held to be of little account by the apostles and first Christians generally, for the one sufficient reason that they regarded the end of the world as at hand.

The old Greeks, as has been indicated, have been the world's masters in the field of pure thought. We have to turn to Greece to see 'where grew the arts of war and peace.' Aristotle, according to Dante, was 'the master of those who know.' The science of Aristotle was encyclopædic. But though he was for many generations an outstanding authority among the mediæval theologians, it was the Stoic philosophy that the Christian Church came in contact with in the first centuries. This was for the time the living form of ancient thought, a form which exhibited certain important ideas that were closely akin to those of Christianity itself. The world, according to the Stoics, was founded in reason, and to them the law of nature was accordingly a basal thought. The law which was impressed on the world was derived indeed from God, but it could also be regarded as the law of nature, the God of Stoicism not being so much a transcendent Deity as the immanent reason of the universe. The idea of nature as a realm of inherent order began to be disengaged. We appear to have advanced half-way from the biblical thought, which represented God as personally and directly active in all the world, to the modern scientific conception of nature as a self-centred unity, which has its own laws, and is understood and mastered so far as man ascertains these and puts them in application. For since, according to Stoicism, Divine Reason is embodied in the world, the contemplation of



*nature* should serve to acquaint one with God's law. However, God was still brought into connexion with the world by these philosophers in a manner that science does not recognize in research or when utilizing material forces, and which involved a confusion of the sphere of religion with that of nature as now understood in the stricter sense. Moreover, when the early Christian theologians adopted the idea of laws of nature from this philosophy, there was no advance towards that precision of thought regarding the domain of nature which has largely characterized recent science, and at which it has constantly and persistently aimed; nor was there progress in this respect for many centuries. On the contrary, down to the close of the Middle Ages, conformably to the great doctrine of Christianity that God is an exalted Spirit, whose will in Providence is everywhere active and supreme, the tendency among the Christians was to approximate in their use of the phrase, 'laws of nature,' to the earlier biblical conception of the facts. It was held not only that the laws were ordinances of the Deity but that they continued to manifest simply His personal purposes and constant habits of working. Thus the thought of nature was again practically merged by the Christian divines in the thought of God. There was a vagueness of conception with reference to the two spheres of action; the relative independence of the physical processes was not yet admitted. And one main and sufficient reason for this was that those processes themselves were as yet so little known. In the Dark Ages men were ignorant of the concrete facts of the material world, of the wealth of facts and their mutual relations, and could have no adequate conviction regarding the law that pervades them.

A great step in advance was taken with the rise of science proper. The term 'science' now acquires the common meaning which it still for the most part retains. (A higher sense will be referred to presently.) It comes to signify the exact knowledge which is attained by applying the methods of research enforced by Francis Bacon (1561-1626), namely, observation and experiment. The aim is to interpret nature by the simple investigation of her own inherent powers, and as far as may be to control her by means of the knowledge so acquired. Such inquiry may be carried on to an indefinite extent, being directed

on the one hand towards the remote regions of the heavens, and on the other, by the analysis of substances, towards the atoms of Chemical theory. The results which lie before the eyes of all are an unanswerable proof of the soundness of the methods employed. It is acknowledged, even by Christian thinkers, that there is a legitimate and fruitful mode of research which for special purposes abstracts from the intervention of a higher spiritual power in nature. The apparent sequences of events, which might readily strike an undisciplined observer as a direct expression of the Divine Will, and as beyond the control of man, are proved to be merely superficial and phenomenal. They are resolved into groups of causes, and these again into prior causes, till at length forces have been reached which, so far as is yet known, are elementary. By a careful inspection of the elements, of their powers and properties, and by a studied combination of them, man can produce at will many of the commonly observed phenomena, and can make nature in very many instances his willing servant; and he is confident that by a continued application of the methods which have been so well attested, a multitude of successes will be registered in days to come—that no limit indeed can be fixed for progress in science.

While the power of God is not necessarily supposed to be withdrawn from nature by the *savant* who pursues the proper methods of science, yet, as might be expected, the habit of looking almost exclusively to material causes and treating them as independent tells on one's religious beliefs, till at length the Deity appears to many to be superfluous and unreal. Thus in the eighteenth century mechanical theories of the universe, resting on a materialistic philosophy, were embraced by many thinkers; it is often spoken of as the sceptical century, the French Encyclopædists being the typical representatives of it in this respect. And while, as we shall see, there has since been a great revival of faith, there has been a further and most brilliant development of science, the nineteenth century being the century of science *par excellence*. Moreover, science has now been popularized. All are familiar with many of its achievements; all share in the benefits it confers; and in consideration of its past victories people in civilized lands may be said to be breathlessly expectant. Modern science seems to be all-

conquering; the temptation is felt by many to regard it as all-sufficient for man.

In the nineteenth century there has been a parallel development, also of great magnitude, in the higher mental sphere, yielding science in the

larger sense (mental science, spiritual philosophy); but the mass of people are more impressed by the marvellous triumphs of physical science, and we look next to some of the disturbing effects on faith which are traceable to the latter.

## The New Evangelical School of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. J. DICK FLEMING, M.A., B.D., TRANENT.

WHEN the present writer took part in the debates of the little theological club connected with the 'Faculté de Théologie Protestante' of Paris, and presided over by the professors M. Sabatier and M. Ménégoz, he little thought that a new school of theology was in formation, which was to receive the terrific title of 'Symbolo-Fidéisme.' Yet such apparently was the case. The Reformed Church theologian, M. Sabatier, whose deep religious interest is combined with a keenly philosophic bent of mind, was already imbuing his pupils with those conceptions of religious symbolism, which have played so large a part in his recent book on the *Philosophy of Religion*. And the gentle M. Ménégoz, bringing from his Lutheran upbringing a pronounced evangelical spirit, and yet a mind keenly alive to the scientific demands of the age, had already written his first treatises on salvation, sin, and redemption, and thus prepared for the new school its religious basis. The combination of this evangelical element with the doctrine of religious symbolism, has given rise to new modes of thought, which are exercising to-day a considerable influence in France. The new school has had to encounter opposition from Montauban and many of the religious journals; but the opposition has served principally to awaken the school to the consciousness of its unity, and to the need for the revision of doctrine which it has attempted.

The formal or philosophic principle that characterises the school goes by the name of Critical Symbolism. It is the theory that religious thought, dealing as it does with what is invisible, spiritual, and eternal, but having no adequate categories to express them, is obliged to clothe what is transcendent in sensible, material, phenomenal forms.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Publications diverses sur le Fidéisme*. By Eugène Ménégoz, Professor in the University of Paris. 1900.

The religious sentiment or idea incarnates itself in a local, contingent, concrete form, which varies under the influence of prevailing scientific or philosophic ideas.

There is nothing new in such a conception; it lies at the root of all science of religion, and every theologian who admits the idea of development in religious thought has adopted it. What is peculiar to the school is the thoroughgoing and conscious application of the principle to what might be supposed to lie beyond the sphere of development and change. They frankly recognize that everywhere in religious thought—not only in the creeds of the early Councils of the Church, but even in the teaching of Jesus Christ and His inspired apostles—there are elements that are transitory and local mingled with the eternally valuable; and that everywhere the theologian has the difficult task of separating the essential truth from the old-fashioned garb in which past ages have clothed it, and of presenting it anew in forms suitable to the character and intellectual needs of his age. The orthodox theologian is willing to apply the principle of evolution to other religions, and generally to the history of the Christian Church; but he draws a magic line round the New Testament and the doctrinal decisions of the Fathers, and challenges any that would touch that bedrock of the faith! Even the old Ritschlian tried hard to rescue the New Testament at least from the invasion of this principle; and almost succeeded, though not without straining the exegesis! The new school goes more thoroughly to work. Like the new Ritschlian, the symbolo-fidéist applies his principle all through, and has no hesitation in carrying everywhere his distinction between the eternal verity and its inadequate, changing, historical form. M. Ménégoz declares that in so

doing he and his colleagues are only doing consciously in regard to the New Testament what St. Paul did instinctively, by means of allegorizing, in regard to the Old. Paul found the Word of God incarnated in the Old Testament, and sought by allegorizing to disengage the spirit from the letter, the eternal verity from its contingent form. What Paul thus did instinctively, it is the task of theology to do consciously; and amid the changing metamorphoses of religious thought, to seek the eternally valid and valuable, the kernel within the shell, the gospel within the gospel. Such a task is doubtless a difficult one; it would certainly be more agreeable at times if some pope would cut the Gordian knot for us, or if we had some standard of absolute validity to appeal to. But we have no such absolute standard of religious thought; we have the witness of our own spirit, the witness of the ages of spiritual man who have preceded us, and the witness of the Word made flesh; but there is an alloy in all, and we must endeavour to gather from all sources the eternal substantial truth. There is no royal road to spiritual truth. 'In the same way as we gain our daily bread, we must gain our spiritual food—by the sweat of our brow.'

We have now to see how Professor Ménégoz applies this formal principle to the material of theological doctrine. And, first, we may notice how it helps to shape, and is in turn supported by, the fidéist doctrine of salvation. The fidéist evangel is as follows:—The trials of life, the sense of sin and guilt, together with the feeling that we have been created for life and felicity, and not for death, awaken the aspiration for deliverance or salvation. Conscience assures us that such deliverance must come through the forgiveness of sins, releasing us from the sting of the past. But how is this pardon of sins to be obtained? It is not a matter of logical deduction; it must come to us by way of a personal revelation, through the witness of the Holy Spirit within and without us. Now, among the outward historical manifestations of the Spirit, there stands out one revelation of God with absolutely exceptional splendour; it is that of Jesus Christ. Never was any one so qualified to act as the revealer of God's will to the world; for His person, word, and life bear the unmistakable impress of perfect sanctity. He is the revelation of God in its most perfect conceivable purity: the Divine Word: God manifest in the flesh. His teaching awakens a cordial response in

our spirits, and becomes to us the highest conceivable authority. And He reveals the way of salvation. He brings, first of all, the good news that God loves the world with a love that is beyond knowledge; and He makes known the one condition of forgiveness, namely, faith. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth My word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath eternal life.' What then is this faith, which is the absolute condition, but also the sole condition, of salvation? It is essentially an inward determination or act of the whole self, in which a man gives himself to God; it is, as otherwise described, the 'consecration of the soul to God,' 'the movement of the heart Godward.' That is its essence; but it never appears abstractly, in its naked solitary purity, but always in some definite concrete form, and maintains itself there more or less purely, according as the form is adequate or rudimentary. Like the embryo gradually arriving at maturity, so develops in the Bible the doctrine of salvation by faith. Thus, the Old Testament teaches salvation by *obedience* to the law, or, in the time of the prophets, by *fidelity* to the God of Israel; but within these conditions are enclosed as essential the obedience and fidelity of the heart. John the Baptist preached salvation by *repentance*, or conversion of heart; which is just faith (the movement Godward) expressed in relation to the sin which hinders it. This doctrine of salvation by faith fully meets the wants of the religious consciousness. The condition of pardon corresponds so entirely to the character of sin, that we could scarcely conceive it otherwise. Sin is the rupture of the soul with God; how otherwise is salvation conceivable than by the restoration of the lost relation, by the free personal inward surrender of the heart to Him in faith?

The Christian Church, then, is built upon the gospel of justification by faith. But this doctrine will assume many aspects, and must be expressed so as to suit the conditions of the age. In Paul's day, when the risk of an external Judaism was great, the gospel had to be expressed negatively as well as positively; and emphasis laid on the truth that salvation was *by faith and not by the works of the Mosaic law*; in Luther's time it required to be expressed by the positive-negative doctrine that salvation is *by faith and not by good works*. What then is the form of the gospel required to-day? These are undoubtedly days of



criticism, and the Church is passing through a crisis. Rightly or wrongly, the dogmas of the Church no longer appeal to the generality of cultured men. On the other hand, the orthodox, in their zeal to maintain important gospel-truth, have confounded faith with belief in the doctrines of the Church, and in the whole Bible revelation. This fatal superaddition, as it has been in the past the cause of excommunications, schisms, and all manner of religious persecution, is still obscuring the gospel of Christ, and has driven many from the Church, and weakened its power. Even the liberal theologian, while rightly opposing the superstition of salvation by belief, has been hampered by a similar confusion of terms, and has been led to substitute for faith the ethical conditions of love to God and man; thus falling back into a legalism from which a truer conception of faith would have saved him. In view, then, of these tendencies of to-day, on the one hand, to surcharge faith with what does not naturally belong to it, on the other, to substitute a moral legalism for the gospel, it is necessary to emphasize that salvation is by *faith alone, independently of beliefs*. The value of belief is not denied. As a pedagogic means, right teaching and right religious belief are of capital importance; they are undeniably the ordinary objective means of faith. But belief stands in no necessary relation to faith and salvation. The beliefs may all be present, and the inward self-determination of faith be entirely wanting. On the other hand, a man may have true faith though his mind is perfectly saturated with errors in regard to the most elementary doctrines of God or Christ or the Holy Spirit. Sound beliefs are doubtless provocative of faith, just as faith prepares the mind for a more just conception of truth; but the faith that alone saves is the spirit's movement upward and Godward.

It is evident that these doctrines of symbolism and of fidéisme open the way to a very frank and yet sympathetic critical treatment of the New Testament teaching, and of the doctrines of the Church. Take for example the New Testament eschatology, which gave place later to the orthodox doctrine of a localized heaven and hell. The salvation which Christ proclaimed included not merely forgiveness, but the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, implying the resurrection of the body, with the renewal of life under the common material conditions; and this new reign of

peace and justice was expected by Christ and His disciples within their own generation. Gradually, under the influence of Greek and Roman thought, and after the failure of the earlier expectations, the idea of an eternal happiness in heaven came to displace that of a Messianic kingdom on earth. The way was prepared for such a change by the popular belief in the pagan world that the souls of heroes and virtuous men were taken up into heaven, and there enjoyed eternal felicity. So arose those localized representations of heaven and hell which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, and only waned after the triumph of the Copernican system. Here, then, we have a double set of symbols, more or less contradictory and inadequate; and we have to ask where lies the fundamental abiding truth? The Gospel of John gives purest expression to it. The form of his conception seems to stand midway between the old Messianic idea and that of heavenly blessedness (as when Christ says in his Gospel: 'I shall come again, and receive you unto Myself, that where I am, there ye may be also'). The form is with John clearly the symbol of the truth he elsewhere taught that salvation is eternal life in communion with God, such a life as death itself cannot destroy. The symbols in which that thought is expressed in regard to the future are all inadequate; both the localized heaven and hell of the Middle Ages and the earthly renovation to be brought about by a sudden and speedy cataclysm. The essential truth is conserved, if we have the assurance of entering by faith into the kingdom of heaven, virtually during this earthly life, and fully, after death, in the life to come.

Employing the same method of symbolism, M. Ménégoz proposes a reinterpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the faith in miracles. The doctrine of the Trinity rests upon presuppositions that are no longer ours. Ménégoz explains the development of the doctrine in this way. The New Testament is resolutely monotheistic; and the idea of a triple intradivine distinction is entirely absent. It is true, the Holy Spirit is spoken of as a divine force emanating from God: sometimes even as possessing a more or less distinct personality, working in the world, inspiring the prophets, bestowing charisms on Christ's followers; but however far the representation of personality runs, the fact that the Holy Spirit is at other times completely identified with the spirit of God, that

is, with God Himself, as working spiritually within men, shows that the unity of God's personality is in no way affected. Whatever the more ignorant thought as to the working of a Holy Spirit distinct from the spirit of God, such men as Paul and John must have simply identified the two; they certainly never imagined two entities distinct and personal and coexisting in God. Nor, again, do any of the New Testament writers proclaim Jesus as Jehovah, or adore Him and offer sacrifice to Him as an incarnation of divinity. He is the Son of God, in the theocratic sense; He is the first of celestial spirits; He is (with John) the Word of God incarnate. While exalting the person of Christ, and offering Him the highest royal homage, they retain the old monotheism intact. It was only when their homage was transferred to Greek and Roman soil, where heroes and emperors were easily deified, that the idea was accepted of Christ's absolute divinity; and this idea was harmonized with the unity of God by the help of Greek metaphysic and the theory of an intradivine hypostasis. The problem of to-day, then, is to separate from the doctrine of the Trinity the elements that are found to be inadequate, and to seize the eternal truth in its purity. We must abide by the New Testament doctrine of the unipersonality of God. But the Trinity-doctrine symbolizes the fulness of the divine life. We know God not only as transcendent, the Creator of heaven and earth; but also as immanent, speaking to us personally within our hearts; not only as Father therefore, but also as Holy Spirit. This is a natural subjective distinction; in our representative thought we cannot help localizing God in heaven and on earth. The mistake of the Greek and Latin Fathers lay in objectifying this distinction, and projecting it into the being of God Himself. We must abide by the truth that God is one God, one person; but having the double thought of Him as transcendent and immanent, we represent Him in two characters, as Father and as Spirit. But, further, God also reveals Himself to us mediately, through the witness of others; and their testimony we recognize as the Word of God. This external testimony is, however, coloured by the human medium through which it comes; and thus it comes to us in various degrees of purity and fulness. Every prophet, apostle, man of God, the humblest of the saints, so far as the spirit of God is with him, may claim to be God's Word to men. The Jewish people were

above all privileged to be this Word; and from them sprang One who received the spirit without measure—Jesus Christ. Jesus was fully man; but also the Son of God *par excellence*, for He realized in fullest measure the filial relation to God. In that sense He is the God-man, the Word incarnate, the highest religious authority, our Master, Saviour, and Lord. In brief, then, God is one person; but manifests Himself to us in three personal forms—as the Father and Creator, or God transcendent; as the Son, or God immanent and objectified; and as the Spirit, or God immanent and subjective.

In a similar spirit Ménégos attacks the question of miracle, endeavouring to be true at once to the conclusions of science and to the needs of faith. He shows, first of all, that modern theology has ceased to accept in its entirety the biblical notion of miracle. The biblical authors saw in miracles not simply extraordinary natural facts, but phenomena contrary to the natural order, or, as we should express it to-day, phenomena contrary to the laws of nature. Their tendency was to magnify their non-natural character, in order to represent them all the more clearly as divinely produced. This has been denied both by liberals and by the orthodox in their desire to hide as far as possible the gulf that divides ancient from modern thought. But the fact remains. It is true the Bible writers had no definite and elaborate theory of miracle, and that, from their ignorance of nature's laws, they often confounded the marvellous and the miraculous; but they did not identify the two conceptions. They could still distinguish the wonderful, or what is contrary to the habitual course of things, from the miraculous, or what is contrary to the natural course of things. Cicero's view of miracle as something '*contra naturam*,' which 'could not happen except by divine intervention,' was the common view of ancient times; was the view shared by Christ and His apostles; and has remained unchanged as the orthodox view of the Christian Church, Protestant as well as Catholic. It is evident no less that the Church has departed from that notion. The apologetic expedients of to-day; the assertion that the miracles of the Bible are only natural facts of which the laws are unknown; the appeal to the mysteriousness of life, or to the moral miracles of faith and conversion; the allegorizing of the miracles into moral phenomena; the constant attempt to minimize them and reduce their number;—



all prove that there has been a displacement of ideas, and that the gulf between ancient and modern thought remains unbridged. The apologies themselves only strengthen the conclusion that no one fully accepts the views of Moses and the prophets, of Jesus and the apostles, of the theologians of the Middle Ages, and of the Reformation in regard to the miraculous. We no longer unhesitatingly believe in miracle as a derogation from the laws of nature.

Is the gulf then unbridgable? Not so. We do not believe that God suspends the laws of nature; for these are the adequate manifestation of His will in the order of natural things. But while we thus lay aside the ancient rudimentary conception of the world, and the reading of history which such a conception naturally produced, we can still enter into spiritual communion with the sacred writers by disengaging from the contingent form the living kernel of their faith. Underlying the symbol is a faith which we can assimilate, namely, that in certain circumstances God intervenes in an immediate way in the course of human affairs. Fundamentally, miracle is the intervention of God in the world in answer to prayer. But it is not necessary that this intervention should take

place contrary to the laws of nature. We ourselves intervene daily in the course of nature, by utilizing its laws; not by contravening them; and may not the Heavenly Father intervene in the same way? We believe, then, in miracle no less than did the ancients; but we explain its relation to nature differently. For them miracle was a divine free act of God, interrupting the *natural* course of things; for us it is a free divine act, interrupting the *fatal* course of things, but working in harmony with nature's laws.

Whatever may be said as to the methods and merits of this school, it will be evident from this brief account of it, that it does not fear to look facts in the face, and to address itself to the deepest problems. 'Where is this symbolo-fidist school going to end?' asks one of its timid critics. 'Where will it end!' Ménégoz replies: 'It has already penetrated the heart of Scripture, and found there the heart of Christ, revealing the heart of God. There is its lofty refuge; and thence it can study with calm, and a conscience at rest, all biblical questions; assured that historical truth is more precious than an erroneous tradition, and that the endeavour to discover that truth is a blessed work and worthy of the holy calling of theology.'

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

#### HEBREWS V. 7, 8.

'Who in the days of His flesh, having offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and having been heard for His godly fear, though He was a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which He suffered' (R.V.).

#### EXPOSITION.

'In the days of His flesh.'—The word 'flesh' is here used for His humanity regarded on the side of its weakness and humiliation.—FARRAR.

'Having offered up.'—The regular sacrificial word used throughout this Epistle, and it probably implies that while all the sufferings these words describe were fitting our Lord for His priestly office, they were also part of what He had to suffer as the bearer of our sin.—ANGUS.

'Prayers and Supplications.'—The first word *δέησις* is the general term for a definite request (e.g. Ja 5<sup>16</sup>). The second, *ἱκετηρία* (here only in N.T. in which no other word

of its group is used) describes the supplication of one in need of protection or help in some overwhelming calamity. The one (*δέησις*) is expressed completely in words: the other (*ἱκετηρία*, properly an olive branch entwined with wool borne by suppliant) suggests the posture and external form and emblems of entreaty.—WESTCOTT.

'With strong crying and tears.'—There is a tradition that originally the high priest on the Day of Atonement, when he offered the prayer for forgiveness in the Holy of Holies, uttered the name of God with a loud voice so that it could be heard far off.—WESTCOTT.

THE Evangelical tradition preserved to us does not mention *tears*; the oral account heard by the Author may have contained this trait, or he may have supposed it included.—DAVIDSON.

'Unto Him that was able to save Him from death.'—Or 'out of death.' These words might mean either that He prayed to be saved from dying, or that He prayed to be delivered out of the power of death, a sense which would admit that He contemplated falling into its power for a time. . . . The sense 'out of death' would make the



phrase 'having been heard' easier. The prayer being addressed to 'Him that was able to save Him from death' referred to death and salvation from it. And when it is said that He was *heard*, that must mean that His prayer was in effect answered. But it might be answered truly, though not quite as offered; that is, the answer might be given in His being raised from the dead, although the prayer was that He might not die. In any case the prayer was to be saved from death, and the hearing must correspond to this; mere strengthening to bear death seems to fall far below its meaning.—DAVIDSON.

'**Heard for His godly fear.**'—The prayer was not for deliverance from dying (which was the very purpose for which He came), but for relief from the *horror of great darkness* (Gn 15<sup>12</sup>) which was upon Him in the conscious sin-bearing of Gethsemane and Calvary. He was *heard* (1) in the appearance of the Angel from heaven strengthening Him (Lk 22<sup>43</sup>); (2) in the support given Him through the agony and passion; (3) in the safe entrance of the soul into paradise; (4) in the quickening and resurrection.—VAUGHAN.

'**Learned obedience by the things which He suffered.**'—The spirit of obedience is realized through trials, seen at least to minister to good. Sufferings in this sense may be said to teach obedience as they confirm it and call it out actively. The Lord 'learned obedience through the things which He suffered,' not as if the lesson were forced upon Him by the necessity of suffering, for the learning of obedience does not imply the conquest of disobedience as actual, but as making His own perfectly, through insight into the Father's will, that self-surrender which was required, even to death upon the cross.—WESTCOTT.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### The Discipline of Pain.

*By the Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D.*

We all dislike the subject of pain. We prefer to look at the bright side of things. Yet it is so prominent in our experience that we must consider what its purpose is, and to do this dispassionately we must do so when we are not overwhelmed by it. Our Lord was 'made perfect through sufferings.' Is it generally true that suffering refines and sanctifies the character?

1. There are the lesser pains of life—such as toil or poverty. We can readily see that these may be a blessing. We see a man deteriorating because, from the abundance of his gifts, he has no outlet for his energies but pleasure, and so he grows weaker, and less manly. Losses of money, of position or reputation, might strengthen his character, might be a blessing to him. We are too much afraid of pain. Even in its lesser forms it is a strengthening influence. Struggling against its restraints we bring out all that is strongest in

our nature. No one who has not suffered is strong, and the full strength of the Christian character is only reached when we know what it is to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

2. Pains of disappointment are very common—failure in undertakings, misunderstood motives, severance of friendship. From these we learn our true character. While things go well we do not question our judgment, candour, amiability. But sorrow forces us to see that such things may be due to our own fault. If it makes us more honest, charitable, and single-minded, it is a blessing in disguise.

3. In bereavement there seems no comfort, yet God calls us to Him in this way when lesser trials have failed. Then the full meaning and seriousness of life are brought home to the heart, and this sorrow is a bond of union with all men, for all are exposed to it. Pain even more than joy makes the whole world kin.

In the presence of the passion pain takes a new aspect. It is a discipline of the Christian character, for it was part of the discipline of Christ's character. Sorrow brings us closer to the Man of Sorrows. We are 'baptized into' His death; we are 'crucified with Him.' We cannot fathom the full meaning of such phrases, but they teach us that union with Christ involves union in suffering here, if in joy hereafter; and we may learn by failure and sorrow something which joy could never teach us of the Love of God in Redemption, which was consummated in the Sacrifice of the Cross.

### II.

#### The Mission of Sorrow.

*By the Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.*

1. The suffering of the Son of God. Here is the typical man, the Son approved of the Father able to learn obedience in no way but through suffering. Men think of His physical sufferings, but these are not to be compared with His sorrow of spirit. He died not of what His body, but His spirit endured,—of a broken heart. How did He learn obedience by these sufferings? Obedience may be active—realization in action of God's will, or passive—entire resignation to it. Suffering has a function towards both. (1) *Active obedience* is learnt through suffering. If all our duties were agreeable, obedience would be a form of self-will, and the most selfish man would be the most obedient; but when pleasure and duty are opposed,

we must choose between self and law. Obedience is ascertained through suffering, and perfected by it. Christ's sufferings were the means and measure of His obedience. Had He never suffered, His obedience would never have been known. But His sufferings and His obedience increased through life, till at last He died, but kept His obedience still. (2) *Passive obedience* is learned through suffering. [Only when man's will conflicts with God's is it seen which he worships. Without Gethsemane we should not have had the prayer, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' There Jesus achieved the final act of self-abnegation.

2. The suffering of the Christian. Suffering of body and mind are to some extent a necessity of man's being. The most thoughtful and purest suffer most. The lower a man sinks the less he will feel the world and himself out of joint. The higher he rises the more he will feel the discord, and in his suffering 'learn obedience.' (1) *Active obedience*.—Our lives tend to monotonous uniformity, and the idea of duty might be forgotten in a mechanical round, but sorrow comes rousing man's nature, setting him face to face with God, compelling choice between inclination and duty, and from the struggle he learns obedience. (2) *Passive obedience*.—Only he who has suffered knows resignation, and a will higher than his own, caring enough for him to chastise him. The suffering which teaches active obedience arises from conflict with the anomalies of time, and the problems of eternity; that which teaches passive obedience from afflictions. The two develop different qualities,—the first, the manlier virtues, the second, the more spiritual. The first type of obedience suits a sound mind in a sound body, the second a weakening body and a strengthening spirit. As the body nears its end it becomes more dependent, but the soul less dependent upon man. So our Father slopes the brink, and lets us glide gently into eternity. 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' And what comfort can equal this, that out of our sufferings have come the obedience which makes the soul beautiful before God, and gives it the bliss of awakening in His likeness?

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

**Suffering.**—I bear my willing witness that I owe more to the fire and the hammer and the file than to anything else in my Lord's workshop. I sometimes question whether

I have ever learned anything except through the rod. When my schoolroom is darkened I see most.—C. H. SPURGEON.

**Obedience.**—He learned obedience: He did not learn to obey. There was no disobedience to be conquered, but only the Divine Will to be realized. So He carried to the uttermost the virtue of obeying. He fulfilled in action the law which God had laid down for the being whom He had made in His image. He endured in His Passion every penalty which the righteousness of God had connected with the sins which He made His own. He offered the absolute self-surrender of service and suffering, through life and through death, fulfilling in spite of the Fall the original destiny of man, and rising in His glorified humanity to the throne of God.—B. F. WESTCOTT.

**The answered prayer.**—The simple statement of the writer is that the Son of God prayed that He might be saved from death, not even from the fear of death, but from death. To our blessing and deliverance, we know that if by that supplication we are to understand the death of the cross, the prayer was not heard. But inspiration affirms the prayer was heard. It was offered, and it was heard in Gethsemane. There the soul of the Saviour was borne down by amazement; there a horrible dread overwhelmed Him; there He was 'exceeding sorrowful even unto death'; there that supplication was heard by Him who was, as the Epistle states, 'able to save Him from death,' and to Whom, according to St. Mark, the struggling Christ declared 'all things were possible.'—W. LEFRÖY.

His fear was the beautiful thing which caused His prayer to be accepted. Fear is not generally beautiful, it is not commonly a virtue at all. What was there about this fear of Jesus which made it so precious in the Father's sight? It was this,—His was not the fear of death, but the dread of human frailty. He was afraid lest the weakness of the flesh should make Him choose a path different from the path His Father had chosen for Him. He was afraid lest even in desire He should follow a road less dolorous than that which His Father had prepared, and the strong crying of His spirit came forth in the earnest supplication, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' That was the prayer which His Father answered, and in the answer to that prayer the cause of His fear vanished.—G. MATHESON.

#### Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth.

'ONE sorrow more? I thought the tale complete.'—

He bore amiss who grudges what he bore:

Stretch out thy hands and urge thy feet to meet

One sorrow more.

Yea, make thy count for two or three or four:

The kind Physician will not slack to treat

His patient while there's rankling in the sore.

Bear up in anguish, ease will yet be sweet;

Bear up all day, for night has rest in store:

Christ bears thy burden with thee, rise and greet

One sorrow more.

C. ROSSETTI.



## Sermons for Reference.

Barrett (G. S.), Temptation of Christ, 22.  
 Belfrage (H.), Sacramental Addresses, 370.  
 Bernard (J. H.), Via Domini, 145.  
 Brown (A.), God's Great Salvation, 164.  
 Burder (H. F.), Sermons, 62.  
 Colenso (J. W.), Natal Sermons, ii. 84.  
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 Matheson (G.), Moments on the Mount, 204.  
 Meyer (F. B.), Way into the Holiest, 87.  
 Milligan (W.), Resurrection of Our Lord, 304.  
 Newman (J. H.), Parochial Sermons, iii. 156.  
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 Trench (R. C.), Studies on the Authorized Version, 61.  
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## Magic and Religion.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MARWICK, OLD CALABAR.

THE first edition of *The Golden Bough* (1890) had for sub-title, 'A Study in Comparative Religion.' The second, revised and enlarged, edition has for sub-title, 'A Study in Magic and Religion.' The change is significant. While Mr. Frazer's views regarding the priesthood of Aricia, which forms the central theme, and the general interpretation which, following W. Mannhardt, he had given of the ceremonies observed by the European peasantry in spring, at midsummer, and at harvest, remain much as they were, his views regarding the relation of magic to religion have undergone a certain amount of change, or at least have become clearer. 'When I first wrote this book,' he says (*G.B.*<sup>2</sup> vol. i. p. xvi), 'I failed, perhaps inexcusably, to define even to myself my notion of religion, and hence was disposed to class magic loosely under it as one of its lower forms. . . . I have come to agree with Sir A. C. Lyall and Mr. F. B. Jevons in recognizing a fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion. More than that, I believe that in the evolution of thought, magic, as representing a lower intellectual stratum, has probably everywhere preceded religion. I do not claim any originality for this latter view. It has been already plainly suggested, if not definitely formulated, by Professor H. Oldenberg in his able book, *Die Religion des Veda*, and for aught I know it may have been explicitly stated by many others before and since him. I have not collected the opinions of the

learned on the subject, but have striven to form my own directly from the facts. And the facts which bespeak the priority of magic over religion are many and weighty. Some of them the reader will find stated in the following pages; but the full force of the evidence can only be appreciated by those who have made a long and patient study of primitive superstition. . . . That all my readers should agree either with my definition of religion or with the inferences I have drawn from it, is not to be expected. But I would ask those who dissent from my conclusions to make sure that they mean the same thing by religion that I do; for otherwise the difference between us may be more apparent than real.'

It is in attempting to explain the Arician priest's title, 'the King of the Wood,' that Mr. Frazer is at once brought into touch with the problem of magic and its relation to religion. Sec. 2 of chap. 1—formerly entitled 'Primitive Man and the Supernatural,' is now called 'Magic and Religion'—is enlarged from 23 pp. to 121, and contains much new matter of importance. Ancient kings were revered, in many cases not merely as priests, that is, as intercessors between man and god, but as themselves gods, able to bestow upon their subjects and worshippers those blessings which are commonly supposed to be beyond the reach of man, and are sought, if at all, only by prayer and sacrifice offered to superhuman and invisible beings. Thus kings are often expected to give rain and sunshine in due season, to make the crops grow, and so on. Strange as this expectation appears to us, it is quite of a piece with early modes of thought. A

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough: a Study in Magic and Religion.* By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Second edition, revised and enlarged; in 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1900.



savage hardly conceives the distinction commonly drawn by more advanced peoples between the natural and the supernatural (*G.B.*<sup>1</sup> i. 8, <sup>2</sup> i. 8, 9). Mr. F. B. Jevons argues ably for the contrary view in his *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896), chap. 3, 'The Supernatural.' He says, 'From the beginning there were some sequences of phenomena, some laws which man had observed, and the occurrence of which he took as a matter of course and regarded as natural' (p. 18). '... Laws on which man could count and sequences which he habitually initiated and controlled were natural. It was the violation of these sequences and the frustration of his expectations by which the belief in supernatural power was not created but was first called forth' (p. 19). Of course this distinction is to be regarded as implicit rather than explicit, as words for 'natural' and 'supernatural' do not exist in the languages of contemporary savages. Still, there are attempts to express what is abnormal or super-normal. Take, e.g., the Melanesian word 'mana.' Dr. Codrington deprecates the use of the word 'supernatural' with reference to it. 'It is unseen power which can be turned by man to his own benefit, as in the case of electricity or even wind. It is 'a power or influence not physical and in a way supernatural.' . . . It 'is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone.' Once more, it 'works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of man outside the common process of nature,' etc.<sup>1</sup> *Mana* belongs to 'the dynamic mode of conception.'

To the savage, who hardly conceives the distinction between the natural and the supernatural, 'the world,' Mr. Frazer goes on to say, 'is to a large extent worked by supernatural (*sic*) agents, that is, by personal beings acting on impulses and

motives like his own, liable like him to be moved by appeals to their pity,' etc. 'In a world so conceived, he sees no limit to his power of influencing the course of nature to his own advantage. Prayers, promises, or threats may secure him fine weather and an abundant crop from the gods; and if a god should happen, as he sometimes believes, to become incarnate in his own person, then he need appeal to no higher being; he, the savage, possesses in himself all the powers necessary to further his own well-being and that of his fellow-men.

'This is one way in which the idea of a man-god is reached. But there is another. Side by side with the view of the world as pervaded by spiritual forces, primitive man has another conception in which we may detect a germ of the modern notion of natural law or the view of nature as a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency. The germ of which I speak is involved in that sympathetic magic, as it may be called, which plays a large part in most systems of superstition' (*G.B.*<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> i. 9). Here magic and religion are described as existing 'side by side,' religion apparently the earlier.<sup>2</sup>

In the new edition Mr. Frazer sets forth the 'fundamental principles' on which sympathetic magic is based—for it is a philosophy as well as an art. They seem to be reducible to two: '(1) that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and (2) that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other, as if the contact still persisted. On the first is based imitative or mimetic magic; on the second, what may appropriately be termed sympathetic in the strict sense. In practice the two are often conjoined; or, to speak more exactly, while imitative magic may be practised by itself, sympathetic magic in the strict sense will generally be found to involve an application of the mimetic principle' (*G.B.*<sup>2</sup> i. 9, 10). But 'sympathetic magic' is 'a question-begging epithet' (Jevons, *I.H.R.* p. 24).

Mr. Frazer then proceeds to illustrate the principles of sympathetic magic both in the wider and the narrower sense of the term (pp. 10–60), and then says: 'In a few of the cases cited we have seen that the operation of spirits is assumed, and that an attempt is made to win their favour by

<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 119, as quoted by Lady Welby in her interesting paper, 'The Significance of Folk-Lore,' *International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891, *Papers and Transactions*, p. 397, in which she discusses the danger of the ambiguous use of words. See also A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, 2nd ed., pp. 197–200. Mr. Lang identifies *mana* with 'magical rapport,' or, more generally, with 'the uncanny, X, the unknown,' which seems to be too vague. See also quotations from Codrington in *G.B.*<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 65 and 138.

<sup>2</sup> But see *G.B.*<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 70–71, for argument that magic is older than religion.

prayer and sacrifice. But these cases are exceptional; they exhibit magic, tinged and alloyed with religion' (p. 61). It might be as correct to say that they exhibit religion alloyed with magic (see pp. 16, 19, 34, 42 (Indian sacrifice), 45 (Melanesian sacred stones). And it might be possible to multiply these 'exceptional cases.'

At p. 80 'the impatient reader who has quite forgotten' (as even the patient reader might be excused for doing) 'is respectfully reminded that we were led to plunge into the labyrinth of magic . . . by a consideration of two different types of man-god. . . . The two types may conveniently be distinguished as the religious and the magical man-god respectively. In the former, a being of an order different from and superior to man is supposed to become incarnate, for a longer or a shorter time, in a human body, manifesting his superhuman power and knowledge by miracles wrought and prophecies uttered through the medium of the fleshly tabernacle in which he has deigned to take up his abode. . . . On the other hand, a man-god of the magical sort is nothing but a man who possesses in an unusually high degree powers which most of his fellows arrogate to themselves on a smaller scale; for in rude society there is hardly a person who does not dabble in magic. Thus, whereas a man-god of the former or inspired type derives his divinity from a deity who has stooped to hide his heavenly radiance behind a dull mask of earthly mould, a man-god of the latter type draws his extraordinary power from a certain physical sympathy with nature.' But it turns out after all the labyrinthine wandering consequent on the consideration of two different types of man-god that 'the line between these two types of man-god, however sharply we may draw it in theory, is seldom to be traced with precision in practice, and in what follows I shall not insist on it' (*G.B.*<sup>2</sup> i. 81).

We now turn back to p. 61, where Mr. Frazer discusses the relation of magic (unalloyed with religion) to science. 'Sympathetic magic . . . assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. Thus its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. . . . The magician supplicates no higher power; he sues the favour of no

fickle and wayward being; he abases himself before no awful deity. Yet his power, great as he believes it to be, is by no means arbitrary and unlimited. He can wield it only so long as he strictly conforms to the rules of his art, or to what may be called the laws of nature as conceived by him. . . . Thus the analogy between the magical and the scientific conceptions of the world is close. . . . The fatal flaw of magic lies not in its general assumption of a succession of events determined by law, but in its total misconception of the particular laws which govern that succession. . . . A mistaken association of similar ideas produces imitative or mimetic magic; a mistaken association of contiguous ideas produces sympathetic magic in the narrower sense of the word. The principles of association are excellent in themselves, and indeed absolutely essential to the working of the human mind. Legitimately applied they yield science; illegitimately applied they yield magic, the bastard sister of science' (*G.B.*<sup>2</sup> i. 61, 62).

But the foundation of savage and scientific logic is the same, for it is the uniformity of nature. The savage has not indeed formulated the inductive methods, but he uses them all. The savage theory of causation is not fundamentally different from the scientific: it is only incomplete and exaggerated. The differences between savage and scientific logic are not formal but material. The errors of the early logician were extra-logical, and therefore were such as could be remedied by no process of logic, but only by wider experience. To speak of the savage's choice among innumerable possible causes, when he makes mistakes, as haphazard and illogical, is to misconceive the nature of logic.<sup>1</sup> 'It might be expected that, as it was only experience which could show what was impossible, so experience would suffice of itself to teach men this essential distinction. But as a matter of fact, experience by itself has done no such thing, as is shown by the simple fact that great as is the age and long as is the experience of the human race, the vast majority of its members have not yet learned from experience that like does not necessarily produce like; four-fifths of mankind, probably, believe in sympathetic magic, and therefore neither need nor can make any intellectual progress, while the progressive minority are precisely those from amongst

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. C. Lyall seems to regard savages as devoid of logic (*Asiatic Studies*, 2nd ed. (1884), p. 78).



whom magic has been uprooted by its relentless foe, religion.'<sup>1</sup>

The fallacy that things causally related must be similar to one another is 'a fallacy from which most savages, who in this may be taken as representing primitive man, have not yet escaped.'<sup>2</sup> The means which the savage employs for the purposes of 'sympathetic magic' are 'precisely those used for the ordinary commonplace purposes of life both by him and by civilised man.' 'Sympathetic magic, which is the germ of all magic, does not therefore involve in itself the idea of the supernatural, but is simply the applied science of the savage.'<sup>3</sup> Mr. Frazer's 'magic, unalloyed with religion,' seems practically equivalent to Mr. Jevons' 'applied science of the savage.' The differences that emerge in their respective treatment of the relations of magic and religion are traceable to Mr. Frazer's dictum that the savage hardly conceives the distinction between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural' and to his hypothesis of two types of man-god. The dictum and the hypothesis affect Mr. Frazer's treatment of his study of magic and religion throughout the three volumes.

It is, I trust, no disparagement of the utility and the interest of this learned work as a repertory of facts, to say that the light bridges of hypotheses, as Mr. Frazer himself calls them, by which he attempts to colligate the facts, seem poised above, rainbow wise, instead of resting on solid foundations.<sup>4</sup> If I may venture on a general criticism, I think Mr. Frazer hardly sifts his facts with sufficient care; sometimes omits to apply the canons of the higher criticism to some of his authorities, e.g. Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, whose version of the Osiris myth is 'immensely garbled and overlaid,' though its main lines 'can be seen through the clouds of comment, expansion, and transformation in a more connected and fuller form than elsewhere';<sup>5</sup> and reads into many of his facts more than the facts themselves warrant, or, when they are compared with other facts that may or can be adduced, ought legitimately to be inferred from them. One important

example under the last count may be adduced. In proceeding to give examples of 'human gods,' Mr. Frazer says: 'At the outset, it is well to note that in the sorcerer or miracle-monger pure and simple we have, as it were, the chrysalis out of which the full-blown god or king may sooner or later emerge. "The real gods at Tanna," says the Rev. Dr. Turner, "may be said to be the disease-makers." It is surprising how these men are dreaded, and how firm the belief that they have in their hands the power of life and death.' The means employed by these sorcerers to effect their fell purpose is sympathetic magic; they pick up the refuse of a man's food, or other rubbish belonging to him, and burn it with certain formalities; and so the man falls ill and sends a present—an embryo sacrifice—to the sorcerer or embryo god, praying him to stop burning the rubbish, for he believes that when it is quite burnt he must surely die.' Note what has been read into the facts in stating them, and now note the inferences drawn from both. 'Here we have all the elements of religion—a god, a worshipper, prayer, and sacrifice—in process of evolution.'<sup>6</sup> To adduce all the 'other facts' that have to be taken into account, and to examine fully the inferences Mr. Frazer draws from his facts, would take up too much space. But take a few points. Dr. Turner, as quoted by Mr. Frazer himself (vol. ii. p. 464), states that the *spirits* of their *departed* ancestors are their gods, and that chiefs who reach an advanced age are *after death* deified, etc. Although he speaks of disease-makers as the real gods at Tanna, he immediately after qualifies or explains this loose use of the word 'gods,' by saying, 'There are rain-makers and thunder-makers, and fly and mosquito-makers, and a host of other "*sacred men*," but the disease-makers are the most dreaded.' Dr. Turner resided only seven months on Tanna, and on his own confession was imperfectly acquainted with the language and traditions of the Tannese.<sup>7</sup> Dr. J. G. Paton, who had a longer experience and more intimate knowledge, states in his well-known *Autobiography*, (pt. i. pp. 118, 119, 6th ed. 1890) that 'sacred men and women, wizards and witches, received presents regularly to influence the gods, and to remove sickness, or to

<sup>1</sup> Jevons, *I.H.R.* p. 33; cf. A. Lang, 'Mr. Frazer's Theory of Totemism,' *Fortnightly Review*, June 1899, p. 1012.

<sup>2</sup> *Op cit.* p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Jevons, *I.H.R.*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Lang's examinations of hypotheses in 'The Golden Bough,' in *Fortnightly Review*, Feb. and April 1901.

<sup>5</sup> *Authority and Archaeology* (1899), pp. 217 and 195.

<sup>6</sup> *G.B.* i. 137, cf. 317; and G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, pp. 88-92.

<sup>7</sup> G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, pp. 68, 69, and 88.



cause it by the *nahak*, i.e. incantation,<sup>1</sup> over remains of food, or the skin of fruit, such as banana, which the person has eaten, on whom they wish to operate.' Dr. Turner himself informs us 'that the belief in the system of *nahak*-burning was as firm in the craft as out of it. If a disease-maker was ill himself, he felt sure that some one must be burn-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Turner mistakenly identifies *nahak* with rubbish, principally refuse of food, the thing to be 'bewitched'—a mistake a newcomer, whether a traveller or missionary, is very apt to make.

ing his *nahak*. He, too, must have a shell blown and presents sent to the party supposed to be causing the mischief.'<sup>2</sup> The sorcerer of Tanna is not an embryo god, he receives presents to induce him to influence the gods or to stop his own incantations, and though regarded as a 'sacred man' (? priest), is really the dupe of his own 'sympathetic magic.' A pretty embryo god! He is more likely to evolve into a scientific scavenger.

<sup>2</sup> *Op cit.* p. 91.

## Sennacherib's Second Expedition to the West, and the Date of his Siege of Jerusalem.

BY PROFESSOR J. V. PRÁŠEK, PH.D., PRAGUE.

### II.

THE principal merit of having recognized correctly the internal character of the biblical record in question, of having critically distinguished its components, and drawn therefrom the logical conclusions, belongs to B. Stade, who (first in his *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* i. 617 ff., and afterwards in his well-known examination of the sources in the *Z.A.T.W.* 1886, p. 183 ff., which in the main is to be regarded as conclusive) recognizes three independent sources, which are partly represented also in Is 36–38, and from which the redactor of the Books of Kings has produced the present form of text.

One must not, indeed, forget Stade's predecessors, who laboured to prepare the rugged path of examination of the sources for the master. Sir H. Rawlinson, as was remarked before, had already shown indirectly that the biblical account (2 K 18<sup>13-16</sup>) is to be distinguished from the rest of the narrative relating to Sennacherib's undertakings against Judah, a view which, however, comes to the same thing as the supposition that two distinct sources were afterwards worked up into a single narrative. He was followed by Kleinert (*S.K.* 1877, i. 167 ff.), who, however, sought to prove that 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> refers not to the campaign of Sennacherib but to that of Sargon, the name Sennacherib being arbitrarily inserted by the compiler in v.<sup>13</sup>, and the section having in view the time of the Assyrian invasion of Palestine, 713 B.C., on which occasion Ashdod in particular was subdued;

cf. Schrader, *K.A.T.*<sup>2</sup> 310. A more correct view of the state of the case was taken by Wellhausen (in Bleek's *Einleit. in. d. A.T.*<sup>4</sup> 256), who expresses his conviction that in 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> on the one hand, and in v.<sup>17</sup> ff. on the other, we have accounts of two different stages of the same campaign. Floigl (*Die Chronologie der Bibel*, 28 ff., and also in his *Cyrus und Herodot.* 169 ff.) regards the narrative of 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> as the only authentic one, and the other, 18<sup>13</sup>. 17<sup>f</sup>.–20<sup>19</sup>, as a legendary account put together from older material during the Exile, but considers that both narratives, although independently composed, relate to the same event, a view which is maintained also by Nowack (*S.K.* 1881, p. 300 ff.), who, following Kuenen, appeals in support of it to the circumstance that in 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> we find uniformly the form חֲזָקִיָּה, whereas in the other passage in Kings as well as in Is 36–39 we have always חֲזָקִיָּהוּ.

None of the views cited could rise to the height of H. Rawlinson's explanation, because even that which is the condition of all advance, namely, the distinguishing of two original accounts in the Bible narrative, cannot arrive at the correct conception of the circumstances of the case without the only possible conclusion that the different sources have in view different events. Stade has the merit of being the first to place the investigation of Sennacherib's relations with the West of Palestine upon the footing it had already gained at the beginning of ancient Eastern monumental research, through

the labours of the ancient master of cuneiform lore. Already in his *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* i. 617 ff., notwithstanding that he still held to the essential unity of the events recorded in the Bible narrative, Stade points the right way to establishing the state of the case in question, when, in accordance with the laws of methodical criticism of the sources, he examines the narrative as to its origin and analyses it. He points out first of all that the passage, 2 K 18<sup>13-20</sup><sup>19</sup>, speaks, indeed, of the exploits of Sennacherib, but says nothing about his conflicts with Hezekiah's allies in Palestine, and that what is recorded in 18<sup>13-19</sup><sup>87</sup> about Sennacherib's relations with Hezekiah belongs, with the exception of 18<sup>14-16</sup>, to the prophetic legend, and is on the same footing as the story of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery in 2 K 20. The contents of 18<sup>17-19</sup> are separated by at least a century from the occurrences in view, and show themselves by their character to be unhistorical. Stade urges, further, that even the section 2 K 18<sup>17-19</sup><sup>87</sup> is not a single narrative, but is made up of two legends which contradict one another in points of detail, although they deal with the same occurrences. The suture of the two accounts may be seen in 19<sup>9b</sup>. Moreover, the second legend has had introduced into it in 19<sup>21-31</sup> an oracle of the prophet Isaiah which did not originally belong to it, and which interrupts a speech of Isaiah it contained. This oracle presupposes, like the first legend, 18<sup>17-19</sup><sup>9a</sup>, that the message of Sennacherib was delivered by word of mouth.

From the above results Stade has not drawn the conclusion, but remarks (p. 619) that it is impossible, by combining the annals of Sennacherib with the contents of 2 K 18-20, to reconstruct the history of the campaign of 701. Stade sees now that what is related in 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> agrees completely with what Sennacherib himself records, but holds that the legends of 2 K 18-20 are wrong in asserting that matters did not go the length of an attack upon Jerusalem, and that Sennacherib's officers appeared before the city only as bearers of a message. Upon the whole, these legends are without accurate information, but they still present to us a correct view of certain events dating from that period of danger to Jerusalem. This last remark applies particularly, Stade thinks, to the cause assigned by the legend for the final deliverance of Jerusalem.

From the standpoint of biblical study and Egyptology

Stade's conclusions are justified, still holding, as he does, to the contemporaneousness of Šabak, whom he identifies with the מלך-מצרים of 2 K 17<sup>4</sup>, and being thus able to place the year of Tirhaka's accession in Egypt before the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (= 701 B.C.). In this way, as we shall see presently, the greatest difficulty in the way of harmonizing the Bible narrative with the record of Sennacherib may be removed. But criticism arrives at a different result when it goes thoroughly into the Assyrian records and the results of the latest chronological researches regarding the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty of the Ethiopians. Stade's conclusions, then, must be rejected, but his great merit, that of having analysed the present biblical narrative into its original sources, remains unaffected.

It was reserved for H. Winckler to indicate the path, which, following Stade's distinction of sources, leads to the only possible solution of the complicated question. In his *Altorient. Untersuchungen* (1889), Winckler paved the way for successful study of the question, when, as the result of thoroughgoing chronological researches he correctly determined the date of the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty. Since, according to his results, Tirhaka did not ascend the throne of Egypt till 691 B.C., the מלך of 2 K 17<sup>4</sup> cannot possibly be regarded as king of Egypt,—a conclusion which confirms the view strenuously maintained by Winckler that in the Books of Kings we must distinguish sharply between Mišraim-Egypt and Mišraim-Mušri in N.W. Arabia, and that the מלך in question is not the king of Egypt but one of the Arabian princes of Mušri, of whom many make their appearance on the plane of history at the time of the Sargonides. Winckler did not himself draw this inference in 1889, but placed מלך among a number of Delta princes subject to the Pharaoh,—a view which we encounter again three years later in his *Gesch. Bab. u. Assy.* p. 234. But in regard to the criticism of the events of 701, Winckler (*l.c.* p. 254) already gives utterance to the conviction that, in opposition to the usual view, only the passage, 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> and 17<sup>18, 17-19</sup><sup>8</sup>, deals with the events of the year 701. '2 K 19<sup>3-87</sup>, which is generally referred to the same events,' he goes on to say, 'can be understood only of a new expedition of Sennacherib, which took place in the period that followed the destruction of Babylon (689), but of which we hear nothing from Sennacherib himself.'



Still more precisely does Winckler formulate this opinion in *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, p. 31, where, after a detailed comparison of the Assyrian record with the Bible passage, 2 K 18<sup>14-16</sup> and 17<sup>13, 17-19</sup>, he arrives at the conclusion that in the narratives relating to the year 701 there is no mention at all of a *siege of Jerusalem*, and gathers from the terms of Sennacherib's record, that the king was not then in a position to besiege Jerusalem. According to Winckler's conviction, Sennacherib did not proceed on that occasion to the actual siege designed for a future occasion, for, as his own words unmistakably show, he withdrew without Hezekiah having made submission. On the other hand, Winckler (p. 35) regards the passage, 19<sup>8-37</sup> (of course only in the *historical* kernel that has first to be determined by criticism), as part of a narrative according to which Sennacherib, in the course of an expedition, in which Palestine also was threatened without its being actually said that he came there, was compelled, when Tirhaka of Egypt moved against him, by the outbreak of pestilence to beat a hasty retreat, and was shortly thereafter murdered at Nineveh. Winckler (p. 36) goes on to maintain that the campaign of 19<sup>8-37</sup> cannot thus have taken place until after 691, and, in fact, only some years after that date, since Tirhaka cannot have been in a position in the very first year after his subjugation of Egypt to undertake such far-reaching movements, which involved him in a conflict with Assyria. The same result is made use of by Winckler in his *Gesch. Israels in Einzeldarstellungen* i. 184, where he emphasizes the circumstance that Tirhaka succeeded in inciting Hezekiah to repeated revolts from Assyria. Arabia may also have taken part in the revolt, and Sennacherib may have begun operations against Arabia and Egypt, in the course of which Judah, although it was not actually traversed by the Assyrian army, was yet already threatened, when he was murdered in Assyria by his son. Winckler sketches the operations of Sennacherib in the West in the same way most recently in his article 'Das alte Westasien' in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, iii. 72.

It might have been expected that recent historical descriptions would show the impress of the above views of Stade and Winckler. As a matter of fact, Krall (*Grundriss der altor. Gesch.* i. 153, 156) has utilized the results of both these scholars, comparing, as he does, the Assyrian

statements regarding the third campaign of Sennacherib with the biblical narrative of 2 K 18<sup>13-16</sup>, but he supposes a second campaign towards the close of Sennacherib's reign against the Hatti-land, which was really directed against Egypt, or, in a sense, Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia. This expedition is passed over in silence by the Assyrian sources, but must be assumed on the ground of Is 36<sup>2ff.</sup>. The siege and wonderful deliverance of Jerusalem belong, according to Krall, to this second campaign. Guthe (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.* 204) treats the matter in the same way, likewise assuming a second expedition of Sennacherib to the West, in support of which he utilizes certain statements of Esarhaddon, and places this campaign in the last eight years of Sennacherib.

All the more remarkable is it that so reputable a scholar as Professor Meinhold of Bonn, in his lecture, 'Jesaja und seine Zeit' (11 f.), argues strenuously in favour of a single campaign of Sennacherib to the West. He asserts, quite correctly indeed, that, at the latest, by 693 'the statesmanlike young Tirhaka' had seized the government of Egypt, but this does not exclude his having before that date taken the lead in Egypt, and his having desisted the approach of danger from Assyria and sought to ward it off. Accordingly, his ambassadors may have been seen in Jerusalem (as early, say, as 703). A strange backward inference! In the year 693 Tirhaka is represented as coming upon the scene in Egypt as a young ruler, and yet ten years earlier the important rôle is assigned him of sending embassies and entertaining political relations with neighbouring states, and this actually in the name of a king not related to him—for here there can be question only of the Σεβχώς of Manetho, but Tirhaka was the relative of Šabak, whose exact relation to Σεβχώς is unknown, but of any relation of the latter to Tirhaka we find not a single trace. When Meinhold finds in the mention of Tirhaka in the biblical narrative a confirmation of his theory, he sets the pyramid on its apex, since he ignores the results of thorough criticism of the sources.

I have found it necessary to discuss the views of my predecessors before proceeding to my own solution of the problem. My justification for acting thus must be found in the importance of the question for the history of the ancient East, and of the Israelites in particular.

(To be continued.)



# At the Literary Table.

## THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN A. BROADUS.  
By A. T. ROBERTSON. (*American Baptist Pub. Soc.*  
Crown 8vo, pp. 471. \$1.50.)

Dr. Broadus is best known by his Commentary on St. Matthew, the work of a true scholar and a gifted exegete. Should this biography reach readers in this country it will carry the knowledge of a man who was greater than his works. Professor Robertson has done his part well. We are able to say even of this far-away brother in the Lord, 'Whom having not seen, we know and love,' and we understand better the apostle's mind, now henceforth to know no man after the flesh.

THE TORA OF MOSES. By W. W. MARTIN. (Nashville: *Barbee & Smith*. Crown 8vo, pp. 354. \$1.50.)

In this country a man is either a Higher Critic or he is not. In America he may be at once a Higher Critic and a fierce opponent of Higher Criticism. Professor Martin of Vanderbilt University tells us that his theory 'antagonizes wholly the literary analysis of the Pentateuch,' that 'the present volume demonstrates its failure in Deuteronomy,' and yet he divides the Pentateuch into sources and finds 'inconsistent statements' here and there throughout it. His idea is that the Law of Moses is found in Deuteronomy, according to two different versions, which he calls J and E; and what is left in Deuteronomy after these 'two ancient copies' of the Law have been extracted, does not belong to Deuteronomy, but has escaped from one or other of the three previous books of the Bible. Few men in this country are bold enough to publish independent work like this.

THEISM. By J. J. TIGERT, LL.D. (Nashville: *Barbee & Smith*. Crown 8vo, pp. 369. \$1.25.)

The expositor of Theism may desire to persuade us to begin with it or to end with it. Dr. Tigert would have us begin with it and go on unto perfection. He is not a Theist and nothing more, but he is a Theist. And he works over the old arguments for the being of God, travels with us, as he puts it, 'the paths that lead to God,' to show that they are still sound and serviceable, even though the statement of them may have to be varied not a little. He supports them by new instances and

illustrations, for 'he is a great reader and misses nothing that makes for lucidity. He adds new arguments also to the old, many reasons having been furnished even by our own generation why we should at least believe in God.

Messrs. A. & C. Black have published an English translation of Harnack's article on *The Apostles' Creed* in the new edition of Herzog. The article is to be called epoch-making, in spite of the abuse of that word. The translation is done by the Rev. Stewart Means, and it is well done (crown 8vo, pp. 88, 1s. 6d. net).

TENNYSON'S IN MEMORIAM. By A. W. ROBINSON, B.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. 310. 2s. 6d.)

This is at last the edition of the *In Memoriam* that had to be published. Why it did not come sooner is the puzzle, for it was not difficult to produce. It could have been produced even before the *Memoirs* came, for all the facts were known and even all the interpretations were accepted. It was the man that was wanting, sympathetic without gush, literary without wordiness. There is little room for improvement in this book.

Through the Cambridge University Press Mr. Kennett has published a beginner's book on the tenses of the Hebrew verb. He calls it (in remembrance of Driver's great book) *A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses* (crown 8vo, pp. 112, 3s. net). It is the work of a teacher of large experience and great ability, and it will serve its purpose well.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY.  
By S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S. (*T. & T. Clark*. 8vo, Fourth Edition, pp. 585. 9s.)

The continued circulation of Dr. Salmond's able and scientific book is a great encouragement to all serious students of theology. It used to be the heretical book that succeeded, and the more violent its heterodoxy the greater was its success. It is not to be supposed that all the people with itching ears are dead, but they appear to be actually in the minority for a time, and the earnest

study of the Bible is having its own. This is the fourth edition of Dr. Salmond's work. He has gone through it sentence by sentence in the light of the recent literature, and so thoroughly revised it, that the book has had to be entirely reset. That it is a greater work than before, no one will doubt. Dr. Salmond alters to make better. It is also a cheaper book, for which the publishers are heartily to be thanked.

A CENTURY'S PROGRESS. BY W. F. ADENEY, M.A. (*J. Clarke.* Crown 8vo, pp. 230. 3s. 6d.)

Of all the attempts that men made, when the old century drew near its end, to tell us what it had done, the best we saw was in a series of articles contributed by Professor Adeney to the *Christian World*. They were good enough to cut out and keep; but here they are now in an attractive volume. And the deepest impression that they make is probably this, that the world is actually making progress in moral and mental as well as in material things. And if it is humbling to see how many of the things which Professor Adeney counts marks of progress were resisted by the leaders in thought and in religion, it is also encouraging to know that they asserted their place in spite of that opposition, for it proves that as the heavens are higher than the earth so are God's thoughts higher than ours.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. BY G. CAMPBELL MORGAN. (*J. Clarke.* 12mo, pp. 219. 2s. 6d.)

Our Lord's advice to the young man who would inherit eternal life was, Keep the Commandments. It is His advice to us all. For without holiness no man shall see the Lord, and what is holiness but keeping the Commandments? So the study of the Commandments lies ever upon us. How can we keep them if we do not know or understand them? And we could scarcely find a simpler or more practical manual of instruction than this. Mr. Morgan magnifies the law and makes it honourable.

THE LIFE AND LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS. BY LYMAN ABBOTT. (*J. Clarke.* Crown 8vo, pp. 415. 6s.)

The frank naturalism of Dr. Lyman Abbott's title is a sign of the times. Dr. Abbott is an evolutionist. He is not a Higher Critic. He does not know much about the Higher Criticism. For that he is content to draw upon popular

books that are in all our hands. If he comes to the same conclusion as the extreme critics, he does so unwittingly, and perhaps unwillingly. He is an Evolutionist. The Old Testament came into being as the literature of other nations did. The Hebrews spoke of a Covenant which God made with Abraham, but that was merely their religious way of speaking—they had a genius for religion, especially for religious speech. There is no such thing as God making a Covenant with any one. The Old Testament or Covenant is just the literature of the Ancient Hebrews. Certainly Dr. Abbott does not deny the Hebrews' God. But he places Him at the beginning—away beyond the Hebrew and other national beginnings, and does not let Him interfere in Hebrew life or literature (now that evolution has got the direction of affairs) any more than in Chinese life and literature. All of which works fairly well until you come to Jesus. And then it stops dead, looks foolish, and finds it has been wrong from the beginning. For Jesus was a Hebrew too, and yet evolution no more accounts for Him than for God the Father. But Dr. Abbott stops *before* he comes to Jesus. Though the New Testament is part of the literature of the Hebrews, he does not look at it: the *Ancient* Hebrews mean the Hebrews before Christ's advent, and Dr. Lyman Abbott is safe.

It is a natural book then. God is in it, of course, but as He is in other lives and other literatures. And there is no denying it, that such a method of handling the Old Testament is both useful and entertaining. For it is a great literature and a marvellous life. No literature is like it, not even the literature of Greece; and no life can for a moment be compared with it. This is the Old Testament without its explanation, but even then the Old Testament is the most wonderful literary product in the world. This is the book to read for the melody of the 51st Psalm. Elsewhere we must go for the meaning of the cry, 'Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned.'

A HISTORY OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. BY R. W. ROGERS, PH.D., D.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S. (New York: *Eaton & Mains.* 8vo, Two Vols., pp. 449, 433.)

The history of Babylonia and Assyria now rivals in interest the history of Greece and Rome. Its only peer is the history of Egypt. We owe

it to the surprises of the spade, and still more to the perennial interest of the Old Testament. The literature of Babylonia is infinitesimal in amount and insignificant in quality. There no comparison exists with Greece or Rome. But the civilization is impressive, the ideas imperial, the men colossal. Babylonia and Assyria and Egypt, now that we know something of their personal and imperial life, have an interest of their own and must be studied, even in our schools, for their own sake. But it is on account of their connexion with Israel and the Old Testament that the fascination of these nations is so irresistible. That one day 'the Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold' is more than all the other military movements of the great Sennacherib. Professor Rogers has not forgotten that. He has written his history to be read by the lover of the Old Testament. We must not for a moment suggest that he has an apologetic or even mainly a religious interest to serve. He has written as a historian, recognizing that the history of Babylonia and Assyria is also a branch of human science. But his sense of the greatness of his subject, and surely also the fervour of his well-chosen language, arise out of the conviction that the Assyrian was the rod of Jehovah's anger against Israel. The Babylonians and Assyrians have their place in the progress of human civilization, but their greatest achievement was the deportation of a proud little nation from the heights of Zion to the homeless plains of Mesopotamia.

Professor Sayce has already called attention to the very full account which Dr. Rogers gives of Assyrian discovery and decipherment. Nowhere else is that fascinating story to be found in such generous and appreciative relation. Nevertheless, the second volume seems to us the more valuable, and serves to mark its author as one endowed with a historical faculty of a very high order.

Messrs. Eaton & Mains of New York are the publishers of a Commentary on the Old Testament by C. M. Cobern, D.D. Only the Introduction to Ezekiel and to Daniel have reached us, but certainly this fragment promises well. Scholarship is thoroughly recognized, the Maccabæan date of Daniel being unhesitatingly accepted, and yet there is a strong desire to conserve as much as possible.

THE LAW OF FORGIVENESS. By J. M. SCHULHOF, M.A. (Cambridge: *Heffer*. Crown 8vo, pp. 174.

The important thing when you set out upon the study of Biblical Theology is not to have your mind made up. That is why young men can and often do produce the best work in this department. Mr. Schulhof is presumably a young man. He has no theory about Forgiveness. He gathers the facts, arranges them, and tells us what they seem to say. If he is wrong, we can correct him. The examination of the words for 'Forgiveness' is especially careful and complete. And the whole impression is that Forgiveness is both comprehensible and joyful.

EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE BIBLE TRUTH. By C. ANDERSON SCOTT, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 320. 6s.)

Mr. Anderson Scott is struck by the splendid isolation of the Church of England. Acknowledging no Church which will acknowledge her, she is acknowledged by no Church which she will acknowledge. He examines the situation. That she is not acknowledged by other Churches may be her misfortune, but that she does not acknowledge the other Churches in the land must be her fault. She calls herself Catholic; the rest she calls Protestant. He examines these words. From that he is led to consider other claims to separation which the Church of England makes—Baptismal Regeneration, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, Apostolical Succession, and the like. His book takes the form of imaginary letters to an Anglo-Catholic. So there is no lack of courtesy. It is a countenance more in sorrow than in anger that we see. And whether the ideal Anglo-Catholic will turn or not, he will certainly acknowledge the fairness of Mr. Anderson Scott's argument and his marvellous acquaintance with the facts. It is a study in historical theology, most creditable to the author, most profitable to us all.

Professor Adeney of New College, London, has undertaken the editorship of a series of Commentaries, which he calls 'The Century Bible.' The first is out. It is St. Matthew, and is written by Professor Slater of Didsbury College, Manchester. The volume is conveniently small and very cheap (Edinburgh: Jack, 2s. net). The



appeal is evidently to a different class from that which the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges' seeks to reach. It is the working preacher, let us say especially the 'local' preacher, that is in mind. There is an introduction which is clear, well-informed, and untechnical. Then the Authorized Version is printed in paragraphs; and after that comes the Revised Version, which is used as the basis for the brief expository notes. We are not sure if space should have been taken up with the Authorized Version. Otherwise the idea seems excellent, and in this volume it is excellently attained.

THE ELEMENTS OF DARWINISM. By A. J. OGILVY. (*Jarrod*. Crown 8vo, pp. 160. 2s. 6d.)

A purely scientific account of Darwinism—forgetting that there is such a subject as theology in existence—is what Mr. Ogilvy has furnished, and he could not have served us better. Darwin's books are too many for us, even Wallace's books are beyond some of us. And yet we want to know what Darwinism is and what scientific persons now think of it. There is wonderful fulness and a blessed simplicity in Mr. Ogilvy's way of presenting the subject.

THE ETHICS OF JUDAISM. By M. LAZARUS, PH.D. TRANSLATED BY HENRIETTA SZOLD. (Philadelphia: *Jewish Pub. Soc.* Part I. Crown 8vo, pp. 320.)

The issue in readable English of Dr. Lazarus' great book is something to be thankful for. The two volumes are to be divided into four parts and issued at short intervals. This part is sufficient to show that the translator is competent. For the book itself there is no other word but indispensable. It is not the ethics of the Old Testament of course, but the ethics of the Jews. Yet how can the student of the Old Testament or even the student of Christianity ignore the ethics of the Jews?

THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE OF ST. PAUL. By J. T. L. MAGGS, B.A., B.D. (*Kelly*. Crown 8vo, pp. 227. 2s.)

Is it possible that St. Paul has not yet come to his own amongst us? Our fathers were never done with him, but was it not his theology rather than himself they revelled in? More recently the cry has been, Back to Christ, and St. Paul has actually been left alone. He will come to his

own yet. And we shall understand that the man is greater than his theology or even his conversion. We have perhaps separated both too much from himself. This little book will help us to the larger estimate. It is a volume of penetrating, yet reverent sermons.

Mr. A. W. Cooke, M.A., has published the second volume of his *Palestine in Geography and in History* (Kelly, crown 8vo, pp. 266, with a map, 2s. 6d.). It contains a useful and seemingly very carefully prepared topographical index, and altogether deserves more than the welcome we gave to the first volume.

THE INCARNATION. By THE REV. H. V. S. ECK, M.A. (*Longmans*. Crown 8vo, pp. 298. 5s.)

Messrs. Longmans have recently begun to publish a series of volumes under the general title of 'The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.' The series is edited by Canon Newbolt of St. Paul's and Principal Stone of Dorchester. These names raise expectation of a type of teaching which the present volume does not belie. Thus on the subject of the Actual Presence, Mr. Eck says that the act of consecration so alters the bread and wine that they become what they were not before, and are no longer common bread nor common wine but the Body and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus. And it is after that has taken place that faith comes in. Faith is the means whereby we recognize and receive that which already exists independently of it. In respect of the Incarnation proper, Mr. Eck's position is very conservative. 'It is difficult,' he says, 'to use any other epithet to characterize Dr. Ramsay's vindication of St. Luke's historical accuracy than the adjective triumphant.' And he will admit no discrepancy, interpolation, or even hesitation as to text or translation. In short, Mr. Eck has thoroughly made up his mind, and is just the man for a book of practical theology. In outward appearance, also, the book is most successful, and reflects great credit on the publishers.

JESUS CHRIST AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION. By F. G. PEABODY. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 374.)

'The poor ye have always with you.' And so also the social question. For it arises out of the condition of the poor, however far it travel. Now

it is not enough to ask, What would Jesus do? Jesus lived in other circumstances than ours. But undoubtedly the first thing to ask is, What did Jesus say? His acts were conditioned by His surroundings. His words are for all the ages. When we know what Jesus said on the social problem we begin to look at it aright. This is the service Professor Peabody has rendered. His first two chapters explain the principles of Christ's teaching, and we scarcely ever find ourselves in disagreement; we often find ourselves in hearty sympathy. The others apply these principles to the family, the rich, the care of the poor, and the industrial order. The last chapter is the most original. It deals with the correlation of the social questions.

#### HISTORY, PROPHECY, AND THE MONUMENTS.

By J. F. McCURDY, PH.D., LL.D. (*Macmillan*. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 493. 14s. net.)

With this third volume Professor McCurdy completes his great work. It was one of the happiest of human conceptions in book-making, and he has proved to be the man to accomplish it. For title we much prefer that which in the second and third volumes is given second, 'Israel and the Nations.' Had that been the title of the book it would have explained the idea at once. It is a history of Israel as a nation among nations. To understand the history of Israel—internal as well as external—it is necessary to know a good deal about the history of the nations that Israel had to do with. The history of these nations is interesting in itself, and Dr. McCurdy knows it well, down to its latest spadeful of discovery. But it is Israel that has given Assyria its immortality, and it is as illustrating Israel that the history of Assyria is of importance to the world to-day. So the central figure in Dr. McCurdy's book is always Israel. He writes as a historian, of course, not as a theologian or preacher. For our theology and our sermons we must go elsewhere. But he has shown how great is the gain that comes even to the theologian and the preacher from the serious study of the place of Israel in history—he has shown that more fully and memorably than any other writer.

Under the title of *By Love Serve One Another* (1s.), Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published a brief biography of a bright active follower of Christ, Adelaide Maria Patchell, B.A.

THE REDEMPTION OF DAVID CORSON. By C. F. Goss. (*Methuen*. Crown 8vo, pp. 418. 6s.)

This is a story with a religious interest. The precariousness of the inner light, if unsupported by historical evidence, is made the occasion of keen spiritual temptation. Yet the mystery of the inner light is never vulgarized, its imperiousness never denied. The scenes and the persons are American; but the artist has skill, and they are also human. The artist's skill is seen yet more in this, that the most cherished thoughts are least obtrusively expressed; this above all other, that God is great and despiseth not any.

INTER AMICOS. EDITED BY W. KNIGHT, LL.D. (*Murray*. Crown 8vo, pp. 165. 5s.)

*Inter Amicos* is the happy title of a volume of letters which passed between Professor Knight of St. Andrews and James Martineau. They are theological, the younger man having most to say, the elder saying most. They will be most helpful to those who stand where Professor Knight then stood. But who will miss reading what James Martineau has written?

SERMON SEED. BY THE REV. ROBERT TUCK, B.A. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 368. 6s.)

In this thick volume there are fifty-two texts, and every text is provided with Germ Thoughts, Scripture References, Various Renderings, Exegesis, Quotations from prominent expositors, Literature, and Suggestions for working out the Sermon. Mr. Tuck has great facility in work of this kind, and access to much homiletical material.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM. By J. A. HOBSON. (*Nisbet*. 8vo, pp. 395. 7s. 6d. net.)

There is no startling theory in Mr. Hobson's book to make it famous, as in Mr. Kidd's *Social Evolution*. That is because it is a greater book. He has surprises enough to waken a whole slumbering nation, but they are in the impassioned presentation of the facts of the life that surrounds us. More than any theorist could do, he makes us face our responsibilities. In his earnest, impressive way he shows us that the great hindrance to social progress is our own selfishness. If we would do what we already know to be our duty to do in our very neighbourhood, the social problem would be settled. But also, in his quiet, incisive manner, he shows us that social selfishness is the least profitable of human vices. There are things

within our reach which would benefit others and actually enrich ourselves. A little wider outlook, a little finer feeling, and again the social problem would receive a rapid solution. He does not preach. He does not directly ask us to put off the old man and put on the new. At least he does not use the language of the Bible. But what else is this: 'The supreme condition of social progress is for a society to *know itself*'?

DAVID LIVINGSTONE. BY T. BANKS MACLACHLAN.  
(*Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier*. Crown 8vo, pp. 157.  
1s. 6d. net.)

No books are so scarce as boys' books. The mere adventure novel is not the thing, nor is Pollok's *Course of Time*. Biographies of strong and good men are probably best. But how rarely are they written with the manly ring and the fascinating style. Try this one. Mr. MacLachlan has given us what we want. Whether he wrote for boys or not, his book will be devoured by boys. It is a true story. The author has been scrupulous to reach and state the truth. It is the truth in it that tells. It is because so great a hero lived and suffered in very deed that the book is the book for boys.

CALABAR AND ITS MISSION. BY THE REV. HUGH GOLDIE. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 399. 5s.)

This missionary classic is now republished with an additional chapter by the Rev. John Taylor Dean, which brings the work of the mission up to date. The new chapter maintains the consecrated reserve of the rest of the book. Clearly the younger men are also ready to give themselves to the work and hide themselves behind it.

THE ACADEMIC GREGORIES. BY AGNES GRAINGER STEWART. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 160. 1s. 6d. net.)

To gather the whole race of the learned Gregories among the company of 'Famous Scots' was an audacity which only a woman would have dared. Yet it is the gathering together that makes the success. Singly they scarcely deserve the name, much as they did for their own day and little world. But together they make one famous Scot who heartily deserves this book and all this admiration. It is one of the pleasantest books of this most pleasant series. Its style is gossip—in the good and generous use of that word. And it has the rare merit of taking us right into the

charmed inner circle where not only the Gregories abide, but also greater men than they, even men so great as Burns and Hume.

TERRA FIRMA. BY D. WARDLAW SCOTT. (*Simphin*. Crown 8vo, pp. 302.)

If there is contradiction, as Mr. Scott believes there is, between the story of the creation in Genesis and science, there are two ways of getting at the truth between them. One is by showing that science is right and Genesis wrong, the other by showing that Genesis is right and science wrong. Mr. Scott chooses the second way. And he begins at the beginning. The fundamental error is that science supposes the earth to be a globe. It is as flat as a pancake and as fixed as one of its own rocks. When this is established, other things follow. It follows that evolution is 'a dangerous form of Buddhist metempsychosis, altogether unscriptural, unnatural, and untrue.' It also follows that there are no more worlds than one, at least there is no need for more and no mention of any more in Scripture. The difficulty in the whole subject, as in so many others, is the want of proof. Mr. Scott says: 'Miss Giberne remarks that a German astronomer believes that the sun and the stars in the Milky Way are travelling to Alcyone, the chief star in the Pleiades, but wisely adds, Much stronger proof will be required before the idea can be accepted.' Yes, much stronger proof.

MANUAL OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. BY ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., LL.D. (Boston: *Silver, Burdett, & Co.* Crown 8vo, pp. 500.)

Dr. Hovey is Professor of Apologetics and General Introduction in Newton Theological Institution, America. His *Manual of Christian Theology* is an undenominational and unsectarian but certainly not a colourless book. It is not simply biblical, though the Scripture doctrine, gathered with care and without prejudice, is always its foundation; that doctrine is tested by the facts of life as well as by the speculations of philosophy. If the positions are throughout what are called those of the Reformation, that is a testimony to the truth of the Reformation theology, there is no sign that Dr. Hovey is desirous of supporting or supplanting any system whatever. The sanity of the book, its unaffected language, its unmistakable conviction, its freedom from extravagance, all help to make it a good manual for students.



BRITISH POWER AND THOUGHT. BY THE HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING. (*Smith, Elder, & Co.* Crown 8vo, pp. 320.)

Mr. Canning's new book is a prose version of 'Rule Britannia.' Its purpose is possibly to vindicate the present Boer War, but that subject is cleverly kept out of sight till the last chapter. We hear much of Britain's heroes and writers, and rejoice with the author that we are so unconquerable and altogether estimable a nation.

The somewhat indefinite title of *Modern Natural Theology* has been given to a book by F. J. Gant, F.R.C.S., published by Mr. Elliot Stock. The title is also somewhat inappropriate. Many things are in the book, but not much natural theology. All is in an admirable spirit, earnest and devout.

Professor Nestle's manual edition of the New Testament in Greek has been adopted in many colleges in this country, and is the daily companion of many private students. Already a third edition has been required, and Dr. Nestle has prepared it with characteristic thoroughness (*Novum Testamentum Græce cum apparatu critico*, curavit Eberhard Nestle. Stuttgart: Priv. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1901). The changes are numerous, and they are due to various causes; chiefly, however, to the issue last year by B. Weiss of the third volume, covering the Gospels, of his *Neue Testament*. This alone has introduced so many new signs that the third edition differs considerably from the first and second. But, fortunately, the book is so cheap that anyone can afford to buy another copy.

## The Songs of the Ascents.

BY THE REV. DAVID SMITH, M.A., TULLIALLAN.

### III.

#### The Deliverance: A Jubilant Hymn and a Mournful Retrospect.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. If it had not been Jehovah who was on our side,<br>let Israel now say;                                    | 1. Long have they oppressed me, even from my youth up,<br>let Israel now say;  |
| 2. If it had not been Jehovah who was on our side,<br>when men rose against us;                              | 2. Long have they oppressed me, even from my youth up,<br>yet have they not prevailed against me.                            |
| 3. Then had they swallowed us up alive<br>when hot was their wrath against us;                               | 3. Upon my back the ploughers ploughed,<br>long made they their furrows.   |
| 4. Then had the waters overwhelmed us,<br>the torrent had passed over our soul;                              | 4. Jehovah is righteous;<br>He hath cut the traces of the ungodly.   |
| 5. Then had passed over our soul<br>the proud-swelling waters.   | 5. Let them be ashamed and turn backward,<br>all them that hate Zion.  |
| 6. Blessed be Jehovah<br>who gave us not as a prey to their teeth.   | 6. Let them be like the grass of the house-tops<br>which, ere it is plucked up, withereth;                                   |
| 7. Our soul, like a bird, escaped<br>out of the snare of the fowlers;<br>the snare broke, and we—we escaped. | 7. Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand,<br>nor his bosom he that bindeth sheaves.                                       |
| 8. Our help is in the Name of Jehovah,<br>Maker of Heaven and Earth.—Ps. cxxiv.                              | 8. Nor do the passers by say,<br>'The blessing of Jehovah be upon you!'<br>'We bless you in the Name of Jehovah!'—Ps. cxxix. |

THE Deliverance has come! Cyrus has issued his decree, and the Exiles are at liberty to return home to the land of their fathers and the Temple of their God. It was a great day for Israel. One might imagine that every face would have been radiant and every voice exultant, and that all the sorrows of the past would have been clean swept away

by the flood of joy. And so indeed it was with most; but such is human nature that there are some who cannot forego the plaintive pleasure of woe. So accustomed are they to sit with Sorrow that she has become their familiar friend, and they cannot bear to bid her good-bye. They are made for melancholy and know not how to

smile. While others are shouting *hallelujah*, they rejoice with trembling and attemper their gladness with the remembrance of what they have suffered and with anticipations of the trials which may still be in store for them.

These diverse types of character are found among ourselves, and they are as ancient as human nature. See how they are represented by the two Psalms before us. The 124th is the jubilant hymn of one who had no thought for anything but the Great Deliverance and was burning with grateful gladness. The 129th is the bitter outpouring of a morose heart that brooded over the past and, instead of praising God for His great salvation, called to Him for vengeance on those who had done the wrong. The one Psalm is obviously the counterpart of the other. They correspond stanza for stanza, line for line, and the opening stanza of the one echoes the opening stanza of the other. Was the latter a cynical sneer at the former's impetuous exultation? Or was the former rather an impatient rebuke of the latter's obstinate melancholy and its ungrateful reluctance to rejoice with whole-hearted gladness in the Lord's great goodness?

If we may judge the nation by the Psalmist, it proves how little degradation the Israelites had suffered from their long bondage, how nobly they had preserved their independence and self-respect, that they did not prostrate themselves before Cyrus their deliverer, but stood erect like men and gave the glory to God.

If it had not been Jehovah who was on our side,  
let Israel now say;

If it had not been Jehovah who was on our side,  
when men rose against us;

Then had they swallowed us up alive.

So mysterious, so unexpected, so complete had been their deliverance that they must needs assign it not simply to Cyrus, the conqueror of their captors, but to God who, in the words of the second Isaiah, 'had anointed Cyrus, and holden his hand to subdue nations before him.' But for Jehovah they could not have been so marvelously delivered. By three graphic metaphors the perils they had been rescued from are described: (1) They have been snatched from their enemies like a helpless prey from the jaws of a wild beast: 'They had swallowed us up alive, when hot was their anger against us. . . . Jeho-

vah gave us not as a prey to their teeth.' (2) They have been rescued like men struggling for dear life in the furious torrent of a swollen river: 'Then the waters had overwhelmed us, the torrent had passed over our soul; then had passed over our soul the proud-swelling waters.' (3) They have escaped like a snared bird by the unexpected breaking of the snare when almost in the grasp of the fowler: 'Our soul, like a bird, escaped out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare broke, and we—we escaped.'

Now was the danger of the Exiles really such as to justify those strong metaphors? Once they had been conveyed to Babylon, they appear to have been by no means brutally treated by their masters. They were allowed to settle down peacefully as a separate community, observing their own social and religious usages. Their sufferings were due not so much to violence and brutality as to the shame and anguish which servitude, however alleviated, could not but occasion to high-spirited and freedom-loving natures. The fact is that so little were some of them distressed by their condition that, when liberty was proclaimed, they preferred staying on in Babylon and pursuing their lucrative occupations in her busy mart rather than returning poor and empty to a desolate country and aiding in the restoration of her ruined capital. These, however, would be the more ignoble of the Exiles. They had been born in captivity; they had not been imbued with the fond and sacred memories of the Homeland; and their base spirits did not chafe under the yoke of servitude.

The explanation is that a change would pass over the spirit of their masters as soon as Babylon was menaced by the Persian invasion. It would be felt that it was perilous to have that multitude of slaves at the gates of the city. Was it not likely that they would side with the invaders in the hope of gaining their freedom? It was indeed a most natural suspicion. *Totidem nobis hostes esse quot servos*, says the Roman proverb. Just a century later, during the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans were stricken with a panic lest their Helots should join the Athenians, and brutally massacred no fewer than two thousand of those hapless creatures. And the Babylonians had ample reasons for entertaining similar suspicions of the Israelites. We know that, when Cyrus appeared on the horizon of events, the Exiles hopefully recognized the

possibility of his acting the part of their deliverer. They exultantly hailed his appearance, and congratulated themselves on his progress; and their whispered expectations could hardly escape the ears of their masters. It may very well have been that the latter were meditating the destruction of those traitors within their borders, and it was doubtless only the suddenness and irresistibility of Cyrus' onset that saved the Israelites from a doom as terrible as that which befell the wretched Helots. He arrived just at the nick of time.

It is the selfsame Deliverance that Ps 129 celebrates, but how different the spirit of it! Instead of praising God with gladness and gratitude for His marvellous interposition, it dwells upon the misery of the late situation, and breathes a prayer for revenge. Whoever the Psalmist may have been, he was evidently a man whose business was agriculture. As he drove his team of oxen over the field and leaned his weight on the plough, he saw the keen share gashing the green sward and marking its passage with a long, quivering wound; and this seemed to the fancy of the poet-ploughman a symbol of his people scored and torn with the ploughshare of oppression—

Upon my back the ploughers ploughed,  
long made they their furrows.

Suddenly a mischance occurs. The soil is tough and heavy, and, as the stout oxen strain at the plough, the leathern thong that binds them to it snaps, and the share sticks fast in the furrow. Here the poet finds another parable. It was even thus that the ploughshare of oppression had been arrested in its murderous course—

Jehovah is righteous;  
He hath cut the traces of the ungodly.

Widely as the two Psalmists differ in spirit, they agree in their pictures of the *suddenness* of God's intervention, so unexpected, so complete, like the breaking of the snare, like the snapping of the traces.

It is kindred language that the poet employs when he prays for vengeance on Israel's enemies. In the crevices on the flat roofs of the Eastern houses stray seeds of grass and grain would often take root; and, when the spring-time came with its showers and sunshine, they would shoot up fresh and green, growing all the more quickly because there was, as in our Lord's parable, no

depth of earth. But as the season waxed hot, the blades would parch and wither away. The mower could scarcely have gathered an handful, nor the reaper enough corn to fill his loose girdle. Thus, prays the Psalmist, may it be with 'the haters of Zion'!

Let them be like the grass of the house-tops  
which, ere it is plucked up, withereth;  
Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand,  
nor his bosom he that bindeth sheaves.

So enamoured is the Psalmist of his simile that he goes on to elaborate it almost to the length of losing sight of the subject which suggested it. He pictures the familiar and pleasant scene of an harvest-field. The best commentary on these closing lines is Ru 2<sup>d</sup>: 'Behold, Boaz came from Beth-lehem, and said to the reapers, Jehovah be with you! And they answered him, Jehovah bless thee!' This is the very scene which our poet depicts—a golden harvest-field with its band of blithe and busy workers, first the men clearing the way with their gleaming sickles, then the maidens lifting the swathes and binding them into sheaves, and close after them the gleaners snatching the stray ears. A stranger passes along the path that skirts the field, and greets the harvesters with the customary salutation of the East, 'The blessing of Jehovah be upon you!' And they all lift their heads and greet him in reply, 'We bless you in the Name of Jehovah!'

There is no such joyous harvest scene at the gathering of the poor scanty grass that springs on the house-top. It withers away ere ever it reaches maturity. And the Psalmist prays that 'the haters of Zion' may have a like inglorious ending.

From a mere literary point of view this Psalm is very beautiful. It is a charming idyll of rustic life. The Psalmist had a poet's eye and a poet's imagination; but he had a narrow and bitter heart. He made two of the worst blunders a man can make. He dwelt upon the evil of the past and lived it all over again, when he should have been exulting in the Lord's great goodness. And, instead of seeking grace to forgive those who had done him wrong, or—if that were a thing too high for him—dismissing them from his mind, he corroded his heart with bitter thoughts and scorched his lips with ruthless imprecations. He remembered the affliction of the past, and closed his eyes to God's present goodness: this was his heinous sin and his heavy curse.



# What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

BY AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., HON. PHIL. DR. (HALLE-WITTENBERG),  
LL.D. (ST. ANDREWS), CAMBRIDGE.

## V.

### The Gospel of John.

8<sup>18</sup>.—‘The *Jews* said unto him,’ instead of ‘The Pharisees’ (with the Palestinian Syriac).

8<sup>16</sup>.—‘but I and *he* who sent me’ (with Codex Bezae and the Palestinian Syriac).

\*8<sup>20</sup>.—‘These things spoke he in the treasury, and in the temple’; ‘as he taught,’ being omitted. They may have been carried here from Mk 12<sup>35</sup>, or from elsewhere.

8<sup>34</sup>.—‘Whoso committeth sin is a slave’; ‘of sin,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae). The passage surely gains in force by this omission.

8<sup>47</sup>.—‘because ye are not.’ The words ‘of God’ seem to have dropped out of this manuscript, and the whole sentence ‘because . . . God.’ has dropped out of Codex Bezae.

\*8<sup>52</sup>.—‘and the prophets,’ is omitted.

8<sup>54</sup>.—‘that he is God,’ instead of ‘that he is your God.’

8<sup>56</sup>.—‘Abraham *was* longing to see my day’; ‘Your father,’ being omitted (almost with the Peshitta).

8<sup>57</sup>.—‘The Jews say unto him, Thou art not fifty years old, *and hath Abraham seen thee?*’ (with the Codex Sinaiticus, and the uncorrected reading of the Codex Vaticanus).

We owe the discovery of this corroboration to my friend the late Mr. Theodore Harris, who was one of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On seeking for this verse in the *facsimile* editions of the two oldest of Greek codices, he found that the Sinaiticus agrees perfectly with the reading of our palimpsest. Tischendorf has printed it καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐώρακένσε, etc., in his edition of 1865, and has noticed its existence in the critical notes to his Greek Testament. In the Codex Vaticanus the facsimile shows that a letter has been altered, and a space at the end of the sentence is blank, where probably the letter ε once existed. Thus KAIABPAAAMEOPAKEΣE has become KAIABPAAAMEOPAKEΣ. How necessary it is sometimes to seek light from the manu-

scripts themselves! This ancient though newly recovered reading is surely more appropriate to the narrative than the conventional one.

9<sup>4</sup>.—‘And *I* must work the works of him that sent me,’ etc., with Codex Alexandrinus (with some Old Latin MSS and the Peshitta).

9<sup>7</sup>.—‘Go, wash *thy* face in the pool of Shiloah; and when he had washed *his* face, his eyes were opened’ (with the Coptic version). The interpretation is of course omitted.

\*9<sup>17</sup>.—‘And they say unto *him that was cured,*’ instead of ‘unto the blind man again.’

\*9<sup>17</sup>.—‘in that he hath opened thine eyes?’ is omitted.

9<sup>18</sup>.—‘and had received his sight,’ is omitted (with Codex Veronensis).

\*9<sup>18-19</sup>.—‘And they sent to his father and his mother, saying, Is this your son? Do ye not say that he was born blind?’ etc. This is a little more concise than the usual reading.

\*9<sup>22</sup>.—‘because the *scribes and Pharisees had decreed* that whoso said, He is the Christ, they would dismiss him.’

\*9<sup>22</sup>.—‘of the synagogue,’ is omitted.

\*9<sup>23</sup>.—‘He is of age,’ is omitted. It had been said already in v.<sup>21</sup>.

\*9<sup>24</sup>.—‘him that *was healed,*’ instead of ‘the man that was blind.’

\*9<sup>25</sup>.—‘He *that was healed* said unto them,’ etc.

\*9<sup>25</sup>.—‘that I was blind, and *because of him,* lo! I see.’

\*9<sup>30</sup>.—‘He *who was healed* said unto them,’ etc.

\*9<sup>33</sup>.—‘If this man were not of God, *how hath he done this?*’

9<sup>35</sup>.—‘Dost thou believe on the Son of man?’ Although it is recorded that our Lord tacitly assented when the title ‘Son of God’ was given to him by others, and bestowed a warm commendation on Simon Peter for using it towards Himself, we never elsewhere find the phrase in His own mouth, except through the malicious witness of his enemies. We therefore think that

our palimpsest retains the true reading (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Bezae).

9<sup>86</sup>.—‘He *that was healed* said unto him,’ etc. (almost with the Peshitta).

9<sup>88</sup>.—‘And *falling down*, he worshipped him’ (with the Peshitta, the Old Latin Codex Brixianus, and the Friuli Lectionary).

It will be noticed that in this version of the blind man’s story some of the repetitions which detract from the literary grace of the usual text, are absent.

\*10<sup>6</sup>.—‘These things Jesus spake with them in a parable; and they did not understand.’ Here again the manuscript loses nothing by its conciseness.

\*10<sup>12</sup>.—‘But the *false* hireling, whose own the sheep are not.’

\*10<sup>14, 15</sup>.—Here we have a repetition, ‘I am the good shepherd, and know mine own, and mine own know me; and *I am known of mine*, even as my Father knoweth me, and I know my Father.’

\*10<sup>20</sup>.—‘why are ye *standing* and listening to him?’

\*10<sup>26</sup>.—‘because ye are not of my sheep, as *I said unto you*’ (with Codd. Alexandrinus and Bezae, the Peshitta, and some Old Latin MSS).

10<sup>29</sup>.—‘For *the* Father,’ instead of ‘My Father’ (with some Old Latin MSS, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic).

\*10<sup>30</sup>.—‘*When he had said these things*, they took up stones to stone him.’

10<sup>33</sup>.—‘but because whilst thou art a man *thou blasphemest*, and makest thyself God’ (with the Peshitta).

10<sup>35</sup>.—‘If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came,’ seems to be omitted; but as it occurs in a place where the manuscript is much damaged, we do not feel sure about it.

\*11<sup>1</sup>.—‘And it came to pass that Lazar of Bethany was sick, *the brother* of Mary and of Martha.’

\*11<sup>16</sup>.—‘who is called Didymus,’ is omitted. It is unnecessary, as *Tauma* means ‘a twin’ in Syriac.

\*11<sup>25</sup>.—‘and the life,’ is omitted.

\*11<sup>31</sup>.—‘Also those who had consoled Mary, when they saw that she was thus amazed and had gone out, followed her.’

11<sup>33</sup>.—‘he was vexed in his soul, and was troubled *in his spirit*, and said,’ etc. (almost with the Peshitta and some Old Latin MSS).

11<sup>37</sup>.—‘who hath opened the eyes of him who was blind *from his mother’s womb*’ (almost with the Coptic version).

\*11<sup>39</sup>.—‘Martha saith unto him, Lord, why are they lifting away the stone? Behold, he stinketh, because he hath been four days.’

\*11<sup>41</sup>.—‘Then those men who were standing, came near, and raised the stone.’

\*11<sup>43</sup>.—‘Lazar, come forth, come out.’

\*11<sup>45</sup>.—‘And many Jews, which came to Jesus, *because of Mary*, believed in Jesus from that hour.’

\*11<sup>46</sup>.—‘And there were some of them who believed not, but went their ways to the Pharisees,’ etc.

\*11<sup>48</sup>.—‘and the Romans will come, taking away our city and our nation.’ The mention of ‘our city,’ instead of ‘our place,’ seems very natural on the lips of those whose national hopes centred in Jerusalem.

\*11<sup>49</sup>.—‘But one of them, *his name was* Caiapha, their own high priest of that year, this *same Caiapha* said unto them,’ etc. Perhaps some emphasis is laid on the personality of Caiapha, who was so soon to be one of our Lord’s judges.

\*11<sup>55</sup>.—‘before the passover,’ is omitted.

\*11<sup>57</sup>.—‘And the chief priests and the Pharisees commanded that whosoever *should see him*,’ etc., instead of ‘that if any man knew where he was.’

\*12<sup>1</sup>.—‘And six days before it was *the unleavened bread*, Jesus came to the village of Bethany to Lazar, *he who had been dead and was alive*.’

\*12<sup>2</sup>.—‘And he made him a supper there; and Lazar was one of those seated at meat who were sitting with him, but Martha *was cumbered with service*.’

12<sup>3</sup>.—‘Now Mary took *an alabaster box* of a pound of *pure good* spikenard of great price, and poured it on the *head* of Jesus *while he sat at meat*, and she anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair,’ etc. The alabaster box is mentioned in the Peshitta. It may possibly have come from the narrative of a similar occurrence in the house of Simon the leper as told by the Synoptists (Mt 26<sup>7</sup>, Mk 14<sup>8</sup>, Lk 7<sup>37</sup>). But there is no reason why it should not belong to both incidents.

12<sup>6</sup>.—‘but because he was a thief, and the bag of the poor was with him.’ Nothing is said about Judas stealing from that particular bag.

12<sup>7</sup>.—‘When Jesus heard it, he said unto him, Let her alone; she is keeping it for the day of my burial’ (almost as it is in the margin of the R.V., and with Codex Alexandrinus, the Peshitta, and the Palestinian Syriac).

12<sup>8</sup>.—‘For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always,’ is omitted (with Codex Bezae).

\*12<sup>11</sup>.—‘for because of Lazar many believed on Jesus;’ ‘of the Jews went away, and,’ is omitted. Here we have eight words instead of sixteen.

\*12<sup>12</sup> is not so concise. It begins ‘And on the next day *he went out, and came to the mount of Olives*, and those great multitudes who had come to the feast,’ etc. This may be an interpolation from Lk 19<sup>29</sup>.

\*12<sup>14</sup>.—‘as it is written by *Zakaria the prophet*, Fear not, daughter of Zion,’ etc. This is an interesting variant on Zech 9<sup>9</sup>.

From 12<sup>14</sup> to 12<sup>47</sup> no variant occurs worth mentioning. This is very satisfactory, as it contains so many of the sayings of our Lord.

\*12<sup>48</sup>.—‘Whoso *asketh* me, and receiveth not my words, there is one who judgeth him,’ etc. This singular reading foretells the condemnation of those who deliberately reject our Lord’s message.

\*13<sup>1</sup>.—‘Now before *the unleavened bread*,’ instead of ‘Now before the feast of the passover.’

\*13<sup>4</sup>.—‘from supper,’ is omitted.

13<sup>11</sup>.—‘therefore he said this word,’ instead of ‘therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.’ Codex Bezae omits the whole clause.

\*13<sup>34</sup>.—‘that ye also love one another,’ is omitted. It is superfluous.

14<sup>1</sup>.—‘*And then Jesus said*, Let not your heart be troubled: believe in God, *and in me ye are believing*.’ This clear assertion by our Lord of His own Divinity implies no change in the ordinary Greek text, for the first *πιστεύετε* may be either a present indicative or an imperative; and the second likewise. The Syriac, we are glad to say, is not dubious.

14<sup>4</sup>.—‘And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know.’ This is the old reading of the Authorized Version (with Codd. Alexandrinus, Bezae, and some Old Latin MSS, the Peshitta, and the Palestinian Syriac).

14<sup>14</sup> is omitted, with the Palestinian Syriac, the Old Latin Codex Veronensis, and probably with the Curetonian. It is a repetition of v. 13; which may have brought comfort to men of feeble faith. Our Lord’s promises, however, do not require such confirmation.

\*14<sup>22</sup>.—‘*Thoma* saith unto him, Our Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us,’ etc. The Curetonian has ‘*Juda Thoma*’; all other MSS have ‘*Judas* (not Iscariot).’

Eusebius tells us that the real name of Thomas

(the Twin) was Judas (*H.E.* i. 13).<sup>1</sup> The Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas* follows the text of the Four Gospels as the underscript in the Sinai Palimpsest. (See *Studia Sinaitica*, Appendix vii.)

Chapter 15 has no variant worth noticing.

\*16<sup>3</sup> is omitted.

16<sup>16</sup>.—‘and again a little while, and ye shall see me, *for I go unto my Father*’ (with Codex Alexandrinus,<sup>2</sup> Codex Brixianus and other Old Latin MSS, the Peshitta, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic).

\*16<sup>18</sup>.—‘we know not what he saith,’ is omitted.

16<sup>25</sup>.—‘I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but,’ is omitted. It is not quite necessary for the sense.

In vv. 25, 26, 27 we have ‘my Father,’ instead of ‘the Father.’ Only Codex Bezae has ‘my Father,’ in v. 26.

16<sup>27</sup>.—‘and have believed that I came out *from God*’ (with Codd. Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus, some Old Latin MSS, the Peshitta, and the Palestinian Syriac).

16<sup>28</sup>.—‘I came out from the Father,’ is omitted. It is only a repetition of the preceding clause (with Codex Bezae, Codex Veronensis).

\*16<sup>28</sup>.—‘I leave the world,’ is omitted.

V. 28 therefore reads, ‘I am come into the world, and again I go to the Father,’—thirteen words as against twenty-two of the Revised Version. We do not think that the chapter loses anything in force by the absence of these repetitions; on the contrary, it gains in literary beauty.

\*16<sup>30</sup>.—‘Now we know that thou knowest all things, *and needest not that thou shouldest ask any man*; by this we believe that thou art sent from God.’

We have found no corroboration for this reading; but it carries its own recommendation in itself: for it was surely a more natural thing for the disciples to say, than, ‘and needest not that any man should ask thee.’

\*16<sup>31</sup>.—‘Jesus said unto them, Behold, now you believe in me.’

\*17<sup>5</sup>.—‘And now also give me the glory, my Father, from beside thyself, from that *which thou gavest me* when the world was not yet.’

17<sup>7</sup>.—‘And now *I have known* that all which thou hast given me is from thee’ (with Codd. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, some Old Latin MSS, and the Peshitta).

<sup>1</sup> Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Alex., ‘the Father.’



\*17<sup>11</sup>.—‘O my holy Father, take, keep them in thy name.’

17<sup>11</sup>.—‘which thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are,’ is omitted (with Codd. Veronensis and Vercellensis). The clause has probably been carried to this place from v.<sup>22</sup>.

17<sup>12</sup>.—‘which thou hast given me : and I guarded them,’ is omitted. It is only a repetition of what our Lord had already said. (The first clause of it is omitted in Codex Sinaiticus.)

\*17<sup>13</sup>.—‘that they may be filled with my joy.’

17<sup>14</sup>.—‘and the world hated them, because they are not of it.’

17<sup>14</sup>.—‘even as I am not of the world,’ is

omitted ; but is found in v.<sup>16</sup> (with the Greek of Codex Bezae and with Codex Veronensis).

\*17<sup>23</sup>.—‘I shall be *with* them, and thou *with* me,’ etc., instead of ‘I in them, and them in me.’

\*17<sup>24</sup>.—‘O my righteous Father,’ belongs to the end of this verse rather than to the beginning of v.<sup>25</sup>, as in Codex Vaticanus. In Codex Bezae it is certainly at the beginning of v.<sup>25</sup>. In Codex Sinaiticus there is no punctuation, and it is therefore impossible to say whether the ejaculation belongs to the prayer of v.<sup>24</sup> or to the statement in v.<sup>25</sup>. (‘My,’ with the Coptic.)

\*V.<sup>25</sup> begins ‘And the world hath not known thee,’ as in Codex Vaticanus, the *and* being found also in Codd. Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus.

(To be continued.)

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Abbé le Camus's ‘Vie de Jésus Christ.’

THE theological works of M. l'Abbé E. le Camus are not only very popular in France but have been translated into other languages ; and of all his works the most popular at home and abroad is his Life of Jesus Christ. There are three editions. The original three-volume edition costs 3fr. 50c. ; then there is the illustrated edition, which costs 10fr. ; and finally there is the ‘popular’ edition in one short but thick volume at the price of 3fr. 50c. The three-volume edition has just reached its sixth issue and twentieth thousand. It is well worth adding even to a library of Lives of Christ ; it is so scholarly and also so warmly evangelical. The title is *La Vie de N.-S. Jésus-Christ* (Paris: Oudin, 1901).

### The Hebrew Sirach.

M. J. TOUZARD has published an account of the most recently discovered fragments of the Hebrew Sirach, the history of the controversy regarding them, a facsimile page, and a very full and valuable bibliography. The volume consists of articles which originally appeared in the *Revue Biblique*. Its title is *Les Nouveaux Fragments Hébreux de l'Ecclésiastique* (Paris: Lecoffie, 1901).

### The Greek Christian Writings of the First Three Centuries.<sup>1</sup>

THIS gigantic undertaking, of which some account has previously appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, is in steady progress. Three volumes have recently been published, being the fourth, fifth, and sixth in the order of issue. They are : (1) ‘Der Dialog des Adamantius ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΟΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ,’ which is edited by Dr. W. H. van de Sande BAKHUYZEN of Utrecht, (8vo, pp. lix, 256, M.10) ; (2) ‘das Buch Henoch,’ under the combined editorship of Dr. Joh. Flemming of Bonn, and Dr. L. Radermacher, also of Bonn (8vo, pp. 172, M.5.50) ; and (3) ‘Origenes Werke,’ III. Band, by Dr. Erich Klostermann of Kiel (8vo, pp. li, 352, M.12.50).

The *Adamantian Dialogue* is given in both the Greek and Latin forms, with critical apparatus, but without translation. The Introduction is careful and restrained. All the questions of intention, authorship, persons represented, and the like, are discussed with utmost available knowledge ; but the result is only to show how little real knowledge is available. Who Adamantius was or represents, Dr. BAKHUYZEN cannot tell us ; but he is confident

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901.

that he is not Origen, as even Armitage Robinson (after Zahn) is inclined to suppose. The references to the literature are ungrudging in their appreciation, but they show at the same time how thoroughly original and independent the present work is.

*The Book of Enoch* has been so recently and so thoroughly edited for English readers by Dr. Charles that a new edition of that work may possibly be considered a superfluity. Dr. Charles would probably be the first to deny that. He knows and frankly confesses that discoveries of great importance were made while his edition was passing through the press, and he will not grudge it if this edition should supersede his own. It contains a new translation of the Ethiopic (the text of which is to be had in the *Texte u. Unters.* which accompany the present series), with all the known Greek and Latin fragments printed in their proper place. The introduction is somewhat brief, but that is atoned for by the magnificent index of subjects. There is also a useful index of texts.

The editor of the *Origen* (there is no translation) is at home in this work. His introduction is extremely interesting and valuable, and the text is printed with scrupulous care. But the great feature of this volume is its indexes. The Greek and textual indexes are so full and accurate that they will prove of the utmost service to every student of Origen, and not only of Origen but of the New Testament in its language and its criticism.

### ‘He descended into Hell.’<sup>1</sup>

THE motive which led to the writing of this monograph is well described in a sentence quoted from the *Andover Review*: ‘Theology has still a work to do in giving the “descensus” its rightful place and value.’ Dr. Clemen is undoubtedly right in saying that for many Christians the article ‘He descended into hell’ has lost all practical significance, and his contention is that the truth to which it gives expression should have its due place in the preaching of every Church that retains it in the Creed.

<sup>1</sup> *Niedergefahren zu den Toten.* Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung des Apostolikums. Von Professor Lic. Dr. Carl Clemen. Giessen: J. Ricker. M.5.

The difficult question of the origin of these words is discussed with much ability and at great length in the first chapter, which consists of nearly 100 pages. The author is equally at home in the ancient and in the modern literature on this subject, extensive though it is. In his judgment the article is based upon a formula used as a confession of faith at baptism, and he gives reasons for preferring this view to that which formerly he advocated, namely, that the formula was a *norma prædicationis*.

In the second chapter Dr. Clemen argues that the interpretation of the words should be determined by historical inquiry, the object of which must be to discover the meaning given to the article by those who inserted it in the Apostle’s Creed. In the course of a detailed exposition of 1 P 3<sup>19f.</sup>, ἐκήρυξεν is interpreted of the preaching of salvation; τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν, of the souls of the departed; and ἐν ᾧ is referred to ‘spirit’ in contradistinction from ‘flesh.’ On various grounds Dr. Clemen maintains that the application of the passage either to the pre-existent or the exalted Christ is impossible, and proceeds to answer objections to his own view which implies the possibility of salvation after death and probably also a future opportunity of service for those whose meat and drink it was on earth to do the Father’s will.

The object of chap. 3 is to distinguish between the form of words employed and the permanent value of their religious content as historically interpreted. Dr. Clemen alters the form of expression, which was determined by contemporary ideas, and inasmuch as modern thought recognizes no under-world in the sense which the clause was intended to suggest, he translates: ‘He descended into the realm of the dead’ or as in the title of his essay ‘He descended to the dead.’ The difficulty which many will think Dr. Clemen does not overcome is the uniform silence of the Bible as to salvation beyond the grave. Dr. Clemen frankly acknowledges that neither in the Old Testament nor in the New Testament (1 P 3<sup>19f.</sup> excepted) is there any recognition of the possibility of salvation or of spiritual progress after death. Nevertheless, he defends his exposition on the ground that in the Old Testament the question did not arise, for even those who looked forward to a resurrection from the dead lacked the conception of sins of ignorance, whilst the few passages in the New



Testament which refer to sins of ignorance do not prove that such theoretical questions had any real interest. Greatly venturing, Dr. Clemen thinks that the practical tendency of the New Testament is sufficient to account for there being no mention of salvation after death, save in one passage as he expounds it. Our Lord's disciples learnt from Him to put practical tasks before theoretical problems, for to the question, 'Are there few that be saved?' He answered with the warning, 'Strive to enter in by the narrow door' (Lk 13<sup>23</sup>).

In his learned dissertation, which all will recognize as a valuable contribution to the literature of this most difficult subject, Dr. Clemen shows himself fully acquainted with the trend of English and American thought on the doctrine of the last things, and quotes from poets and novelists as well as from theologians. His work is written throughout in a spirit of candour and fairness; students of eschatology who cannot accept all the author's conclusions will learn much from his thoughtful discussion of some of its problems.

### 'Judaism and the New Testament.'<sup>1</sup>

THE subject of this lecture is one of absorbing interest to biblical students at the present time. The bearing of later Judaism upon the conceptions of the N.T. has almost suddenly emerged into prominence. And coincident with the recognition and study of the later Jewish literature have been the discovery and publication of various important writings belonging to this period. Much remains to be done in tracing the development of particular ideas from their origin in Judaism to their position or transformation in the Christian religion. And the question will often have to be raised as to whether they must not be traced further back into the religious atmosphere of the O.T.

Baldensperger deals only with the outlines of the subject. Nothing more was possible in a pamphlet of thirty pages. But the material which he offers within that narrow compass suffices to rouse much discussion. He naturally singles out one particular branch of the later Jewish literature, the Messianic-apocalyptic, as revealing a remark-

able similarity, both in form and ruling ideas, to the Christian writings of the N.T. That branch will include all that we mean by the term eschatology, and a good deal more. Of course these are facts which all the most recent investigators of the N.T. have carefully taken into account. A very instructive example is that of Holtzmann's *N.T. Theologie*, to which Baldensperger refers. Our author, keeping in view the process rather than the finished product, finds in the Messianic factor the real connecting link between early Christianity and Judaism. It is the Messianic Hope of the Jewish religion which forms the background of the great conceptions of Jesus. It must be noted that this hope had as its counterpart a powerful legalism. The piety of the Messianic writings is in close conformity with the Law. The final glory to which the Messianic expectation looks forward is really the recompense of a loyal observance of the Law. But this hope, as assimilated by Jesus, underwent a great transformation. The legal aspect of it was laid aside. Its spiritual possibilities were enhanced. It became, in short, under His inspiration, a completely spiritual force. This was the stamp of His unique personality.

Already, however, Baldensperger finds a transcendental tendency in later Judaism. That is the most living factor in the religious life of the time. It expresses itself in the exuberant apocalyptic literature of that period, a literature which gradually makes evident the replacing of the old contrast between present and future by that between the heavenly and the earthly world. There comes to be 'a release of Messianic expectations from the political ideal of this earth and a transference of the ideal into the supernatural' (p. 15). This tendency Baldensperger considers to be a characteristic symptom of the feelings and aspirations which prevailed in the most devout circles of the community. No doubt the sheer transcendentalism of their Messianic conceptions often led to dim and obscure representations of the future, such as occur so frequently in the apocalyptic writings. This was simply a stage on the path to the spirituality of the teaching of Jesus. On another side of it the same spiritualizing tendency led to a certain ascetic view of life, a renunciation of many earthly good things. And the result was a more profound attention to the religion of the individual, a feature which Baldensperger associates

<sup>1</sup> *Das spätere Judenthum als Vorstufe des Christenthums.* Von Dr. W. Baldensperger. Giessen: J. Rickers'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. Price 8d.



with what he calls the 'Pietism' of the Messianic believers. This individualism, in its turn, must have had a powerful influence in minimizing the prominence of the Law, for the Law had for its aim the maintenance of a holy *community*.

It is easy to see how suggestive these positions become in view of the general tone of the teaching of Jesus and His disciples, and how much light they shed on the audience to whom our Lord could appeal. But one main criticism obviously suggests itself. No one, indeed, can contest the effect of their Jewish background upon many of the leading conceptions of early Christianity. And the delicate task still lies before theologians of estimating the relative influence of old and new. But is it to Judaism that we must look for the *seed-plot* of the rich blossoms which appear in their full glory in Christianity? We may be quite willing to admit that the precise form in which ruling ideas took shape in the teaching of men like St. Paul, etc., was largely due to the moulding influences of the later Jewish tradition. We may grant the presence of a deep current of spirituality running through the development of the religious conceptions of Judaism, and thus

fertilizing the soil for the good seed of the kingdom. We are bound to recognize a devout inner circle in the nation—those who waited for the consolation of Israel. But is it not in the O.T. itself that we discover the real foundation of those peculiarly *spiritual* aspirations which were to be satisfied in the teaching of Jesus? It appears to us that the profound religious conceptions of the Prophets and the devout piety of the Psalms are the great pre-existing source of those forces which more immediately and directly operated on the minds of Jesus Christ and His apostles. We expect, indeed, much real light from the later products of Judaism. They will help us to appreciate the higher side, if we may so say, of the current religious consciousness. That must have been an important element in the substratum of early Christian thinking. But it would be a rash exaggeration to exalt this instructive but most eccentric literature, often so crudely sensuous, at the expense of the lofty spirituality of the O.T., which has entered into the inmost texture of the truth which Jesus and His disciples proclaimed.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Callander.

## Contributions and Comments.

### Apologetics in Criticism.

IN REPLY TO CANON SANDAY.

THE reference to *Romans*, p. xli, on p. 73 of the *Historical New Testament*, is to the following declaration:—'The most fundamental doctrines—the Divine Lordship of Christ, the value of His Death, the nature of the Sacraments—are assumed rather than stated or proved. Such allusions as we get to these are concerned not with the rudimentary, but with the more developed forms of the doctrines in question.' The former of these sentences is characterized as 'an utter misapprehension' by the editor of *Romans* in vol. ii. p. 575 of the 'Expositor's Greek Testament,' published after the Prolegomena to the *Historical New Testament* had been written.

The companion reference is to *Luke*<sup>2</sup>, p. v, and alludes to the exploiting of the Roman symbol

and its dogmas in illustration of the religious ideas underlying the Third Gospel.

The other references challenged in the same article are equally accurate and (as it still seems to the present writer) curiously relevant to the purpose for which they were cited.

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### Recent Opinions on the Date of the Acts of the Apostles.

II.

Mr. Headlam, Professor Schmiedel, and Sir John Hawkins on the 'We' Sections.

If the question about the 'We' sections could be settled, it might help us to a decision as to the

date of the book. The following expressions of opinion on this subject are from Professor Schmiedel's article on the 'Acts of the Apostles' in the first volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, the Rev. Arthur Cayley Headlam's article in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and from Sir John C. Hawkins' volume, *Horæ Synopticæ*.

Professor Schmiedel writes: 'The sections in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural (16<sup>10-17</sup> 20<sup>5-15</sup> 21<sup>1-18</sup> 27<sup>1-28</sup><sup>16</sup>) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book. In the sections named the book shows acquaintance with the stages of travel of almost every separate day, and with other very unimportant details (20<sup>13</sup> 21<sup>2f. 16</sup> 28<sup>11</sup>, etc.); outside these limits it has no knowledge even of such an important fact as that of Paul's conflicts with his opponents in Galatia and Corinth, and mentions only three of the twelve adventures catalogued so minutely in 2 Co 11<sup>24f.</sup> cp. <sup>23</sup> (Ac 14<sup>19</sup> 16<sup>22 28f.</sup>)' (Schmiedel, p. 37).

On the other hand, Mr. Headlam says: 'It is argued that the "We" sections are so much more historical in their character than some of the other sections, and so much fuller in detail, that they clearly betray a different hand. But the difference is never greater than would be found in passing from the work of an eye-witness to the work of one who, although a contemporary, is not an eye-witness' (Headlam, p. 29b).

'The balance of probability is in favour of the author of the Acts being identical with the author of the "We" sections, and therefore of being a companion of St. Paul, but a companion who joined the apostle somewhat late in his career, and who therefore could only have a second-hand acquaintance with earlier events' (*ibid.*).

In these extracts the 'We' question is brought to a distinct issue. According to Schmiedel the historical deficiencies of the Acts show that it cannot have been written by the author of the minute and well-informed *We* sections. To this Headlam replies that the difference between the two parts of the book is not greater than might be found in the work of the same man if he were writing as an eye-witness or merely as a contemporary, and that the balance of probability is in favour of the writer being a companion of St. Paul who had joined him somewhat late in his career.

Our opinion of this reply will probably be determined to some extent by our estimate of the historical deficiencies of the book, and of the opportunities which the contemporary writer might have had of knowing the facts. If the writer was a companion of St. Paul during the later years of his travels and during his detention at Rome, he would have had ample opportunities of learning the facts of St. Paul's life from St. Paul himself. Therefore we may perhaps quote against Mr. Headlam his own words about the events which according to the Acts followed the conversion of St. Paul, that 'the obvious impression created by the narrative is that the writer [of the Acts] did not know of the Arabian journey, nor of the length of time which had elapsed before the Jerusalem visit' (*Dict.* p. 31b). It is hardly likely that, if St. Luke was the writer of the Acts, and if he had any desire to learn the true history of St. Paul's life, he would not have ascertained the facts about such matters during their travels together, and their three months' stay at Melita, and the two whole years at Rome during which St. Paul dwelt in his own hired house, and received all that came to him, and possibly also during St. Paul's long imprisonment at Cæsarea (Ac 24<sup>23</sup>, etc.).

In his *Horæ Synopticæ* Sir John Hawkins restates the old argument which seeks to prove the Lukan authorship of the *We* sections from the resemblances of the language of these sections to that of the rest of the Book of Acts and of the Third Gospel. Having compared the language of the sections in question with that of the three synoptic Gospels, and having found it more like the language of the Third Gospel than of the First or Second, he concludes—

'Such evidence of unity of authorship, drawn from a comparison of the language of the three synoptic Gospels, appears to me irresistible. Is it not utterly improbable that the language of the original writer of the 'We' sections should have chanced to have so very many more correspondences with the language of the subsequent compiler than with that of Matthew or Mark?' (p. 150).

'On the whole, then,' he adds, 'there is an immense balance of internal and linguistic evidence in favour of the view that the original writer of these sections was the same person as the main author of the Acts and of the Third Gospel, and, consequently, that the date of those books lies

within the lifetime of a companion of St. Paul' (p. 154).

Lower down in the same page he speaks of 'the identity of the third Synoptist with a friend and companion of St. Paul' as being 'abundantly proved by the language of the Acts generally, and of the "We" sections of it in particular.' See also pp. 179, 180.

This reasoning appears to overlook the fact, to which Sir John Hawkins himself calls especial attention, that while it is evident that the first and third of the synoptic Gospels are compilations (p. 1), 'both Matthew and Luke, and especially Luke, have so "worked over" the sources they employed that they frequently represent to us the substance rather than the words of the original documents' (p. 92). See also pp. 24, 177, etc.

If the writer of the Acts was in the habit of working over his sources, so as to represent their substance rather than their language, would not this be sufficient to explain the resemblance of the language of the 'We' sections to that of the rest of the book of which they now form a part?

Mr. Headlam sees the bearing of this fact, and (*Dict.* 29a) argues somewhat differently. 'The style,' he says, 'of the "We" sections is the style of the author. It is perfectly true, indeed, that the author works up his sources in his own phraseology, as may be seen by a study of the Third Gospel, but it is hardly possible to believe that a writer so artistic as the author of the Acts certainly is should have left those exceedingly incongruous first persons.'

To which we may perhaps answer that, whatever the artistic capacity of the writer may have been, he has left a good many things in his work which other, perhaps less gifted, writers would have been careful to remove.

As to the incongruity of the change of person it may be worth remarking that the incongruity may not have struck the writer of the Acts in the same way that it strikes us. If he was a student of Jewish literature, he would not have been unfamiliar with similar changes. See, for example, Ps 104 (LXX, 103), Ezr 7<sup>27</sup>, etc., Neh 1<sup>1</sup>, etc. In Ezra and Nehemiah the change of person is commonly supposed to indicate a change of writer, as in the case of the 'We' sections. See the other examples cited by Schmiedel (p. 39).

Schmiedel will appear to many readers to prejudice his case when he follows Zeller and

Overbeck in asserting so positively that the writer of the Acts allowed the 'We' to stand with the dishonest purpose of leading the reader to believe that the whole work was written by an eye-witness. This is, no doubt, a possible motive, but other motives are also possible. And the argument that the compiler was too careful a workman to have let the 'We' stand through carelessness, is not quite convincing.

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### 'Lord' and 'the Lord' in the Gospels.

THE use of *Kύριος* and *ὁ Κύριος* in the Gospels presents certain features of great interest. The variety of their employment is remarkable, and at times confusing. An examination of the numerous instances in which they are used may lighten the obscurity, and point to some considerations which are of value in relation to the questions of the date, composition, and authenticity of the Gospels.

I. *Kύριος* and *ὁ κύριος*, used generally as titles of courtesy or in recognition of a master or owner.

(a) *Kύριος*.—The following are examples and instances:—

'No man can serve two masters' (Mt 6<sup>24</sup>).

'Lord, didst thou not sow good seed' (Mt 13<sup>27</sup>).

Also in Mt 21<sup>30</sup> 25<sup>11b.c.</sup> 20, 22, 24 27<sup>68</sup>, Mk 13<sup>3, 25</sup> 14<sup>22</sup> 19<sup>6, 18, 20, 25</sup>, Lk 16<sup>13</sup>, Jn 12<sup>21</sup> 20<sup>15</sup>.

It is thus used 9 times in Mt, 7 times in Mk, once in Lk, and twice in Jn,—in all, 19 times. These instances show the wide variety of relationship in which it is employed. It is the correlative of servant, the salutation of a son to his father (Mt 21<sup>30</sup>), of Mary to the gardener, of the Greeks to Philip, and of the priests and Sadducees to Pilate.

(β) *Ὁ κύριος* is only used in this connexion with the signification of 'master,' but emphasizes the idea of ownership; examples—

'The lord of that servant' (Mt 18<sup>27</sup>).

'The lord of the vineyard' (Mt 20<sup>28</sup>).

Also in Mt 10<sup>24, 25</sup> 15<sup>27</sup> 18<sup>35, 31, 32, 34</sup> 21<sup>40</sup> 24<sup>45, 46, 48, 50</sup> 25<sup>18, 19, 21b.c., 23b.c., 28</sup>, Mk 12<sup>9</sup> 13<sup>35</sup>, Lk 12<sup>36, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47</sup> 14<sup>21, 23</sup> 16<sup>3, 5b.c., 8</sup> 19<sup>33</sup> 20<sup>13, 15</sup>, Jn 13<sup>16</sup> 15<sup>15, 20</sup>.

We notice here that *ὁ κύριος* as a title of courtesy has not the same variety of use as *κύριος* simply. It is used as the exact description of a



master or owner. It is found 21 times in Mt, twice in Mk, 16 times in Lk, and thrice in Jn,—in all, 42 times.

II. *Kýrios* and *ὁ Kýrios*, as a title for God = Jehovah.

(a) *Kýrios*.—This use of the word is of very frequent occurrence. It is found

1. In quotations from the O.T., as—

'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God' (Mt 4<sup>7</sup>, Lk 4<sup>12</sup>).

'(The) Lord said unto (my Lord)' (Mt 22<sup>44</sup>, Mk 12<sup>36</sup>, Lk 20<sup>42</sup> where T. W.H. read *ὁ Kýrios*).

Also in Mt 4<sup>10</sup> 21<sup>9, 42</sup> 22<sup>37</sup> 23<sup>39</sup>, Mk 11<sup>9</sup> 12<sup>11, 19b, 30</sup>, Lk 1<sup>68</sup> 4<sup>8, 18, 19</sup> 10<sup>27</sup> 13<sup>35</sup> 19<sup>38</sup> 20<sup>37</sup>, Jn 12<sup>13, 38b</sup>.

2. In general phrases, often repeated, of O.T. origin, as—

'Angel of the Lord' (Mt 1<sup>20, 24</sup> 2<sup>13, 19</sup> 28<sup>2</sup>, Lk 1<sup>11</sup> 2<sup>9</sup>).

'Spoken by the Lord' (Mt 1<sup>22</sup> 2<sup>15</sup>, Lk 1<sup>45</sup>).

'The way of the Lord' (Mt 3<sup>3</sup>, Mk 1<sup>3</sup>, Lk 3<sup>4</sup>, Jn 1<sup>23</sup>).

'The law of the Lord' (Lk 2<sup>23, 24, 39</sup>).

3. In particular phrases, as—

'Except the Lord had shortened the days' (Mk 13<sup>20</sup>).

'To turn many . . . to the Lord' (Lk 1<sup>16</sup>).

'The power of the Lord was present to heal' (Lk 5<sup>17</sup>).

Also in Mt 11<sup>25</sup> 27<sup>10</sup>, Lk 1<sup>17, 32, 38, 58, 66, 76</sup> 2<sup>9</sup> (where *Kυρίου* is bracketed by W.H.) 2<sup>26</sup> 9<sup>61</sup>.

The only possibly doubtful phrase is, 'The power of the Lord was present to heal' (Lk 5<sup>17</sup>). No doubt it refers to Jehovah or the *αὐτόν* would be otiose. We note (1) that the phrase *δύναμις Κυρίου* is of the same order as the Lucan phrases: *δούλη Κυρίου* (1<sup>38</sup>), *χεῖρ Κ'* (1<sup>66</sup>), *δόξα Κ'* (2<sup>9</sup>), etc., where *Kýrios* = Jehovah. (2) In Lk 5<sup>25</sup>, the man that was healed went to his house 'glorifying God.' This phrase, *δοξάζων τὸν Θεόν*, is used 8 times by Lk to indicate that our Lord's miracles were not wrought in His own power.<sup>1</sup>

(β) *Ὁ Kýrios* as title = Jehovah is found

1. In quotations from the O.T., as—

'Perform unto the Lord thine oaths' (Mt 5<sup>33</sup>).

'Every male shall be holy to the Lord' (Lk 2<sup>23</sup>).

'My soul doth magnify the Lord' (Lk 1<sup>46</sup>) (which though not exactly a quotation may be reckoned as one).

2. In phrases, such as—

'Pray ye the Lord of the harvest' (Mt 9<sup>38</sup>, Lk 10<sup>2</sup>).

'Great before the Lord' (Lk 1<sup>15</sup>, W.H.'s reading).

'Tell how great things the Lord hath done for thee' (Mk 5<sup>19</sup>).

Also in Lk 1<sup>6, 9, 25, 28</sup> 22<sup>22, 25</sup>.

The title in Mk 5<sup>19</sup> is taken as referring to Jehovah. The parallel passage in Lk 8<sup>39</sup>, 'show how great things God (*ὁ Θεός*) hath done unto thee,'

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *St. Luke's Gospel in Greek*, p. 43.

is decisive as to the reference of *ὁ Kýrios* in Mk 5<sup>19</sup>.

To sum up, *Kýrios* = Jehovah is found 17 times in Mt, 8 times in Mk, 28 times in Lk, and 4 times in Jn,—in all, 57 times.

'O *Kýrios* = Jehovah is found twice in Mt, once in Mk, and 10 times in Lk,—in all, 13 times.

III. *Kýrios* and *ὁ Kýrios*, as titles of courtesy or reverence addressed or applied to Jesus.

(a) *Kýrios*.

1. As used by others than His disciples, as—

'Lord, my servant is lying in my house' (Mt 8<sup>6</sup>).

'She answered . . . Yea, Lord' (Mk 7<sup>28</sup>).

'The centurion said, Lord' (Lk 7<sup>6</sup>).

'Lord, Thou hast nothing to draw with' (Jn 4<sup>11</sup>).

Also in Mt 8<sup>2, 8</sup> 9<sup>28</sup> 15<sup>22, 25, 27</sup> 17<sup>15</sup> 20<sup>30</sup> (where T. W.H. omit *Kýrios*), 20<sup>31, 33</sup>, Mk 9<sup>24</sup> (where T. W.H. omit *Kýrios*), Lk 5<sup>12</sup> 18<sup>41</sup> 19<sup>8</sup>, Jn 4<sup>15, 19, 49</sup> 5<sup>7</sup> 6<sup>34</sup> 8<sup>11</sup> 9<sup>38, 38</sup>.

The reference in Lk 2<sup>11</sup>, 'A Saviour who is Christ the Lord' (*Χριστὸς Κύριος*) may be included under this division, though the significance of *Kýrios* is very high. The phrase (*Χ' Κ'*) is found in the Psalter of Solomon (17<sup>36</sup>). Briggs says it is probably to be interpreted in the Psalter 'on the basis of *אֲדֹנִי* in Ps 110,' but adds that Schürer, Ewald, Wellhausen, and W. R. Smith regard the phrase as a mistranslation of *יְהוָה*.<sup>2</sup>

This use of the title is found 11 times in Mt, twice in Mk, 5 times in Lk, and 8 times in Jn, or deducting the instances where critical editors omit the title, 10 times in Mt, once in Mk, 5 times in Lk, and 8 times in Jn,—in all, 24 times.

We notice (a) that in most instances the title is used in connexion with a work of miracle.

(b) That the evangelists in parallel passages sometimes use other titles as equivalents of *Kýrios*, e.g. :—

{ Mt 7<sup>15</sup> 'Κύριε, have mercy upon my son.'

{ Mk 9<sup>17</sup> 'Διδάσκαλε, I brought my son unto Thee'; also Lk 9<sup>37</sup>.

{ Mt 20<sup>23</sup> 'Κύριε, that our eyes may be opened.'

{ Mk 10<sup>61</sup> 'Παῖθουνε, that I may see.'

{ Lk 18<sup>41</sup> 'Κύριε, that I may see.'

(c) The three titles, *Kýrios*, *Διδάσκαλος*, and *Παῖθουνε*, are evidently regarded as equivalents when addressed to Jesus by others than disciples. Most likely the variation has arisen in oral tradition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *The Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 34, 52, notes.

<sup>3</sup> The same Greek version was used by the Synoptists; therefore, if the change is not due to oral tradition, it must be due to editorial work, according as we accept or reject the oral hypothesis. It is not likely that in such *minutiae* the evangelists referred to an original Aramaic Gospel.

(d) In several instances where Mt uses the title *Κύριος*, Mk and Lk in the parallel passages omit the title.

2. *Κύριος*, as used by His disciples—

'Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come unto Thee' (Mt 14<sup>28</sup>).

'Lord, wilt Thou that we call down fire' (Lk 9<sup>54</sup>).

'Lord, to whom shall we go' (Jn 6<sup>68</sup>).

Also Mt 8<sup>31, 25</sup> 14<sup>30</sup> 16<sup>22</sup> 17<sup>4</sup> 18<sup>21</sup> 26<sup>22</sup>, Lk 5<sup>8</sup> 9<sup>61</sup> 10<sup>17, 40</sup> 11<sup>1</sup> 12<sup>41</sup> 13<sup>32</sup> 17<sup>37</sup> 22<sup>33, 38-49</sup>, Jn 11<sup>3, 12, 23, 33, 34, 39</sup> 13<sup>6, 9, 25, 26, 27</sup> 14<sup>5, 8, 22</sup> 21<sup>15, 16, 17, 20, 21</sup>. (The title is omitted in Lk 9<sup>50</sup>, Jn 13<sup>27</sup>, and bracketed in 11<sup>23</sup> by WH.)

Summing up these instances, we find, not including doubtful readings, that the title is used by disciples 8 times in Mt, 12 times in Lk, 18 times in Jn.

We notice (a) that Mark does not once record the use of this title by disciples.

St. Mark's is the Archaic Gospel. In later times the tendency to multiply terms of reverence and respect for our Lord is to be respected.

We again (b) see the use of evidently equivalent titles in several parallel passages—

- { Mt 8<sup>25</sup> 'Κύριε, save, we perish.'
- { Mk 4<sup>23</sup> 'Διδάσκαλε, carest Thou not that we perish.'
- { Lk 8<sup>24</sup> 'Επιστάτα, we perish.'
- { Mt 17<sup>4</sup> 'Κύριε, it is good for us to be here.'
- { Mk 9<sup>5</sup> 'Παββε, it is good for us to be here.'
- { Lk 9<sup>32</sup> 'Επιστάτα, it is good for us to be here.'
- { Mt 26<sup>22</sup> 'Is it I, Κύριε?'
- { Mt 26<sup>25</sup> 'Is it I, Παββε?'
- { Jn 13<sup>25</sup> 'Κύριε, who is it?'
- { Lk 5<sup>5</sup> 'Επιστάτα, we have toiled all night'; and in same incident, v.<sup>8</sup>, Peter also says, 'Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, Κύριε.'
- { Mt 8<sup>21</sup> 'Διδάσκαλε, I will follow Thee.'
- { Lk 9<sup>54</sup> 'Κύριε, I will follow Thee.'

These variant titles are an almost absolute proof of translation. I doubt this: oral tradition would quite easily produce this variation.

It is possible that there is a certain intention in representing Judas as addressing Jesus as Παββε in Mt 26<sup>28</sup>, while the other disciples call Him Κύριος (26<sup>22</sup>).

The same remark may be made regarding the title Επιστάτα given by Peter (Lk 5<sup>5</sup>) when launching the boat, and the title Κύριος given by him after the miraculous draught of fishes. The difference may be due to the employment of two words in the original source or to Luke's employment of two words to give expression to the greater reverence, in the mind of Peter, when he fell at the feet of Christ. The writer inclines to the

belief that Luke is giving the equivalents of two words in the original from which he took the story.

3. *Κύριος*, as applied by Jesus to Himself

(1) In direct reference—

'Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord' (Mt 7<sup>22</sup>).

'The Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath' (Mt 12<sup>8</sup>, Mk 2<sup>28</sup>, Lk 6<sup>5</sup>).

'Why call ye Me Lord, Lord' (Lk 6<sup>46</sup>).

'Ye call Me Master and Lord' (Διδάσκαλος καὶ Κύριος) (Jn 13<sup>13</sup>).

'If I, your Lord and Master' (Jn 13<sup>14</sup>).

(2) In indirect reference—

'Lord, when saw we Thee' (Mt 25<sup>37, 44</sup>).

'How then does David call Him Lord' (Mt 22<sup>43, 45</sup>, Mk 12<sup>37</sup>, Lk 20<sup>44</sup>).

Altogether it is thus used 14 times: 7 times in Mt, twice in Mk, thrice in Lk, and twice in Jn. The title still bears its ordinary signification of courtesy or honour, but there is a hint of a higher meaning in the question, 'How then does David call Him Lord?'

In Jn 13<sup>13, 14</sup> the titles Κύριος and Διδάσκαλος are evidently equivalent.

(β) 'Ο Κύριος, as a title applied to Jesus

1. By Himself directly—

'The Lord hath need of him' (Mt 21<sup>3</sup>, Mk 11<sup>3</sup>, Lk 19<sup>31, 34</sup>).

2. By Himself indirectly—

'(The Lord) said unto my Lord (τῷ Κυρίῳ μου)' (Mt 22<sup>44</sup>, Mk 12<sup>36</sup>, Lk 20<sup>45</sup>).

'Ye know not in what day your Lord cometh' (Mt 24<sup>42</sup>). In the parallel passage in Mk 14<sup>23</sup> the words are, 'Ye know not when the time is (καιρός).' Most likely the reading in Mk is the primitive one.

Altogether ὁ Κύριος is used in this way 8 times: thrice in Mt, twice in Mk, thrice in Lk. But as the instances occur in the same or in parallel passages, we can only say that it was thrice used by our Lord in speaking of Himself. If we regard ὁ Κύριος in Mt 24<sup>42</sup> as a variation of reading, where Mark is to be followed (ὁ καιρός), then He only used it twice, once directly and once indirectly. The direct reference is in Mt 21<sup>3</sup>, Mk 11<sup>3</sup>, Lk 19<sup>31, 34</sup>, 'The Lord hath need of him, or them.' The usage here is the same as in I. (β), and the title is a strong expression of the idea of master or lordship. The fact that this is the only case where we are certain that our Lord employed this title in direct reference to Himself, and the only instance where it is applied to Jesus in Mt,

and in the genuine portions of Mk, makes it very remarkable. In the corresponding incident about the providing of the guest-chamber, we notice that the messengers were to use a similar phrase, 'The Master (ὁ διδάσκαλος) saith, Where is the guest-chamber,' etc. (Mt 26<sup>18</sup> 14<sup>14</sup>, Lk 22<sup>11</sup>). It is evident that in this instance there had been a previous arrangement between Jesus and the householder about the use of the chamber. The *man* bearing a pitcher of water would be noticeable, in a country where women usually perform that service. When the messengers, following him, reached the house, the phrase 'The Master saith,' etc., would be the countersign arranged beforehand, assuring the householder that the messengers had come from Jesus. Secrecy as to the place of meeting was rendered necessary by the treacherous temper of Judas. In like manner, we believe that the providing of the colt was also prearranged. If Luke is right, the triumphal entry had been in the mind of Jesus for some time before (see 13<sup>88</sup>). The details of the incident indicate that it was regarded by Him as of great significance. The evangelists (Mt 21<sup>45</sup>, Jn 12<sup>14-16</sup>) represent it as a fulfilment of Scripture. We believe it was so regarded by Jesus, but not that He said so, for John adds the explanation (12<sup>16</sup>), 'These things understood not His disciples at the first, but when Jesus was glorified, then they remembered that these things were written of Him, and that they had done these things unto Him.' The importance of the event in the mind of Jesus justifies the idea that the details were prearranged. The owner or owners of the colt were most likely disciples, for 'entire strangers would hardly have recognized the right of the Nazarene prophet to seize what belonged to them for His own use, at a time when the Sanhedrin were threatening His adherents with excommunication. The words, "The Lord hath need of him," are accepted as a password, and the place is marked out with the precision of a preconcerted plan (Mk 11<sup>3, 4</sup>)' (Plumptre's *Christ and Christendom*, note, p. 271). The attitude of the Sanhedrin and the spirit of Judas made secrecy essential. Judas must not know who supplied the colt, lest he should betray them too. These considerations lead to the conclusion that this peculiar use of ὁ Κύριος by Jesus had no divine signification. It is evidently an equivalent of ὁ διδάσκαλος in the corresponding incident of the guest-chamber.

3. As applied to Jesus by others than Himself. These instances are of such importance that the phrases as well as the references must be given—

- Mt 28<sup>8</sup> 'The place where the Lord lay.' T. WH. omit ὁ Κύριος.  
 Mk 16<sup>19</sup> 'So then, after the Lord Jesus.' T. WH. omit 'Jesus.'  
 16<sup>20</sup> 'The Lord working with them.'  
 Lk 1<sup>43</sup> 'The mother of my Lord.' τοῦ Κυρίου μου (peculiar to Luke).  
 7<sup>13</sup> 'Seeing her, the Lord had compassion' (peculiar to Luke).  
 7<sup>19</sup> 'John sent to the Lord.' So T. WH.; Textus Receptus, 'Jesus.'  
 10<sup>1</sup> 'The Lord appointed other seventy.'  
 10<sup>39</sup> 'Sat at the feet of the Lord.' So T. WH.; Textus Receptus, 'Jesus' (peculiar to Luke).  
 10<sup>41</sup> 'The Lord answered, and said unto her.' So T. WH.; Textus Receptus, 'Jesus' (peculiar to Luke).  
 11<sup>29</sup> 12<sup>42</sup> 'The Lord said unto him.'  
 13<sup>15</sup> 'The Lord answered and said' (peculiar to Luke).  
 17<sup>5</sup> 'The apostles said unto the Lord' (peculiar to Luke).  
 17<sup>6</sup> 'The Lord said.'  
 18<sup>8</sup> 'The Lord said' (peculiar to Luke).  
 19<sup>8</sup> 'Zacchæus said unto the Lord' (peculiar to Luke).  
 21<sup>61</sup> 'The Lord . . . looked upon Peter' (peculiar to Luke).  
 21<sup>61</sup> 'Peter remembered the word of the Lord.'  
 24<sup>3</sup> 'The body of the Lord Jesus.' (K' I' bracketed WH.)  
 24<sup>34</sup> 'The Lord is risen indeed' (peculiar to Luke).  
 Jn 4<sup>1</sup> 'As soon as the Lord knew.' So WH. T., 'Jesus.'  
 6<sup>23</sup> 'After that the Lord had given thanks.'  
 11<sup>2</sup> 'It was that Mary which anointed the Lord.'  
 20<sup>2</sup> 'They have taken away the Lord.'  
 20<sup>13</sup> 'They have taken away my Lord.'  
 20<sup>18</sup> 'Saying she had seen the Lord.'  
 20<sup>20</sup> 'Glad when they saw the Lord.'  
 20<sup>25</sup> 'We have seen the Lord.'  
 20<sup>28</sup> 'My Lord and my God.'  
 21<sup>7</sup> 'It is the Lord.'  
 21<sup>7</sup> 'When he heard that it was the Lord.'  
 21<sup>12</sup> 'Knowing that it was the Lord.'

If we follow WH., and in most cases T., we find that this use of the title disappears from Mt, but that two additional instances are added to Lk. It is therefore not found in Mt, but is found twice in Mk, 18 times in Lk, and 12 times in Jn. If we follow the general verdict of critical editors, the two instances in Mk must not be regarded as belonging to the original MSS of the Gospel. The last twelve verses are now generally regarded as an addition by a later hand. We are thus left with the remarkable fact that it is only in the Gospels of Luke and John that this title is applied.



to Jesus historically. There could not be a stronger proof of the earlier composition of Matthew and Mark. This title 'Lord,'  $\delta$  *Kύριος*, became so common in the Apostolic Church, that we can only account for its absence in Mt and Mk by the fact of their early date. On the supposition that they are both translations from an original in Aramaic, we have a remarkable testimony to the careful accuracy with which the translation was done. If the originals were transmitted by means of oral or catechumenical instruction, the witness which the absence of this title in Mt and Mk gives to the carefulness of the work is all the more striking.

Of the 18 instances which are found in Lk, 12 occur in passages which are peculiar to this Gospel. The other instances may be regarded as editorial connexions, prefaces, or additions in reporting incidents which appear in other Gospels. These are Lk 7<sup>19</sup> 11<sup>39</sup> 12<sup>42</sup> 17<sup>5</sup> 17<sup>6</sup> 24<sup>3</sup>. Three of them are only additions of the phrase, 'The Lord said.' These facts indicate (a) that the Gospel of Luke is later in date than Mt and Mk. The influence of the common use of the title 'Lord' in the Apostolic Church is apparent. (b) The fact that 12 instances of the title occur in passages which are peculiar to Luke is a striking testimony to the accuracy with which he followed or translated accounts of the Gospel history which he admittedly used in compiling his own, and also to the early composition of these accounts.

Of the 12 instances of the use of this title in John, one is doubtful where Jn 4<sup>1</sup>, viz. WH. reads  $\delta$  *Kύριος*, but Tischendorf 'Ιησοῦς. Two others (6<sup>3</sup> 11<sup>2</sup>) are evidently interpolations (editorial) inserted after the Gospel was written, and are bracketed even in our A.V. The remaining instances are found in the last two chapters of the Gospel, and in passages which give particulars which are peculiar to it. Putting aside for a moment the adoring cry of Thomas (20<sup>28</sup>), they are all of the same kind. They refer to the Saviour from the standpoint of a later time when the divine element in His personality had been recognized, and was expressed in the confession that He was  $\delta$  *κύριος*, 'Lord.' Whether this was due to the writer or to a translator, we cannot tell. But the fact that the early instances are editorial additions, most likely of later insertion, and that the other instances are found in the last two chapters, is a remarkable witness to the general accuracy of the

representation throughout the Gospel. How did the writer, writing, as most suppose, many years after the events which he records, and at a time when the divine element in Jesus was so fully recognized, keep this mode of regarding Christ out of the story? This fact seems to point to the conclusion that the greater portion of the Gospel of John was put into shape and form at a comparatively early date, but was edited and completed (with prologue and epilogue) at a later date. This is perhaps a large conclusion to draw from these instances, but how can they be otherwise explained? Even if we adopt the idea of translation, the facts are proof of the remarkable accuracy with which the translating was accomplished, since only in two, or at most three, instances in the first nineteen chapters (the prologue excepted) has the Church's faith shown its influence.

In regard to the adoring cry of Thomas, the suggestion has occurred to the writer that possibly at that great moment of his life, the disciple spoke in Hebrew, and that it was a phrase from the familiar Psalms which rushed to his lips—'my King and my God' (Ps 5<sup>5</sup> 84<sup>3</sup>). Nothing is so noticeable as the general cessation of references to the Kingship of Jesus in the Acts and Epistles of the N.T. It was an idea likely to be misunderstood, and translators would naturally avoid a word which would cause trouble. But at the same time, when the assertion of the Kingship of Jesus was essential to the truth of the narrative in the Gospels, the translators did not shrink from using the word to express it.

The instances in which *Kύριος* and  $\delta$  *Kύριος* are used in the Gospels may be thus collectively grouped, leaving out all doubtful readings.

	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Total.
I. <i>Kύριος</i> and $\delta$ <i>κύριος</i> , used generally as title of respect or of a master—					
(a) <i>Kύριος</i> . . . . .	9	7	1	2	19
(β) 'Ο <i>κύριος</i> . . . . .	21	2	16	3	42
II. <i>Kύριος</i> and $\delta$ <i>Kύριος</i> as title for God=Jehovah—					
(a) <i>Kύριος</i> . . . . .	17	8	28	4	57
(β) 'Ο <i>Kύριος</i> . . . . .	2	1	10	0	13
III. <i>Kύριος</i> and $\delta$ <i>Kύριος</i> , as applied to Jesus—					
(a) <i>Kύριος</i> , used by others than disciples . . . . .	10	1	5	8	24
„ used by disciples . . . . .	8	0	12	18	38
„ used by Himself . . . . .	7	2	3	2	14

	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Total
(β) 'Ο Κύριος, used by Himself directly . . .	1	1	2	0	4
„ used by Himself indirectly . . .	1	1	1	0	3
„ used by others . . .	0	0	18	12	30
	76	23	96	49	244

Another grouping is as follows :—

	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Total
I. Κύριος, used generally as title of respect to Jesus and others . . .	34	10	21	30	95
II. 'Ο Κύριος, used generally as title of Master . . .	23	4	19	3	49
III. Κύριος and 'Ο Κύριος=Jehovah . . .	19	9	38	4	70
IV. 'Ο Κύριος, used of Christ with confessional meaning . . .	0	0	18	12	30
	76	23	96	49	244

This variety of employment of Κύριος and ὁ Κύριος is a strong argument in favour of the contention that our Gospels in Greek as we have them are translations. The force of it is seen when we recognize the same free use of Κύριος and ὁ Κύριος in the LXX as translations of אֲדֹנָי, אֲדֹנֵי, אֲדֹנָי, אֲדֹנֵי, אֲדֹנָי, אֲדֹנֵי. The translators of the Gospels from Hebrew or Aramaic followed the *usum loquendi* of the LXX. The application of the higher meaning of ὁ Κύριος to Jesus, especially by Greek-speaking Jews, is only to be explained by their recognition of His Divinity. The absence of this confessional title in Matthew and the genuine portion of Mark is an emphatic testimony to their early date. Its limited use in Luke and John is an indication of a later date, but of a date not much later.

JOHN REID.

Dundee.

### The Syro-Phœnician Woman.

IN the issue of April 1901, the Rev. David Smith, M.A., writes instructively in regard to our Lord's 'hard saying' to the Syro-Phœnician woman. He suggests that a benignant smile lurks in the word and tone of Jesus, and that He was speaking to her in gentle banter. The gracious purpose of it was to test and strengthen the suppliant's faith: In the spoken 'no' her nimble wit was to detect the unspoken 'yes.'

As books can never print smiles and tones of voice, it can never be successfully denied that Christ spoke an old proverb with a smile and a tone that betokened something better than did the word which was uttered. But the purpose of it, as suggested by Mr. Smith, has never seemed to me satisfactory. Christ's purpose does not seem to have been to strengthen, or increase the quantity of, the woman's faith, *but to change its quality.* He wanted her to see Him in a different light. She, a Greek, believed Him to be the son of David, the Messiah of the Jews and not of the Gentiles, and she addressed Him accordingly. She also believed in Him as one who had power to do mighty deeds of healing. All this faith was doubtless founded on common rumour. She supposed that she, a foreigner, had no part or lot in Him; and her unworded thought doubtless was, that if He would only grant that for which she prayed, He might go His way and she would trouble Him no more. She was thinking of His blessing, and not of Himself as one who might be even her Messiah. Jesus detects this fault in her faith and seeks to correct it; and He does it by leading her to see that, morally if not nationally, He may affect all, be nearer and more to her than she had supposed. She might identify herself, though in the very lowliest capacity, with the family of Israel, and thus claim, not simply His crumb of blessing, but Himself as one who was also hers.

Between receiving some blessing from Christ which is *not* Christ, and receiving from Him that blessing which *is* Himself, there is a vast difference. And many there be who receive only the former—simply the cold, naked gift. It is because they receive it as strangers. It seems to me that the point which the wisdom of Christ enabled the 'nimble witted' suppliant to discern was, that the better part always is to have the Giver in the gift, and not simply the gift. And so, in obtaining from Him the restoration of her daughter, she also obtained Himself as one whom she might address, not as the Christ of the Jews merely, but as the Christ even of herself. This was a far higher quality of faith than that with which she had set out in her beseeching—and Christ was more to her now than the mere passing stranger from Israel who could do mighty works.

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## A Misused Scripture Text.

'The angel sware . . . that there should be time no longer.'—Rev. x. 5, 6.

THE English form of this declaration has a sort of philosophical sound about it which has led its hearers, detaching it from its occasion and context, to suppose that it speaks of 'time' in an abstract sense, and bids us expect that the period will come when this will cease to be a category of our consciousness. One would have thought that the impossibility of such a conception would have made men question whether the true meaning had been assigned to the words. How can a finite creature ever cease to have those impressions of succession and duration which we call 'time,' and escape into the eternal now of the Infinite One? It is surely unthinkable; and it was with much surprise that we found a divine like Dr. Pusey using the passage in its popular acceptance,<sup>1</sup> to make with it a point against the scientific thinkers he was opposing.

We have only to read what follows this saying to see what it really means.

'The angel sware . . . that there should be time no longer; but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he should begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as He hath declared to His servants the prophets.'

The 'but' which follows stamps the sense of the 'time' which is to be no longer. It means an interval or continuance of time: there shall be no more delay. The key to the passage is (as Alford has justly pointed out) that cry of the martyred saints from under the altar:<sup>2</sup> 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?' and the answer to them that 'they should rest yet for a little season,' or time: it is the same word as is used here (χρόνος). The angel announces that this season will terminate at the beginning of the sounding of the seventh trumpet. And accordingly, when that trumpet is heard, the thanksgiving of the heavenly elders is: 'Thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that Thou shouldest give reward unto Thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear Thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.'<sup>3</sup>

M. D.

<sup>1</sup> This was in a sermon called 'Nescience, not Science,' etc., published about 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. vi. 9-11.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. xi. 15-18.

## Note on 1 Timothy i. 11.

Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοῦ.

DOES not this mean 'the glad tidings of the glory which God, the source of all blessedness, intends for us, has made possible for us'? 'The glory of God' seems to mean here and elsewhere in the New Testament, 'the glory given to man, or intended by God for man.' So (Ro 3<sup>23</sup>) 'all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God,' yet (Ro 5<sup>2</sup>) we may 'rejoice in hope of' that glory; and in some measure we have already received an earnest of it (Ro 8<sup>30</sup> and Jn 17<sup>22</sup>), although the full revelation is hereafter (Ro 8<sup>18</sup>). In 2 Co 3<sup>18</sup> and Rev 21<sup>11</sup>, the two ideas—the glory possessed by God, the source of all, and the glory given to the Church—are seen to be one idea viewed from different sides. Yet this one side, the glory of God as possible for us now and still more hereafter, may sometimes be profitably dwelt on (as in Col 1<sup>27</sup>, Eph 1<sup>18</sup>, 2 Th 2<sup>14</sup>, and 1 P 5<sup>1</sup>), though it may be implied in the other and grander notion of the divine glory inherent in 'the blessed God.'

W. WARREN.

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## De καὶ fortiore.

THERE is a well-defined use of καὶ in the NT to which, I think, the attention of students is not sufficiently drawn, and which seems to have been overlooked by some writers of undoubtedly high scholarship. It corresponds to a use of the Heb. *vav*, very similar to, if not identical with, *vav adaequationis*.

I think it may be precisely defined thus: Where two ideas are joined together, of which one has been already mentioned or implied, or even is supposed to be present to the mind of the hearer or reader, this one is placed *after* the καὶ, which consequently has the force of 'in addition to,' or 'as well as.'

Two very obvious examples in OT may be mentioned. In Gen 37<sup>9</sup> Joseph told his second dream to his brethren. Then after the description of the dream there is added (v.<sup>10</sup>), 'and he told it to his father and (*vav*) to his brethren.' Where it is obvious that the *vav* means 'as well as.' So in Ruth 1<sup>3</sup> we are told that Naomi and her two sons survived Elimelech. Then Mahlon and



Chilion die; and it adds, 'the woman was left of her two children *and* (*van*) of her husband.'

In both of these instances the LXX vary from the original, apparently because they felt the impossibility of giving *καί* this force. Several of the writers of NT, however, seem to have felt no such difficulty.

There can, I suppose, be no doubt that when anything marvellous occurs publicly, the report of it spreads about the neighbourhood first, and afterwards to more distant regions. Thus, when the widow's son was raised from the dead in the presence of well-nigh the whole population, the report of it spread, without doubt, over the neighbourhood of Nain first, and afterwards penetrated as far as Judæa, in spite of the intervening Samaria. But St. Luke writes: ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ. Thus one of two things is necessary: either *καί* means 'as well as,' *περιχώρῳ* meaning the neighbourhood of Nain; or *περιχώρῳ* means the region round about Judæa, *καί* meaning simply 'and.' But since Nain is in Galilee, it seems to me unaccountable that the evangelist should have made the report begin to spread in Judæa, even if *περίχωρος* be capable of the extensive meaning suggested. Again, St. Mark (5<sup>16</sup>) tells us how the Gadarene swineherds fled and told the people in the city and the country about the loss of the swine. The people come out to see what had happened, and find the demoniac 'sitting and clothed, and in his right mind.' Then the record adds: καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἰδόντες πῶς ἐγένετο τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν χοίρων. Whether οἱ ἰδόντες refers to οἱ βόσκοντες, or to some other eye-witnesses, it seems to me that the more probable meaning is that they told the citizens about the demoniac, *in addition* to the previously imparted information about the swine. If οἱ ἰδόντες were the same persons as οἱ βόσκοντες, it must be so; and, if not, it would seem that another particle (as *δὴ* or *δήπου*), beside *καί* would have been necessary, if he had meant to say 'the eye-witnesses first told them about the demoniac, and *then* confirmed the story of the swineherds.' Probably the *καί* before τοὺς ἀγροῦς in v.<sup>14</sup> is of the same character; it, at least, seems to me more natural.

When the disciples of the Pharisees come with the Herodians to tempt our blessed Lord, there seems to lie in the background of their question the thought, the acknowledgment, of their obliga-

tion to pay the temple dues; and consequently His answer means, 'pay Cæsar his dues *as well as* God His' (St. Mt 22<sup>21</sup>).

In the parable of the Ten Virgins, the 'wise' say to the foolish, μήποτε οὐ μὴ ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν: the supply of oil was already running short in the lamps of the foolish, and the wise are afraid lest, if they comply, theirs also should fail. Their words seem to me to mean 'lest we run short as well as you.' If they had merely meant, 'There is not enough oil for both us and you,' they would have said, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν τὲ καὶ ὑμῖν: the text has a pointed reference to the already discovered failure of their companions' oil.

When Peter and John were asked for alms by the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the temple, Peter answers, Ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι. He had previously bidden the man 'look on us'; and the man doubtless expected something, but surely not *gold* from the Galilean fisherman. St. Peter's words mean, 'I have no gold, nor yet silver'; lit. 'Silver *as well as* gold is lacking to me.' If the *καί* were incapable of this meaning, the text would contain a senseless husteronproteron, which could have easily been avoided by saying, οὔτε χρυσίον οὔτε ἀργύριον ὑπάρχει μοι.

I think that, if this use of *καί* were more freely recognised as being a normal one, it would simplify the arguments as to the precise meaning of Ac 16<sup>6</sup>, at least to those who hold the South Galatian view. For, if it be true that Γαλατικὴ χώρα included Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, the historian has already (in v.<sup>4</sup>) said, in effect, that the Pauline party passed through it. Consequently διήλθον τ. Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλ. χώραν means, 'They went through Phrygia as well as the Galatic district.' There is, then, no difficulty whatever about the *order* in which the words come; and I am inclined to think that a comparison of the phrase with those at St. Lk 3<sup>1</sup>, Ac 2<sup>9</sup>, and in all other cognate passages in the Ac, will show that hostile arguments, drawn from the absence of the article before Γαλατικὴν, are not convincing.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

PROFESSOR RAMSAY has contributed a short article to the *Sunday School Times* of America on 'The Turning-Point in Paul's Life.'

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The turning-point in Paul's life was the vision of the risen Jesus on the road to Damascus. Professor Ramsay is not afraid to call it his conversion. And he says that whatever we make of it, Paul himself made everything of it. It was the culmination of his past and the inauguration of his future life. From it as starting-point he reckons the chronology of his later life (according to the proper interpretation of Gal 1<sup>15-21</sup>). The instinct of the early Church recognized the saints' and martyrs' *day of death* as the beginning of their true life. Paul's birthday was his *conversion*.

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What was the cause of his conversion? It was the belief that he had seen Jesus after His resurrection from the dead. That belief transformed him, and the transformation was ever new evidence of the validity of the belief. But Paul never doubted its validity. That his companions did not see what he saw, was nothing to him. He saw. He never doubted that.

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But the important question which Professor Ramsay raises here is, How did he know that the person whom he saw was that Jesus whose

followers he was persecuting? He had Jesus' own word for it: 'I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest.' No doubt. But Professor Ramsay finds more in it than that. In writing to the Corinthians Paul mentions his witness as of the same kind with that of Cephas and the rest of the apostles. Now they had seen Jesus after He rose from the dead, and recognized Him as the very person whom they had known in life. Well, Paul had been living and studying in Jerusalem for many years. It is hardly possible to suppose that he had not seen the person with whose fame and words all Judæa and Jerusalem were ringing. So when he heard the words, 'I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest,' he looked up and recognized Him, just as the disciples had done.

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Some reference has already been made to Deissmann's *Bible Studies* and to the fresh contributions which that book makes to the interpretation of the New Testament. These contributions are chiefly from the papyri and inscriptions, but it is not everyone that can read the papyri and inscriptions to such effect. Nor is it the New Testament alone that is interpreted. Fresh light is thrown on many a passage in the Greek Old Testament also, of which one example may now be given.

The word is ἄφεσις. Coming from ἀφίημι, 'to send away,' it is the word used so frequently in Leviticus for the 'jubile' or 'release' of the fiftieth year, whence it came to express the 'forgiveness' of sins. But in Jl 1<sup>20</sup> and La 3<sup>48</sup> we find the strange expression ἀφέσεις ὑδάτων, the Hebrew in the former passage meaning 'water-brooks,' and in the latter 'rivers of water.' Again in 2 S 22<sup>16</sup> the Hebrew, which means 'channels of the sea,' is translated by ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης. How is it that ἄφεσις could be used for a brook or a river?

Sometimes, when the Greek translators of the Old Testament did not understand the Hebrew word before them, they 'showed tact,' as Deissmann expresses it, by simply transcribing it. And Deissmann himself has been tempted to look upon ἄφεσις as an instance. But the evidence of the papyri has made that and all other suppositions superfluous.

In the Flinders Petrie Papyri, edited by Professor Mahaffy, there occur official reports concerning the irrigation of Egypt. In these reports the technical expression for the *releasing* of the waters is ἀφίημι τὸ ὕδωρ. The substantival phrase is also found, ἄφεσις τοῦ ὕδατος. And not only so, but the word ἄφεσις is used alone with this meaning. For when one thinks of the importance to the Egyptians of the irrigation, one has little difficulty in seeing how inevitably and immediately the words which expressed its various incidents would be understood by the people in their technical sense.

Now the Greek translation of the Old Testament was made for Egyptian readers. Its translators already recognized the important principle that a translation should make the same impression on its readers as did the original. If that cannot be done by a word-for-word rendering, some paraphrase or equivalent must be chosen. Canals were to the Egyptians what brooks were to the Palestinians. The bursting forth of the

Nile waters from the opened sluices would make the same impression upon the former as the roar of the first winter-brook made upon the latter. So when Joel says, 'Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water for the destruction of my people,' the Septuagint translators convey the force of his words to their own readers by speaking of the outrush of the pent-up water in the canals.

'And while they were looking stedfastly into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel' (Ac 1<sup>10</sup>). Who were these two men? The Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, is much interested in them, and in his new book, *The Risen Master*, has a definite opinion about them.

The common opinion is that they were angels. Mr. Latham does not think that they were angels. Not that he denies the existence of 'intermediary intelligences.' In his previous book, *A Service of Angels*, he leaves us in no doubt about that. Nor is he prepared to deny 'that such an intelligence might possibly be embodied and appear upon earth.' But it is a law, he says, that superhuman intervention does not take place until it is required in order to accomplish something which could not be accomplished without it. He thinks that all that these 'men in white apparel' did could have been done without supernatural agency. Therefore he does not believe that they were angels. He believes that they were men.

There was a body of Judæan believers, he conceives, who 'followed not' with the Galilæan disciples. They did not lack courage. One of them is the 'young man' of Mk 14<sup>51</sup>, who in a moment of danger ventured so far that he only escaped with the loss of his clothing. Some of them may have been priests, for 'a great company of the priests were obedient unto the faith' (Ac 6<sup>7</sup>). Some of them may have been Essenes, who were distinguished by their wearing of 'white



apparel.' They did not lack courage. But they shrank from attaching themselves to a company of Galilæans who spoke a provincial dialect. 'Ye men of Galilee' would be their natural address to the actual followers of Jesus.

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It may be, then, that two of these Judæan believers, who were more cultivated and socially superior to the Galilæans, and therefore grasped more easily the meaning of the deeper words of Christ, especially the words about a Messiah who had to suffer, it may be that two of them followed the apostolic party on the way up the Mount of Olives, keeping a little behind. The disciples, who had no eyes but for the Master, observed them not. And they did not come forward till they saw the Lord ascending into the cloud. Then they stepped to the front, and told the disciples that which they themselves, by a better trained intelligence, already understood about His coming again.

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Professor Foster of the Pacific Theological Seminary of America has contributed an article to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April on 'The Limits of Theological Freedom.' In outward appearance the article is a review of two recent American books. But the title is a frank admission that there is a deeper purpose in it than that. For Professor Foster is a Congregationalist, and the authors of both the books are Congregationalists; and when Professor Foster wrote his article the Congregationalists of America were face to face with the question whether they should allow their professors to say anything they pleased regarding the Person of Christ.

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What have their professors said? The first book reviewed is by Professor Gilbert of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Its title is *The Revelation of Jesus*. Professor Gilbert is a thoroughly competent scholar, and a writer of considerable literary power. What he says he says wittingly, and he says what he means to say.

His deliberate desire is to stand beside the men who stood beside Jesus when He was on earth. He seeks to hear with their ears, to see with their eyes. He takes the Gospels, including the Fourth, as sufficiently trustworthy evidence of what they saw and heard. And he asks, Reading these Gospels as faithfully as we can, what do we find in them about the Person of Jesus of Nazareth?

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We find, he answers, that He was merely a man. Nowhere does he answer so in those words, but Professor Foster believes that all he answers comes to that. He says that 'Jesus claims and manifests a truly human consciousness'; He says He has 'the consciousness of perfect moral union with the Father'; he says that this union is 'a union of character, ethical, and not metaphysical'; and he says that 'there is nowhere a suggestion that the Father is with Him, or that He abides in the Father, because He is of the same nature or substance as the Father.'

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Professor Gilbert, however, makes a distinction between the conclusions which the writers of the Four Gospels drew regarding Christ and the words which they gave as spoken by Christ about Himself. They may have come to conceive Him as something more than man; He Himself never claims to be more than man. This distinction, Professor Foster thinks, he has no right to draw. If St. John cannot be trusted in his understanding of Jesus' words, how can he be trusted in his report of them? But Professor Gilbert may for a moment be allowed to choose his own method.

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How, then, does he deal with such a passage as Jn 17<sup>b</sup>, 'And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was'? Professor Gilbert examines other passages in which the words *glory* and *glorify* occur. He comes to the conclusion that they express reward for work that has been done. The work which Jesus had done was the work of the Messiah. The glory was

therefore the glory of doing the Messianic work and of being recognized as the Messiah. And when it is said that Jesus had this glory with the Father before the world was, the meaning is that He had it *'in the purpose and decree of God.'*

The second book is by Professor Paine of the Bangor Theological Seminary. Its title is *The Evolution of Trinitarianism*. It follows the course of history from the Gospels to the present day, taking Athanasius, Augustine, and innumerable others on the way. At the end it states what has to be rejected and what retained. From first to last it is what Professor Foster calls 'clear, incisive, epigrammatic, and alert.' Like Professor Gilbert, Professor Paine knows what he means to say and says it. He is less merciful than Professor Gilbert. 'He spares no antagonist, and, unfortunately, nearly every living author and most of the dead must be reckoned in this category.' He is less merciful, and he receives less mercy.

Professor Paine finds no trace of a trinity in the Old Testament. He finds no trace in the teaching of Jesus. Jesus 'was a Jew, trained by Jewish parents in the Old Testament Scriptures,' and His teaching was 'Jewish to the core.' 'In all Christ's declarations concerning Himself, as given in the Synoptic Gospels, there is no hint anywhere of a pre-incarnate life, or of a supernatural birth, or of a divine incarnation. There is no evidence that the idea of a peculiar metaphysical union with God ever entered His mind.'

'In the Synoptic Gospels,' he says. For Professor Paine does not believe in St. John. Professor Gilbert took the Fourth Gospel with him; Professor Paine rejects it with emphasis. It is 'undoubtedly a writing of about the middle of the second century, and the author is entirely unknown.' That, 'undoubtedly,' is not too courteous to men like Harnack, but it is characteristic of Professor Paine. It is not the only case of opposition to Harnack. Regarding Athanasius, for example, Harnack says, 'If one

asks the question whether Athanasius viewed the Deity as a numerical unity or as a numerical duality, we are to answer as a numerical unity.' Professor Paine says bluntly that Athanasius believes in three distinct beings, who are of the same generic nature, but not numerically one.

For Professor Paine has no respect of person. He salutes no man by the way. His purpose is to show the steps by which the dogma of Trinitarianism rose and flourished and fell. And if Harnack is in the way of his progress it is the worse for Harnack. But we need not follow his steps. Let us come to his conclusions.

His conclusions are expressed in two momentous paragraphs. The first names the 'traditional presuppositions and prepossessions and assumptions' that 'stand squarely' in the way of the theology of the future. The second tells us what the theology of the future is to be.

First, then, as to the things that stand in the way. 'Such for example are the assumptions concerning the supernatural world and its relations to this world; concerning miracles as suspensions, if not violations, of the ordinary laws of nature; concerning a supernatural or miraculous revelation of God to man through specially inspired men; concerning the Bible as a book of divine authorship, and hence perfect and infallible in its religious teachings, and even in its history and science; concerning the historicity of the traditional dates and authors of the books of Scripture; concerning the metaphysical being and character of God, and concerning the account in Genesis of the origin and fall of man. These,' Professor Paine concludes, 'are a few of the most striking presuppositions of orthodoxy, and it can be seen at a glance that they are utterly inconsistent with all the discoveries of science and all the latest results of historical scholarship.'

And now, what is the theology of the future to be? It will consist of the following 'truths,'

properly arranged in a proper system,—‘the truths of man’s free moral nature and responsibility, of sin and sinfulness and its moral effects; of man’s capacity for repentance and a new spiritual life, of the religious sense of God and of his moral supremacy, of man’s instinctive hope of immortality, of conscience that commands to duty and stirs the conviction of moral reward and punishment, and of the revelations of God’s goodness and love in nature and providence, and especially in the gospel of Christ.’

Professor Gilbert and Professor Paine are teachers of candidates for the ministry in theological colleges of the Congregationalists of America. What are the Congregationalists of America to do with them? Professor Foster says that they should be asked to withdraw from their fellowship. They should be told, he says, that their true fellowship is elsewhere. ‘It is not creditable,’ he says, ‘for a man who has in fact abandoned every distinctive element of Christianity to call himself a Christian and claim fellowship with Congregationalists who stand firmly by the Christianity of the Gospels, which is the only Christianity that has any right to the name.’

Well, since Professor Foster wrote his article, Professor Gilbert has been told, and he has withdrawn. He has been told that ‘the good of the Seminary and of Dr. Gilbert’ requires his resignation, and he has resigned. What Professor Paine will be told or what he will do, we cannot tell.

‘It was my experience once upon a time in the early days of summer to be in the terrestrial Jerusalem; the city was in a state of aroused interest or of suppressed excitement, in which every man was passing the word to his neighbour on some matter of importance, but the excitement was not due to political rumours nor to intrigues of or against the Government, there was no threatened invasion of Franks from the West, or arrival of fresh batches of Persian Jews from the

East; it was simply due to the fact that *the first ripe figs were in the market.*’

Thus begins an article in the May number of *Present Day Papers* by Professor Rendel Harris. The article is called ‘The Elements of a Progressive Church.’ And in that introduction Dr. Rendel Harris at once strikes the keynote of the article. The matter of the newsmongering in Jerusalem that early summer day may seem trifling, but it helped him to understand some expressions in the Old and New Testaments, in particular the words of the apostles who speak of redeemed humanity in earth and in heaven as ‘the first fruits of God’s creatures,’ ‘the first fruits to God and the Lamb.’ That is a definition of the Church. And when the Church is defined as ‘the first fruits,’ the meaning is that it is in advance of other men and other societies. When other men and other societies come to their ripeness, they may be indistinguishable in sweetness and fulness from the Church. ‘It is even conceded that the later fruits may be larger, rounder, ruddier or deeper-purpled, sweeter and juicier.’ But the distinction lies in this that the Church, as *first fruits*, is ahead of them. It has a chronological advantage. It sees what should be done first and does it first. And this is not a trifling matter. ‘When one’s soul desires the vintage or the fruitage of the returning summer, chronological advantage is everything. The trees that are a fortnight to the fore are the talk and the delight of the town.’

This is the idea of the Church which was entertained by the apostles. It is the view which commended itself to St. Paul and to St. John and to St. James—this view which wrote the early believers down as being in advance of the general mass of humanity, and constituted them the Church by the mere fact of that advance. ‘Even St. James,’ says Professor Rendel Harris, ‘even St. James, who is the least progressive of the early band, is clear on this point, for it is he who says that God produced us by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of His creatures.



St. James just missed being a fossil, for which Nature seemed to have designed him, but Grace came and made him a saint, with the root and seed of progress in him.'

So the Christian Church is called 'the first fruits,' because it is early. It has the advantage chronologically. It is the first, it was meant to be the first, to see what has to be done, the first to do it. The Christian Church is called 'the first fruits to God and the Lamb,' because it was to contain, and be made up of, *the spiritual, social, and intellectual leaders of mankind.*

Spiritual, social, and intellectual—is it a bold claim? It is no claim at all. It is a possession, it is a gift. 'That seeing ye might see.' 'Blessed are the eyes that see the things which ye see.' The spiritual, social, and intellectual leaders—He who placed the responsibility added the endowment, for He sends no man a warring at his own charges. 'He who had made the stars to be looked at, had found lenses and optic glasses for the children to look through, and this world would have been a redeemed world long ago if they had gone on looking as they were first instructed to do.'

'We need not,' says Professor Rendel Harris, 'spend our time in pointing out how great has been the failure of this progressive idea which we call the Church. Viewed as an outward organization there are few social movements which it has not repressed, few steps of intellectual progress which it has not denounced; it harked back to paganism, and stayed there, merely changing the names of the deities, and putting new revels in place of ancient feasts; it suppressed philosophy, it delayed philanthropy, it imprisoned Galileo, it denounced Darwin, it burnt witches, it patronized the slave trade; and to this day its opposition may be safely counted on if any attempt should be made to turn into actual practice the ideals of the prophets or of the Master of the prophets in any region of human life.'

Nevertheless there has always been a remnant, and Professor Rendel Harris has hope for the future. He has hope that the Church, getting rid of the three grand hindrances to progress,—PRIDE, PASSION, PREJUDICE,—may find her Leader again, even as a Church, and take the front in all social and in all intellectual movements. For there are virtues yet to be discovered, and how will the discovery be made if the Christian Church does not turn her telescope towards the place where they lie? The virtue of *pity* was her discovery, and it is of quite recent origin. The schoolboy slowly reaches it and sometimes never gets there. In China and other lands it is hardly yet in existence—though that, says Dr. Rendel Harris in a parenthesis, may be due to the air of China, since foreigners who visit that land appear to be affected by their environment and become almost immediately assimilated to natives. If pity is of such late origin, why may it not be that there are other virtues which have not yet been discovered, unresolved nebulae in the moral heaven, toward which our attention should be telescopically directed?

But at present there seems to be more need for the Church's telescope in the intellectual than in the ethical world. The early disciples were leaders in intellect. It was their rightful place, and it belongs to the disciples of Christ still. But the Church has lost her leadership there. Where do you find Catholicity to-day? It has become the property of scientific men. Mathematicians and chemists are brothers in all lands. If they have no speech nor language except the diagrams and symbols of their investigations, they have enough in common to know and respect one another. Of the followers of Christ it is only a remnant who with Whittier can say—

Ne'er to me, howe'er disguised,  
Comes a saint unrecognized.

The Church must recover her Catholicity.

And in things that are more purely intellectual than Catholicity the Church must regain her

leadership. We need not waste time, says Professor Rendel Harris, in scolding the Roman pontiff for persecuting Galileo, at least until we have quite ceased to build Galileo's tomb. But still, it should have been the pope and not Galileo that said, 'And yet it moves.'

There was a man whose name was Thomas Story, 'whose life in a folio volume is one of the historical treasures of a society which more than any other has suspected that biography is the right way to make history.' One day Thomas Story went to Scarborough, to attend the Quaker meetings 'and see the high cliffs and the great variety of strata therein, and their present positions.' And he wrote a letter to his friend to tell him what were the conclusions he had come to on observing these cliffs and their strata. 'I further learned,' he wrote, 'and was confirmed in some things, as that the earth is of older date as to the beginning of it than the time assigned in the Holy Scriptures, as commonly understood, which is suited to the

common capacities of human kind, as to six days' progressive work, by which I understand certain long and competent periods of time, and not natural days, the time of the commencement and finishing of all these great works being undiscoverable by the mind of man, and hid in that short period, In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.'

When did Thomas Story write that letter? Its date, in Quaker wise, is 12th month 8th, 1738. He thus anticipated Hugh Miller and the *Vestiges of Creation* by one hundred years.

Now this was a saint's discovery, and it was made in the region of the intellect. For it was geology and not guesswork that gave Thomas Story this knowledge of the antiquity of the earth. It was the result of the observation of the strata in the cliffs at Scarborough, their thickness, and their position. Did he reach this knowledge because he was a saint? Yes, because he was a saint.

## Ignatius Loyola.

BY PROFESSOR GEORG GRÜTZMACHER, PH.D., HEIDELBERG.

DURING the war of Charles v. with Francis I. of France, a small Spanish garrison had to hold the fortress of Pampeluna against the overwhelming numbers of a French army. All the officers were in favour of surrender except the youngest, who by his vehement words succeeded in determining them to a hopeless resistance. This was Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, of the house of Loyola, then 29 years of age, the future founder of the order of the Jesuits. With unquailing courage he stood in the breach until a cannon-ball shattered his right leg. Conveyed to the castle of his brother, he bore with admirable fortitude the pains of his situation. The wound healed slowly, and it became evident that the leg would remain stiff and shorter than the other. With unflinching soldierly spirit he allowed the bones to be broken

twice over, that the limb might be better set, and the muscles to be stretched, that they might attain the proper length; all this without a single cry of pain being suffered to pass his lips. He afterwards jestingly declared that he bore all this with the hope of being able once more to wear tight boots. It was his intention not to abandon his military career.

Don Inigo, the scion of a Basque noble family, was born in 1491, and was thus only eight years younger than Luther. He belonged to that unique mountain people which is hard as steel, full of energy, and at the same time fantastic, spiteful, and cunning, and which still supplies to Spain the most ingenious smugglers and the best officers. Brought up as a page at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, he displayed a *penchant*

for fine weapons and horses, for the adventures of duelling and of love. But as a Spanish knight he had shown also knightly reverence for the Church. On his sickbed in the castle of Loyola he asked for the Spanish knightly romance *Amadis*, but as this was not included in the primitive library, he read a Harmony of the Gospels and selections from the *Lives of the Saints*. A new being grew up in him. 'What if I were to do like the holy St. Francis or the holy St. Dominic?' The most loving and most lovable saint of the Middle Ages—St. Francis of Assisi—and the gloomy Spanish zealot—St. Dominic—are rivals for his heart. He is tossed to and fro by alternating thoughts. He dreams of a lady who is more than countess or duchess; he beholds in a dream the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms. He is too modest to put forward this dream as an actual appearance, but this vision displaces every other female figure in his heart. He determines to dedicate himself to the immaculate Virgin. Leaving his couch, he sits meditating till far into the night, and gazes at the heavens and the shining stars. 'How dark to me is the earth,' he exclaims, 'when I look up to heaven!'

In enthusiastic rapture Ignatius bids farewell to his former life. In doing so he deceives, as he himself confesses, his friends as to his plans. To any real sense for the truth he could never make claim, but for this we are not to throw all the blame upon himself. Any such sense had been early blunted in him by the ambiguous enigmatic expressions and insincere formulæ, influenced by an Oriental spirit, used in the society by which he was surrounded. Like a true Spanish cavalier, Ignatius consecrates himself as the knight of the immaculate Virgin. On the sacred Catalonian mountain, Montserrat, whose serrated peak rears itself from the plain, he hangs his weapons on the altar of Mary, and keeps watch standing or kneeling the whole night through. In the garb of a hermit, after having given away all his property, he entered the Dominican monastery at Manresa and began there to perform religious functions. Severe enough were the penances to which he subjected himself, scourging himself, for instance, three times a day. But the more he imposes excessive discipline upon himself, the darker and the more despairing is the outlook within, till he actually begins to entertain the thought of suicide. A prey thus to conflicts like those of Luther at

Erfurt, he finds deliverance through remarkable visions. He beholds Christ, as the words of transformation are uttered, descend as a bright beam into the host; he sees the holy Trinity as three organ keys bound together in harmony. Then he sets himself with all his might to combat in succession his different vices. Sin is to him the sum of individual faults—the precise opposite of the sin-consciousness of Luther, who knew only one sin, namely, the breach with God.

It was the above experiences of Ignatius that led him afterwards to the construction of his spiritual *Exercises*. On the basis of the work of the Dominican abbot, Garcia Cisnero of Manresa, Ignatius made, in his rules for these exercises, his own religious development to serve as a scheme for his followers. The object is to give a methodical guidance to meditation. The meditating subject is to reach by contemplation and prayer such an attitude of mind as to form an irrevocable resolution by means of which his life is to take a decisive turn. In entering upon the exercises one submits himself unreservedly to the guidance of the director, who supplies him with the guiding thoughts one by one according to a prescribed methodical gradation, and shows him at the same time how he is inwardly to work upon these. The whole process is divided over four weeks, and each day has its peculiar thought assigned to it. The first week is devoted to meditation upon Sin, the second upon the Life of Jesus, the third upon His Sufferings and Death, the fourth upon His Exaltation. The 'contemplations' are assigned to five different periods of the day, and last as a rule for an hour. Each of them commences with a preparatory prayer, in which the help of God's grace is invoked. Then follow two so-called 'preludes.' The first of these consists in a picturing of the place, the persons, and the circumstances of particular biblical occurrences as vividly as if one had been an immediate witness of them. One sees the angels fall, our first parents sin, the Judge condemn, hell open its abyss. He hears the Persons of the Trinity resolve upon man's redemption, he stands by the manger, or by the Jordan at Christ's baptism, or in Galilee, or in the Temple. He tarries on the mount in the company of the transfigured One, he sits with the disciples at the Lord's Supper, he loses himself in contemplation of the agonies of the suffering and dying One, he walks with the risen Lord. In the



second prelude the subject prays for a frame of mind suitable to the object of contemplation, whether this be sorrow, contrition, or holy joy. The meditation attached to the preludes moves in the same sphere of sense. The subject gazes thoughtfully at Christ as He sends out the apostles into the whole world and exhorts them to poverty and despising of the world, and as He strengthens them for victory. He places himself in spirit in the Holy Family and ministers to Joseph, to the Virgin, to the Child. He is required to carry the intensity of sensible perception to its extreme height in the so-called application of the senses. During the first week he is to be so penetrated with the consciousness of his sin and liability to condemnation as to perceive hell with his five senses: he beholds the dreary regions lit up with the fire-glow, he hears the cry of despair which goes up from the abyss in lamentations and blasphemy, he smells the sulphur smoke and the noisome stench, he tastes the bitterness of all the tears shed there, he feels in his own members the flames in whose blaze souls burn. In these exercises Ignatius further insists that even the outward mien of the subject is to correspond with the object of contemplation. During the first week his windows are darkened, he casts himself on the ground, and imposes various forms of abstinence on himself. In the last week, on the other hand, all breathes joy, the sunshine is to penetrate into his cell, he is to procure himself comforts and take his seat by the warm hearth. The most noteworthy point to observe is that Ignatius is no common enthusiast, he is an enthusiast with consciousness, the most careful economist in the matter of his enthusiasms. Thus the visions in the above exercises are not an end in themselves, they are a means to spiritual discipline. That the contents of the Catholic doctrine of salvation may be impressed upon the mind, the imagination is compelled to picture these to itself in the most glowing colours, and so the orthodox believer becomes assured of the things beyond. At the close of the exercises he is expected to be firmly established in the faith of the Church. And so he receives, on appropriate occasions, counsels for attending to church ordinances, such as pilgrimages, indulgences, veneration of relics, adoration of saints, building of churches. He is to come to submit his judgment to the decision of the Church, to call that black which his eye sees

to be white, if such be the Church's pleasure. Jesuitism shows itself in the exercises as a cooled enthusiasm, it is a calculating piety, a conscious calling up of emotions, a mode of keeping, as it were, an exact account of one's own feelings. Ignatius leads the soul to a kind of see-saw between illusions of its own fancy, that it may finally submit itself absolutely to the Church.

After Ignatius had gained his end at Manresa, he mitigated the ascetic rigour of his life; he even abandoned the hermit's garb and once more cut his hair and nails. The former officer woke up again, and in reference to monks who gloried in neglect of their personal appearance he declared: 'One who loves poverty need not on that account love dirt as well.' Trusting to alms to support him, he started in 1523 on a pilgrimage to Palestine. As a true Spaniard, who still lived quite in the spirit of the Crusades, he felt the utmost pleasure in his stay in Jerusalem, where heaven had kissed earth. When his caravan was about to leave the city for home, he hastened once more to the Mount of Olives to kiss yet again the footprints of Christ, which He left on the rock on the occasion of His ascension. On reaching home he set himself to acquire the theological learning of his time before beginning his work—not like the holy St. Francis, who, without any theology but simply with the sacrifice of love to the Saviour of souls, set himself to labour on behalf of the followers of the poor Christ. At the age of 33 Ignatius took his seat among the boys of Barcelona to learn the elements of Latin. After two years he entered the university of Alcalá, where he studied the scholastic theology, but without losing sight of his practical aim. Here he came into conflict with the Inquisition. The future founder of the Jesuit order was called to account as a heretic. He was accused of belonging to the Allumbrados, a harmless sect of enthusiasts who set themselves to cultivate the habit of silent prayer. The spiritual exercises which Ignatius, along with some companions in Alcalá, practised, were the occasion of the charge. He was prohibited from teaching publicly until he should have completed a four years' course of study in theology. Thence he went to Salamanca to continue his studies, but was once more thrown into the danger of the Inquisition, where he remained a prisoner for forty-two days. The most zealous defender of the Catholic Church had almost ended his days on the pyre of the Inquisi-

tion! Although he was acquitted, he was marked in the eyes of Spaniards with an ineffaceable stain. A prophet has no honour in his own country, and so he directed his steps elsewhere.

Leaving his ungrateful fatherland, he betakes himself in 1528 to Paris. At the age of 36 he goes through the philosophical and theological course at that university of ancient fame, whose star, however, had begun to pale. He sits at the feet of the same teacher as John Calvin. Here he gathers around him a circle of students, with whom he practises the spiritual exercises. These disciples he selects with the greatest skill. He finds an adherent of enthusiastic loyalty in the poor Savoyard shepherd, Peter Faber, a man of as inflexible will as of gross superstition—afterwards the pioneer of Jesuitism in Germany. Side by side with Faber he gains the attachment of the noble Basque, Francis Xavier, who afterwards laboured as an ardent missionary in India, China, and Japan. The friendly band is joined by the two Castilians, Diego Lainez and Alonso Salmeron—the first the most notable theological intelligence of the order, a youth with the head of an old man, a cold species of intellect, the most influential theologian at the Council of Trent; the second a remarkable combination of cunning, fearlessness, and fire. Lastly, Ignatius gains over the restless Spaniard, Bobadilla, and the gloomy Portuguese ascetic, Rodriguez, both of them personalities whose selfwill even Ignatius himself could not break. In the church of St. Mary at Montmartre, on the anniversary of the Assumption of the Virgin, in the year 1534, the little band takes a vow to devote themselves to mission work in Palestine, or, in the event of insuperable difficulties preventing this, to place themselves at the disposal of the pope to be employed in any way for the cure of souls. What was at the outset merely a last shift became afterwards the mark of the Jesuit order.

In 1536 the companions, who meanwhile had received priestly ordination, met in the city of Venice, intending to proceed to Palestine. Loyola found that John Peter Caraffa was also here. These two great personages of the counter-Reformation met. One in aim, they were both too independent to yield either of them to the other. Loyola the Spaniard, Caraffa the Neapolitan, these national antagonisms heightened the strain. Caraffa, the founder of the Theatine order, favoured

a rigid monkhood, with abandonment of preaching and cure of souls. He invited the companions of Ignatius to join his order, but Ignatius declined. Caraffa took offence, he could not brook contradiction, and afterwards, as Pope Paul iv., a fanatical old man, he continued to pursue Ignatius with the hatred of one who has been surpassed by a greater, and declared the Jesuit order to be a plagiarism from his own institution.

The naval war between Venice and Turkey made the voyage to the Holy Land impossible. Accordingly, in 1537, Ignatius and his band betook themselves to Rome, intending to place themselves at the pope's disposal for care of the sick, but especially for street preaching and the instruction of children. At the street corners they would mount on pillars, wave their hats, invite passers-by to listen, and then began their discourse whether many or few assembled round them. The men, with their foreign garb, with their strange demeanour and their half-Spanish, half-Italian dialect, drew attention to themselves. The improvised street sermon began to tell. Now also Ignatius discovered—the Jesuits have always regarded the coining of the title as an inspiration—the proper name, Company of Jesus, *i.e.* not companions of Jesus, but, in a military sense, host of Jesus. They had no intention of setting up as a new order. Without any special costume, and entering freely into all relations of life, they were willing to undertake any duty the pope might assign to them. The reigning pope, Paul iii., had himself no hearty interest, but only a politic one in the projects of Loyola. Alexander Farnese was a genuine child of the Renaissance. In the gardens of Lorenzo Medici at Florence he had imbibed an elegant learning and acquired the æsthetic sense of the period. He acknowledged a natural son, Pier Luigi, and a natural daughter, Margaret. This enlightened humanist, who liked to express himself only in classical Latin, cherished a belief in the gross superstition of astrology. He never called together a *consistorium* of cardinals, when there was an unlucky conjunction of heavenly bodies. Under Paul iii. the Catholic Reformation movement achieved its triumph. After Ignatius had for the eighth time undergone a process at the hands of the Inquisition, and had been completely exonerated of all suspicion of heresy, the pope, in spite of the violent opposition of Caraffa, gave his sanction to the Company of Jesus, at first



with limitation of its membership to sixty, a restriction which, however, was dropped after three years.

From burning enthusiasm Ignatius had now developed far-seeing worldly wisdom. He had meant originally to be a preacher of repentance, now the sincere glow of his piety was exchanged for crafty and stubborn diplomacy. He had no interest in an internal reform of the Church, he took no offence at the life of Paul III. 'Our supreme lord is not to be troubled with counsels for the bettering of his conscience.' For the Church and the popedom, as it is or as it was in the Middle Ages, he is ready to fight and conquer. Preaching, religious instruction, missionary work are specified in the bull that authorized the new society as its chief commissions. Paul III. gave to it the important permission to alter its constitution according to the aims of the order, and in this way it acquired unexampled elasticity and vitality. In 1545 the Jesuits received the important right of preaching everywhere, and of hearing confession by its priests, and even of pronouncing absolution in many cases that had been hitherto reserved for the pope. With extraordinary rapidity the order diffused itself after the papal sanction. In 1550 Loyola founded a college at Paris, which, however, gained ground only slowly, owing to the opposition of the university. In 1554 the university of Paris, which had also banned Luther, still condemned the Jesuits 'as dangerous to the faith, inclined to disturb the peace of the Church, and to overthrow monkish orders, and tending more to destruction than to edification.' In 1551 the *Collegium Romanum* was founded upon lines drawn up by Ignatius himself, a type of the Jesuit system of education which is founded upon the instant rendering of unconditional obedience in all things by all. An important affiliated institution was the *Collegium Germanicum*, the chief source of disturbance in Germany.

On the 4th April 1541 Ignatius was chosen as General of the order. He hesitated about accepting the dignity. We may not stigmatize his conduct as hypocrisy, it was his way of practising humility. The constitution of the society demanded from every member unconditional obedience, to the point even of sacrifice of intellect, 'as if he were a corpse which suffers itself to be handled in any part and in any fashion, or the staff of an old man which serves him that holds it in his

hand everywhere and always, however or wherever he pleases to use it.' At the same time Ignatius requires the cultivation of individuality, but the submission of those who have been thus trained to his rules. The order constitutes a vast mechanism, in which all the wheels have their place assigned them and their motion given them by a single will. Each member has to pass through a severe novitiate, in which he has to practise the spiritual exercises. All relations with the world outside have to be dissolved. It is a holy counsel to accustom oneself to say that one *had* parents and brothers, not that one *has* them. The members of the order take the three monkly vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, but the vow of poverty does not exclude the possession of property by the colleges. A fourth vow is taken only by the narrowest circle of the order, the 'professed'; it has regard to obedience to the pope in the matter of missions among heathen and heretics. Monkish asceticism is dispensed with; attention to the body and moderate indulgence of bodily appetites are specially prescribed in order to adapt the body to the work required by the spirit. It is strictly forbidden to mortify the body. Ignatius did away also with the holding of common hours for prayer. The aim of the order is no longer guidance and contemplation, but work in the world in the service of the Church. Immense success was achieved by the order through preaching, the confessional, and education. It put a decisive check on the spread of Protestantism, and succeeded in re-catholicizing large Protestant domains. Through its missions, moreover, it won a huge territory for the Romish Church. The Jesuits exhibited an unlimited world-wide activity, which pushes its way at once in the Andes and the Alps, sends its spies alike to Thibet and Scandinavia, and strives for State authority in England as well as in China. And on this boundless stage everywhere there is fresh and tireless activity, and the impulse from the central point still animates with living power every worker, even at the farthest point. A great part of this success Ignatius himself lived to see. At his death, on 31st July 1556, he left his order a society of more than 1000 members, with 100 settlements in twelve provinces, including Brazil, the East Indies, and Abyssinia.

Ignatius not only gave to the Company of Jesus its outward constitution and its aims, he also gave



it its animating soul, It is true he had as successors in the generalship of the order three notable men, Diego Lainez, Francis Borja, and Claudio Aquaviva. These maintained the work handed on to them by him, but it would be false to speak of them as new founders of his creation. Ignatius far surpasses them all in insight, mental power, and ambition to signalize himself. But during those very last ten years, when a great field of work was opening up for the order, Ignatius was ageing fast. His weak bodily frame had been almost worn out with his exertions and mental conflicts. In outward appearance he had completely changed. The long black hair, of which the vain young officer had taken such care, had long disappeared, and the strongly developed contour of his head showed itself plainly. The delicate outline of the small face, the powerful aristocratic nose, the mouth bespeaking self-control, and equally at home in speech or in silence, the deep black-shaded sockets in which a pair of calm piercing eyes sparkled, a countenance as inscrutable as the character concealed behind it!

Ignatius was in every way a striking, original, and powerful personality; yet how different this man, to whom the counter-Reformation owed its origin, from the reformer Luther! Luther, who never heard the name of Loyola, for the epoch-making activity of the latter began only after Luther's death, proclaimed the freedom of a Christian man who is his own priest and subject to none; Loyola proclaimed the closest enchainment of the intelligence, the bondage of will and

thought. Luther addressed himself to the great eternal feelings of humanity, its deepest misery on account of sin, and its sense of the need of redemption; Loyola to the instincts of sense and to the imagination, which he uses skilfully but cuts off from all reality. Ignatius was blunt and unscrupulous in the use of means for attaining his ends, in fact the end hallowed for him any means; Luther was unreservedly true, he might be dogmatically unjust, but always straight to the point. Ignatius turned to courts and princes, Luther to the nation. Both had natures born to rule, but Luther by the weight of his personality, Ignatius by means of superintendence and denunciation. Luther a hero and yet simple as a child to the last; Ignatius first a fiery enthusiast and then a clever ecclesiastical politician! Luther with strong passions, yet always pure, a true husband, a loving father; Ignatius first a gallant officer and then a homeless man, with neither family nor national feeling! Both completely dominated by the cause for which they contended, but Ignatius a defender of the unimpeachable system of the Church of the Middle Ages; Luther not only an ecclesiastical but a religious reformer! Ignatius created with skill and success one of the greatest masterpieces ever conceived by the human mind, he saved the Romish Church and reconquered wide tracts for her; Luther showed men the way to a deeper truer Christian piety and a sounder morality, he impressed once more upon the heart of Christians the old and yet ever new gospel of God reconciled in Christ.

## Requests and Replies.

What is the distinction between πίστις and πεποιθίς, and what is the relation between them?—W. H. G. T.

THE word πεποιθίς, which is late Greek, is found in the N.T. only in the Pauline Epistles, 2 Co 1<sup>15</sup> 3<sup>4</sup> 8<sup>22</sup> 10<sup>2</sup>, Ph 3<sup>4</sup>, and Eph 3<sup>12</sup>. It occurs once in the LXX for פִּתְּחָה (2 K 18<sup>19</sup>).

In distinction to πίστις, St. Paul seems to use it as denoting the attitude of joyful confidence which accompanies or follows upon the exercise of πίστις, more particularly when the latter is used in its highest Pauline sense of personal adhesion to

Christ. This comes out very clearly in Eph 3<sup>12</sup>, the only passage where the two expressions occur together—ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. Amidst the wealth of synonymous expressions here employed, Calvin finds three steps or stages in the believer's progress clearly marked. There is, first, the faith in the promises of God, or, as we should rather say, in Christ Jesus our Lord. There is, next, the confidence resulting from this faith, and issuing in a good and peaceful mind. And this again is followed by the boldness with which we

commend ourselves to God. Or, as Bishop Ellicott has drawn the distinction in somewhat similar terms: 'ἐν Χρ. marks the objective ground of the possession, διὰ τῆς πίστεως the subjective medium *by which*, and ἐν πεποιθ. the subjective state *in which* it is apprehended' (*Comm. in loco*).

G. MILLIGAN.

*Caputh.*

Mrs. Lewis tells us that John iv. 38 to v. 5 is on a lost leaf of the Sinaitic Syriac. Would it be possible by counting the words to say whether the lost leaf contained the passage about the troubling of the waters?—K. G.

It is not easy to say confidently that the doubtful passage in Jn 5<sup>3,4</sup> is not in the text of the Sinai palimpsest. But I think the probabilities are against it.

The whole chapter is amissing in Cureton's MS., but I have counted the words in the Peshitta. Without the doubtful passage the words which ought to be on the lost leaf amount to 271. There are 22, 23, or 24 lines in each of the four columns in the leaves next to it. Take 23 lines as the average, allow 3 words to each line, and you get 276 words as a probable quantity.

The doubtful passage *is* in the Peshitta, and has 32 words in it. Add these to 271 and you get 303. This would be possible if there were 26 lines in each of the four columns, and such columns may be found in other parts of this book, but not in the neighbourhood of this particular leaf. It is therefore impossible to say with absolute certainty that the passage is absent.

AGNES S. LEWIS.

*Cambridge.*

## Christ's Name for the Holy Spirit.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR G. G. FINDLAY, B.A., D.D., HEADINGLEY COLLEGE, LEEDS.

OUR Lord in His farewell discourse commended the Holy Spirit to His disciples under a specific title, to which manifestly he attached great importance—the name *Paraclete* (παράκλητος). This is a new word in Scripture, a name never given previously to the Spirit of God nor to any divine agent; and it is introduced four times, with every mark of deliberate intention, in the conversation at the table of the Last Supper. Everything in the situation, in the tone of our Lord's utterances and the nature of the teaching they convey, goes to lend emphasis and meaning to this new appellation for the Spirit of God. 'The hour is come' when Jesus must Himself 'leave the world and go to the Father.' Another is now to take His place with the disciples in the world, who will 'teach' them 'all' that they had hitherto so imperfectly understood of the mind of Christ, who 'will bear witness' along with them for their Master, and will at last 'convict the world' of its crime against Him. For the offices which the Spirit of truth is thus expected to fulfil, as the *alter ego* of Jesus Christ amongst men, as the continuous teacher of the Church and the successful vindicator of His mission, He is designated under this carefully

chosen, this precise and expressive epithet, 'the Paraclete.'

The term was familiar in our Lord's time, and would be readily apprehended by the apostles, however new and perhaps surprising to them in this application. Our Lord does not define or comment upon it, beyond what is involved in the sense of the promises and assurances made concerning the Spirit under this appellation; the expression fits in with and draws to a focus His teaching of the last days respecting the Holy Spirit's work and His future relations to Christ's people and to Christ Himself. Jesus Christ expected His servants to understand the word that He now communicated to them, and to make much of it in time to come. The Evangelist John and his readers doubtless accepted the new name in the sense intended by their Master. Though wanting in the LXX, it is common enough in Philo Judæus. The repeated occurrence of פִּרְקֵיט or פִּרְקֵיטָא in the Targums<sup>1</sup> and Talmud, and the striking instance (to be quoted later) of its use in the *Pirge Aboth*, go to show that παρά-

<sup>1</sup> See Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. 'Paraclete'; also Grimm-Thayer's *N. T. Lexicon*.



κλητος had been naturalized in the Jewish religious speech of Palestine in the Christian era, and that we have here, in all likelihood, no translation on the part of the Greek writer but His *ipsissimum verbum*.

One can hardly read the four passages cited below<sup>1</sup> without feeling that 'the Comforter' forms an inadequate subject for the assertions they contain: as mere Comforter, the Spirit can hardly be said to 'teach all things' and 'bring all' the words of Jesus 'to remembrance,' nor to 'witness' for Christ to the world that hated Him and to 'convict the world of its sin'—this last is the doing of a *discomforter*, of one whose very office it is to disturb and prosecute; and the objection is not met by saying that to convict the world is to comfort and reassure the Church, for it is the action of the Paraclete as He deals with the world on Christ's behalf that the words of Jn 16<sup>8-11</sup> prophetically describe.

Yet the rendering of *paraclete* by *comforter*<sup>2</sup> has been prevalent for many ages; it was asserted—though never uncontested—by learned Greek Fathers as far back as the third century; some of them, in defiance of etymology, explaining παράκλητος by παρακλητωρ (see Suicer's *Thesaurus*, Παράκλητος). In challenging this interpretation, we are not insisting on a mere punctilio of grammar, but seeking to discover the mind of Christ upon a point of the gravest practical moment. The substitution is most significant: it springs

<sup>1</sup> 'I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Paraclete, that He may be with you for ever,—the Spirit of truth' (Jn 14<sup>16, 17</sup>).—'The Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you' (Jn 14<sup>26</sup>).—'When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send you from the presence of the Father, the Spirit of truth, who comes forth from the presence of the Father, He will bear witness of Me; and do you also bear witness, because from the beginning you have been with Me' (Jn 15<sup>26, 27</sup>).—'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you. And when He is come He will convict the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement' (Jn 16<sup>7, 8</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> It has been sometimes said that 'Comforter' meant 'Strengtheners' in the language of the old English translators. But this seems to be a mistake. It is true that the verb 'comfort' took this sense from the Latin *confortari*; but there is no evidence of the noun being so used (see the *New English Dictionary*; and Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, as above). Long before the sixteenth century *paraclete* had been interpreted as *consoler*.

from a deeply rooted tendency in Christian human nature—a disposition that has been strengthened by the mistake to which it gave rise. 'Comforter,' say Milligan and Moulton in their excellent commentary upon this Gospel, 'is not the meaning' of *Paraclete*; 'and the unfortunate use of this term, so dear to the Christian amidst the troubles of the world, has tended in no small degree to make believers think less of strength than of comfort, of the experience of a private Christian who needs consolation, instead of that of one who has to face the opposition of the world for his Master's sake.' It is a striking proof of the powerful hold which a mistranslation of Scripture may take upon Christian sentiment, that the Revisers of the English New Testament—with the late Drs. Milligan and Moulton, whose decisive judgment we have just quoted, counting as leading members of the Company—should only have ventured to correct 'Comforter' in the *margin*, notwithstanding the consensus of scholars against the accepted rendering. Bishop Westcott, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, with his characteristic subtlety and breadth, attempts to reconcile the discrepant renderings and preserve both; while the editor of the *Dictionary of the Bible* simply says, 'Comforter is false to the etymology of the Greek word and to its usage, and it misses the meaning.'

The fact is, that the fourteenth chapter of John's Gospel is read most frequently as a chapter for *mourners*. We fall into what may be called 'the fallacy of chapters,' using this modern and artificial division of the text of Scripture as though it formed a real distinction in the subject-matter, and looking to its opening verses for the purpose and main topic of each chapter. So the three first verses of Jn 14, beginning, 'Let not your heart be troubled,' which contain the divinest cordial ever ministered to the spirit of man in its hours of desolation, have coloured for our minds everything that follows; they have been allowed to set the keynote to the entire discourse. This note, already struck by Chrysostom in his *Homilia lxxv.* on the Gospel of John, is taken up by a chorus of interpreters: Παράκλητον καλεῖ διὰ τὰς συνεχούσας αὐτοὺς τότε θλάσεις, 'He calls (the Spirit) Paraclete because of the afflictions at that time pressing upon them.' But this was far from being the Speaker's purpose. Our Lord does not linger upon the strain of consolation. In the fourth



verse already He rouses us from our sorrow to resume the march : ' Whither I go,' says He, ' you know *the way*.' He goes on to speak of His revelation of the Father, of the ' beautiful works ' that He has done already and the ' greater works ' that lie before His disciples, for whom He will still work, and with unlimited power, after His departure. In view of all this, He appeals to them to keep His commands and carry forward His mission in the world. Now, it is just at this point that the promise of the Paraclete's coming is made. Vv.<sup>4-15</sup> have lifted us quite above the clouds of sorrow; we have passed out of the atmosphere of bereavement and consolation into that of activity, achievement, responsibility. This is, after all, the best of comfort, the relief most welcome to a manly heart, which bids the sufferer forget his personal grief in the prospect of new and glorious work to be done for God. From the hands of the dying Captain of salvation a legacy of service and honour is received, a testimony to be handed down, a flag to be carried forward to victory. And with the Paraclete is the secret of this glorious advance; He is to be the presiding influence and animating spirit of the future course of Christ's people, the life and soul of the new dispensation.

In truth, it was not consolation for sorrow that the apostles would require when their Master was finally gone. Not for long will their present grief continue. ' I will see you again,' said He, ' and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no one taketh from you ' (Jn 16<sup>22</sup>). In three days He will return from the grave; and when the forty days of His sojourn on earth in the risen life had ended, so effectually were the disciples comforted, that from the scene of His ascension, where they last beheld His earthly form, ' they returned to Jerusalem,' as we are told, ' with great joy, and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God!' Jesus had taken care to be Himself their comforter, apart from and before the sending of the Paraclete; this office of human friendship He would not forgo. Their Master's shameful death was followed by a glorious restoration; He was exalted by the right hand of God and seated on the Father's throne, as they now surely know. Since they love Him more than themselves, His friends must needs ' rejoice,' as He desired them, ' because ' He ' goes to the Father ' (Jn 14<sup>28</sup>). The need that remains, their abiding and supreme necessity, was not sentimental but practical, not

consolation for bereavement but strength and guidance for work—hope, courage, wisdom, moral energy for the stupendous task that lies before them in the conversion to faith in Jesus of the world which had crucified Him. ' Power from on high ' was that which our Lord chiefly led His disciples to expect in the advent of the Paraclete. And when Christ's servants are intent upon His business, it is their feebleness, their inefficiency that troubles them; it is spiritual vigour and insight, *strength* of heart and mind, that they crave for above everything.

Not always have the Lord's servants been of this mind; and here lies a reason, all too plain, beside the longing for comfort so natural in this sorrowful world, why ' the Paraclete ' has been replaced by ' the Comforter ' in the language and desires of the Church. Language is a faithful reflex of thought, especially in its unconscious and unstudied indications; no great change and shifting of emphasis in the sense of any leading term in Christian speech can take place that have not a cause in some underlying change of feeling and of principle. This substitution began to be made so early as the third century, and by the Greek Fathers in spite of their knowledge of St John's language, at a time when Church life was becoming institutional rather than personal, when priestly officiations and magical sacraments encroached on the Holy Spirit's province, when missionary zeal declined amongst the Christian laity and a mainly passive rôle was assumed by the ordinary believer. The merging of the Paraclete in the Comforter is an index of long-continued invalidism and inactivity in the Christian commonwealth, of a condition of things in which a large part of its membership have looked to be nursed and soothed and managed and humoured by their spiritual guides rather than to be led themselves into the field of Christ's warfare, and have consequently sought from the Spirit of Christ peace and consolation rather than power from on high.

Religion is valued by multitudes mainly for its soothing properties, as Matthew Arnold once said of the Anglican liturgy. It is sought as a refuge from the storm and a shadow from the heat, as an anodyne for the pains of life, a pillow for the dying head; not as a grand vocation and enterprise, as life's true business, the sublime function and personal responsibility of each believing man. Not aching and penitent hearts only, not tender,

gentle, chastened spirits, but the indolent, the self-absorbed and soft-hearted, the valetudinarian Christian who nurses his spiritual ailments and lives in the luxuries of doubt and grief, the man constantly fretted and wearied with the world because he loves the world so much, have cherished the name of 'the Comforter' and have built upon the solacing offices of the Paraclete as though these constituted His main and essential function, doing this in a manner and sense far removed from the intention of Jesus when he pronounced the word.

The ancient Latin translators wisely carried the title over into their own language, treating *Paracletus*, like *Christus*, as a proper name—the proper name of the Holy Spirit; the Latin Fathers, perhaps through their more masculine character, have been, on the whole, more faithful to 'the Paraclete' than the Greeks. *Advocate*, as given in the margin of the Revised Bible, is the most literal equivalent (Latin, *Advocatus*) of παράκλητος. Yet this word fails to convey to the modern ear the rich meaning that accrued to Paraclete. Our late Revisers, feeling the inadequacy of *Advocate*, add the the synonym *Helper* in their margin. It is to be regretted that 'Paraclete' has never become naturalized in English. Literally, it denotes *called*, or *that may be called, to one's side (to one's aid)*.<sup>1</sup> It implies not merely *help* and *readiness to help* in the person invoked, but a *claim* for help also on the part of the summoner. The Paraclete is to be *at the call* of Christ's people, being their pledged, their covenanted Helper. The Paracletos (or Patronus, Advocatus) of Græco-Roman times was no mere professional pleader engaged for the occasion and linked to his client, like a modern barrister, by his brief and his fee; he was the standing counsel of those he represented, the established patron and champion of his humble dependants. Originally this relationship was hereditary, and the Advocate was the head of the clan, bound by sacred family ties to those whom he served, who might expect his aid whenever public speech and influence were necessary to them or advice in difficult affairs. He was the friend at court, the man whose word weighed in the state and with whom his clients were proud to be allied, who was sure to stand by them and to

see them through in their wrongs and quarrels with the world.

The only other instance of the use of this term in the New Testament, beside those of Jn 14–16, occurs in the First Epistle of John (2<sup>1</sup>. 2), where we read of 'Jesus Christ the righteous' as our 'Advocate with the Father,' our patron and intercessor there, through whom, even as sinners, we can make appeal in the heavenly court.<sup>2</sup> Christ has gone to the Father's presence in the character of His people's Paraclete. He had been this, in some sense, already on earth; for, He says, 'The Father will send you *another* Paraclete, that, He may be with you for ever.' Jesus had Himself been His disciples' champion, praying for them to the Father, standing between them and the world, throwing his shield over them in every peril. This he will still do, from a more exalted sphere. But there is to be *another* immediately with them, who will more than replace His presence, one whom they 'know,' for He has 'dwelt with' them all this time in Jesus and now is to be 'in' themselves (14<sup>17</sup>)—the very Spirit of truth and of God, 'the Holy Spirit,' whom He will send from the Father. All that Jesus had done for them and through them, this His other self will do more effectually, since He will build upon the completed work of Jesus, since He will lodge in their hearts invisibly, constantly, universally, dwelling to the full in each man and in all as one. Such aid and direction will perfectly meet their future need.

Nor is this all. The name Paraclete bears a double reference in the mind of Jesus. The Holy Spirit is to be not only the disciples' Advocate, but *His* in the first place—the representative, exponent, and vindicator of Christ in the Church and to the world. 'He shall *take of Mine* and show it unto you. . . . He shall bear witness *about Me*. . . . He shall *glorify Me*. . . . He shall convict the world of sin, *because they believe not on Me*.'

<sup>2</sup> There is a curious parallel to this passage in Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, 673c, where he writes, speaking of the high priest ministering in the Holy of Holies: 'It was necessary that the man consecrated to the Father of the world should use as Advocate (παράκλητον χρῆσθαι) one most perfect in virtue, a Son (of God: *scil.*, the Logos), to secure both oblivion of sins and the supply of most abundant blessings.' Add the equally signal instance of this usage in *Pirqe Aboth*, iv. 15 (Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*,<sup>2</sup> p. 69): 'He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate (מְדַבֵּר); and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser (מְשַׁמֵּר), cf. Jn 12<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The word is kindred to Paul's favourite Christian attributive, *called* (e.g. 'Jesus Christ's *called ones*,' Ro 1<sup>6</sup>). Κλητός = 'called'; παρά-κλητος = 'called to one's side.'



The Lord Jesus is committing His own credit to the appointed Advocate. The Spirit of truth is charged, from this time forward, with the vindication of Jesus, with the clearing of His reputation and the establishment of His title to be the Son of God and the true life of men; and His guidance of the Church is directed toward this greater end. Not to themselves, but to the Paraclete must the disciples look for the defence of their Master's name and the assertion of His rights. So the event proved. When the Holy Spirit had spoken, the Church could speak; on the ground of His witness the apostles stood. This provided them both argument and audience on the day of Pentecost. St. Peter had only to second and apply what the Paraclete had just affirmed, who validated the mission of Jesus before the sight and hearing of the Jewish multitude. 'He shall testify of Me, —and *do ye also* testify.' The pleading of the Church's spokesman followed up and corroborated that of the Leading Counsel in this grand suit of the ages—the case of Jesus Christ *versus* the world.

The twofold relationship of the Paraclete—to the Lord Himself, and to the Church—is tacitly assumed throughout. So completely has Christ identified the disciples with Himself, that the distinction scarcely seems to occur to His mind. He could not honour them more than by this assumption. *His* Advocate must be *their* Advocate, since they are 'branches' of Him and have no object in the world apart from Him. What they will ask of the Father is *in His name*—that

is, on His business and on the ground of His rights; it is the asking of men who live in and for themselves no longer, since Christ lives in them. The Paraclete is sought by and sent to those who can say, 'We are Christ's; *He* dwells and speaks now in us' (14<sup>14-26</sup>); through His coming the disciples will realize how completely they and their Master live in each other, while He Himself lives in the Father (14<sup>20</sup>).

Think of the situation of the eleven disciples left behind by Jesus, with a few hundred besides scattered in Jerusalem and Galilee: and they are to 'make disciples of all the nations!' They have nothing but hearts full of faith and love toward the crucified Jesus—no standing, no prestige, no material resources, no organized agency or means of propagandism; they know little of the great world outside, and are utterly unknown to it. What is the one link between this impotence and that vast success? Just the Paraclete, the power from on high promised by Jesus as He leaves them. However much the situation has changed materially and outwardly in the interval, in all spiritual respects it remains the same. Our visible organizations, our Church plant and Christian institutions, are available for Christ's true work exactly so far as they are the product of the Holy Spirit's past activity and are continuously put at His disposal. The unity, vitality, and real progress of the Church depend always on the influence of the Paraclete; they are due to His sole guidance and initiative.

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### Jülicher's 'Introduction to the New Testament.'<sup>1</sup>

JÜLICHER'S *Introduction* (which appears in the 'Grundriss' series) was first published in 1894, and already it has reached its fourth edition. The author tells us that in the interval he has worked through all the problems of his subject afresh, and is not ashamed to confess that thereby he has gained a deeper insight at many important

points. He has a salutary distrust of omniscient finality in his department. 'We must be content,' he observes (p. 6), 'if for each N.T. book we can state approximately when and for whom it was written, whether the author wrote under his own or another's name, what his chief interest was in writing and to what extent he has succeeded in giving it expression, whether and how far he used other sources, and whether his book has come down to us in its original condition.' Jülicher's manual has been widely used in Germany; nor is its success surprising, for in large measure it combines the living erudition of a notoriously competent scholar with the insight and penetra-

<sup>1</sup> *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* Von D. Adolf Jülicher, Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Dritte und vierte Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig, 1901. Price 8s.



tion of a vigorous thinker. Beyond all question his book is in many respects a brilliant performance.

Let us glance rapidly at some of his more significant conclusions. He accepts Philippians, Colossians, and even Ephesians as genuine letters of St. Paul. He states a powerful case against the South Galatian theory. He decides against the *Vier-Kapitel* hypothesis in regard to 2 Cor. One of the most masterly discussions in the volume, it may be mentioned, treats of the relations which subsisted between St. Paul and the Church at Corinth. The Roman Church, in Jülicher's opinion, was predominantly Gentile. Ephesians is a circular letter, and was written very little later than Colossians, the two thus naturally possessing a close similarity. Hebrews is addressed to Christians irrespective of their nationality. The Pastorals were written in view of Gnostic systems of doctrine in the first quarter of the first century. James is very late, 125-150.

Most readers will find the pages which deal with the Gospels more interesting than all the others put together. As touching the Synoptic problem, Jülicher is a convinced adherent of the two-document hypothesis. But the dates which he assigns to the separate Gospels are not, upon the whole, very unlike those reached by the later Tübingen school, whom everyone considered to have been antiquated long ago. Jülicher (who dissents vigorously from Harnack's judgment on the veracity of tradition) dates Mark after 70, Matthew about 100, Luke 80-120, and minimizes their historicity accordingly. Now about 1855 Hilgenfeld and Köstlin would have placed them thus—Matthew 70-80, Mark 80-100, Luke 100-110. Is N.T. criticism going to thrash the same straw all over again?

Without undue sensitiveness we feel that now and then our author allows himself *obiter dicta*, which suggest a doubt whether he is altogether in a favourable position for catching on his mind a true and sympathetic reflection of N.T. thought. He tells us, for example, in what is otherwise a singularly fine appreciation of St. Paul, that the apostle's ideal—Christ all in all—unfitted him for a loving comprehension of the varieties of individual experience. Again, he finds it impossible to believe that St. Paul can have described himself to Timothy as the chief of sinners. He decides that three of the words from the Cross must have

been put into our Lord's mouth by Luke, for they betray the very opposite of that deep anguish of spirit which is attested by Matthew and Mark. Many of Jülicher's comments on the Fourth Gospel have a curiously eighteenth century ring, and it offends him not a little that Jesus should here speak so much about Himself. John expounds history, not relates it (this is a formula with which we are again becoming tolerably familiar), and in this respect compares badly with the Synoptics. And yet when we turn back a few pages we find that even *they* describe 'not Jesus as He really was, but Christ as He appeared to the heart of the Church.' In Jülicher's judgment the Fourth Gospel possesses no independent value as a source for the life of Christ, while even the substance of the discourses is due to the pious but allegorical imagination of an Evangelist who—it is the one fact of which Jülicher is certain—was *not* the disciple whom Jesus loved. It is a little disconcerting to find, five or six pages later, a favourable verdict passed on 'John's' historical tone and atmosphere. Similarly, after the trustworthiness of Acts has been fairly riddled with hostile criticism, we are enthusiastically assured, in the very last sentence devoted to the subject, that it is 'the ideal of a Church history!' Surely in that case things are not what they seem.

The value of the book is immensely heightened by the History of the N.T. Canon and History of the N.T. Text, which form its second and third parts. Seldom have we found more, and more interesting, information packed into so small a space. Noticeable features of pt iii. are Jülicher's detestation of the *Textus Receptus*, and his legitimate use against the dogma of verbal inspiration of the (for it) inexplicable uncertainties of the present text.

It may be unhesitatingly affirmed that, short of Holtzmann, no German 'Introduction' of the Left Centre possesses so many attractive qualities as Jülicher's. It takes a high place—perhaps the highest—in the series to which it belongs.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Aberdeen.

### Bertholet's 'Leviticus.'<sup>1</sup>

It is a pleasure to read the lucid Introduction with which this commentary on Leviticus begins.

<sup>1</sup> *Leviticus*. Erklärt von Lic. Alfred Bertholet. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. Mohr, 1901.

The various portions of which the book is composed are distinguished from each other and discussed in turn. On this there follows an excellent section in which the theological significance of Leviticus and its bearing on the history of religion are brought out. Bertholet reminds us that when we use the convenient title 'The Law of Holiness' for chaps. 17-26, we must remember that the holiness aimed at is not what we mean in our ordinary use of the word. The idea is a negative one, that of separation from and avoidance of all that would debar a man from worship. At the same time he does justice to another side of that law, the vein of idealism which is to be traced in the writer's unchangeable conviction that Israel is Yahweh's property and has Him as its God. In the pages which treat of chaps. 11-15 stress is rightly laid on the fact that we cannot understand the regulations here laid down without the study of other ancient religions. The idea that certain foods and ailments and functions of the animal life involve defilement is not peculiar to Israel. We must inquire into the forms it took in Persia, for instance, as well as in Palestine. And the root of the thought is found to be that anything makes a man ceremonially unclean which brings him into relation with a deity other than the one he worships. Foods that are or once were consecrated to that alien divinity are polluting. Diseases which were formerly believed to be directly due to his stroke stand on the same footing. Leprosy, for example, was doubtless originally ascribed to the visitation of another than Yahweh. Everything connected with the birth of a child was once thought to be under the protection of special divinities. He, therefore, who would join in the worship of Yahweh must abstain from all carnal acts. Whether Bertholet is right in adding 'he also who is engaged in war' may perhaps be doubted. At anyrate the reasons alleged are not strong enough to support the statement. Uriah's indignant refusal (2 S 11<sup>11</sup>), if it proved anything, would prove too much, for it would bring eating and drinking within the category of forbidden acts. And although the wars waged by the people were supposed to be the wars of Yahweh, we are not entitled to infer from this anything which is unsupported by positive evidence. There is one other point in the Introduction to which attention should be called. Haupt's remark is quoted with approval: 'The comparative study of the præ-

Islamic religion of the Arabs will doubtless throw light on certain forms of the ancient Israelite ritual, but if we wish to show the origin of the later Jewish ceremonial law contained in the Priests' Code, we must search the cuneiform ritual texts of the Assyrio-Babylonians.' The criticism of Holzinger's *Exodus* in the January number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES<sup>1</sup> is a sufficient indication of our agreement with this view. And Bertholet has turned it to practical account in the commentary. The 'curious ordinance that the place where the skin, dung, etc., of the bullock is to be burnt shall be a *clean* place (4<sup>11, 12</sup>) is shown by cuneiform analogy to be a euphemism. The suggestion is hazarded that the choice of the goat for a sin-offering (4<sup>23</sup>) may be due to Babylonian influence.

Great care is devoted to the analysis of each chapter into its constituents. We have no space to pass this in review. A single specimen will exhibit the thoroughness with which this important part of the work has been done. Because Lv 11<sup>43-45</sup> betrays the linguistic characteristics of H (The Law of Holiness), it has been argued that 11<sup>1-23, 41-47</sup> are also due to H. 'But this is probably going too far. BÄNTSCH (Heiligkeitsgesetz 5) has already rightly remarked that apart from v. 43-45 there is here no absolutely convincing token of H. But it is admitted that Dt 14 (a secondary passage) contains an exact parallel to vv. 2-23, which at all events appears to show that Lev 11<sup>2ff.</sup> depends on an earlier original. This might indicate that the law concerning clean and unclean animals was gradually evolved, so that the question would be whether Lv 11 represents the stage at which H stands. But this is not very probable, seeing that the detailed, strongly systematized expression of our law does not correspond with the general character of H. Moreover, if 11<sup>40</sup>, on the one side, stands on the same footing as 17<sup>15f.</sup>, and on the other with chap. 15 (v. 5<sup>f.</sup>, etc.), it is to be observed that 17<sup>15f.</sup> is not a part of H, and 15<sup>25</sup> directly contradicts H (20<sup>18</sup>). Vv. 43-45 alone are therefore to be attributed to H, and these verses may have been combined by a reviser with the framework mentioned above as common to Lv 11 and Dt 14 in such a way as to thrust out H's original and more generally expressed prescriptions.'

The vocabulary of Lv contains a fair number

<sup>1</sup> P. 165.



of words which require elucidation. Bertholet, in our opinion rightly, adheres to the common explanation of the word קָרִיב as connected with הקָרִיב. Haupt regards it as a loan-word from the Babylonian *Karābu*, which he derives from כָּרַךְ transposed; the *K*, he holds, is turned into *q*, through the influence of the vowel *u*. The procedure is too complicated. Robertson Smith, Haupt, and others believe that the fundamental idea of the important word כָּפַר is to *wipe off*. Here, again, Bertholet adheres to the older view that the radical idea is to *cover* (the eyes of him who would punish). The note in which this is maintained is a very long and valuable one, but it is a little surprising that in its reference to the literature of the subject it omits to mention Driver's equally admirable note in the commentary on Deuteronomy. The precise significance of אָזְכָּרָה (2<sup>d</sup>, etc.) is open to question. Formerly, it was usual to connect it with זָכַר in the sense of *piercing*, and to explain it by referring to the pungency of the odour. Probably, however, Bertholet is right in following Schwally, who refers it to זָכַר in the ritual sense of calling on the name of the deity. A comparison of the A.V. and the R.V. at Lv 7<sup>35</sup> evinces the difficulty which the word מִשְׁחָה here occasioned. The former has 'portion of the anointing': the latter has in the text 'anointing-portion,' but in the margin simply 'portion.' Our commentary tells us that מִשְׁחָה is not to be referred to מָשַׁח (=to anoint), but to another מִשְׁחָה, the existence of which is indicated in the Assy. *māsiḥu*, 'surveyor'; *mišīḥtu*, 'measure.'

But the student of Leviticus finds other difficulties besides those presented by the mere words. What account, *e.g.*, is to be given of the guilt-offering. 'Untenable assertions of all kinds have been made respecting the distinction between אִשָּׁם and חַטָּאת. This is not to be wondered at, since in the law itself it was but gradually that the אִשָּׁם assumed a form which makes the distinction possible (cf. 5<sup>1-6</sup> 17-19 with 14<sup>12ff.</sup>). It is safest to take as our starting-point the two regulations dealt with above, 5<sup>14-16</sup>. 20-26. In both cases it is an unlawful violation of Yahweh's or a neighbour's right that is in question. With this the fact corresponds that the restoral of the stolen property, plus one-fifth of its value, accompanies the

offering (of a goat). The latter is naturally the primary point (cf. Lv 22<sup>14</sup>), as the אִשָּׁם was also originally the expiatory present or fine (1 Sa 6<sup>3f.</sup>, 2 K 12<sup>17</sup>), and the addition of the sacrifice as a propitiation is secondary. In Nu 5<sup>5ff.</sup>, a supplementary ordinance to Lv 5<sup>14ff.</sup>, the name אִשָּׁם also clings to the compensation (v. 7<sup>f.</sup>), and the sacrificial animal is called אֵילֵי הַכִּפָּרִים, a distinction in the linguistic use which cannot fail to show how little the significance of the guilt-offering had been lost in later times. In contrast to the sin-offering it is therefore a propitiatory oblation which was presented when there was a (voluntary) compensation for a 'מעל.' There can be little doubt that our author is right in his account of the strange fact that a guilt-offering was prescribed as part of the purification of the leper. 'The thought of a compensation, which elsewhere forms the characteristic of the guilt-offering, in this ritual withdraws into the background in favour of rites which aim at restoring communion between God and man . . . This seems to show that the idea אִשָּׁם is here used in an inexact sense, probably because the author did not know how to bring this peculiar ritual under a more fitting category. . . . There is also a deviation from the typical guilt-offering in that the ram is not used as the sacrificial animal.' The inexactness here asserted is easy to understand when we remember how vague the laws are which professedly treat of this kind of offering.

Our references have chiefly been to passages of some length. We must not fail to say that the commentary as a whole is neither lengthy nor tedious. Many points of detail are illustrated briefly and well. The ideas expressed by the Imposition of Hands; the anointing with blood of the tips of the ear, the thumb, and great toe; the 'strange fire' of 10<sup>1</sup>; the varieties of leprosy<sup>1</sup> and the laws relating to it; the survival 'Azazel' in the ritual of the Day of Atonement; and much else in which we all are interested, are dealt with in small space, with much freshness, often convincingly, always in an interesting way.

Winchcombe.

J. TAYLOR.

<sup>1</sup> See the pithy note on that puzzling ordinance, Lv 13<sup>13</sup>: 'This is not elephantiasis but leucoderma.'



## Among the Periodicals.

### The Greco-Russian Church and the Canon of Scripture.

A PERPLEXING variety of statements is to be met with as to the attitude of the Russian Church to the question of the Canon. For instance, Aug. Dondero in his *Institutiones Biblicæ* (1895) asserts unhesitatingly that amongst the disputes that have arisen from time to time between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Church there has never been any as to the canonical authority of all the books recognized by the Western (Roman Catholic) Church. In like manner H. Zschoke (*Hist. sacra Antiq. Test.*, 1894) assures us that the Moscovite Church has the same Canon as the Roman Catholic; while such distinguished theologians as Janssens (*Hermeneutica sacra*), Lamy (*Introd. in sacram Scripturam*), Cardinal Franzelin (*Tractatus de divina traditione et Scriptura*), Cornely (*Hist. et crit. introd. in V.T. libros sacros*) take this for granted. Zschoke, however, bewails a tendency on the part of the more recent Russian theologians to adopt Protestant views as to the so-called deuterocanonical books; while Macarius (*Introd.* p. 493) states that Philaret first taught that these books are not inspired, but simply certified by the Church as free from error in regard to faith and manners.

In view of somewhat conflicting testimonies, it has been thought advisable by the editors of the *Revue Biblique* to have an exact statement of the real position of the Russian Church. This is contained in a paper contributed to the April number by Dr. Dombrovski, professor at the Episcopal seminary of Kovno. The writer roundly declares that the state of affairs assumed by Roman Catholic theologians to exist in the Moscovite Church is completely opposed to the reality. In particular, he asserts that, so far from Philaret having been the first to teach the view above stated, the common opinion of Russian theologians during the seventeenth century was adverse to the inspiration of the deuterocanonical books of the O.T. As a witness to the continued prevalence of this view he cites the famous Russian preacher and theologian, Theophanes Prokopowicz, whose prelections (during the four years 1712–1716) under the title *Christiana Orthodoxa Theologia* were published at Leipzig in 1792. In one

passage this orthodox author writes: 'It is undoubted that a canonical character does not belong to all the books contained in the volume called the Bible, but that there are some in it which lack divine testimony, and are called *apocryphi*, quasi occulti, hoc est, incerti. . . . Moreover, it is not only whole books that are doubtful, but also certain parts of certain canonical books, e.g. in Daniel the story of Susanna, etc.' Prokopowicz proceeds, by the crude method of counting votes of patristic and other early authorities *pro* and *con*, to establish the canonicity of the body of the Book of Esther, and to excise those parts found only in the Greek Bible. By similar methods he gets rid of the Additions to Daniel, and excludes Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Sirach, Maccabees, Baruch from the list of canonical books, declaring them to be merely human writings, useful, indeed, for reading in the church, and worthy of praise in many ways, but not divinely inspired.

In like manner the archimandrite Silvester, in his *Compend. Theol. Class.* (1799), draws a sharp distinction between canonical and apocryphal books, and, for the sake of students of theology, gives the list of the latter in the following lines:—

Judith, Tobias, Syrach, Sapientia, Baruch,  
Tertius et quartus codex qui fingitur Esdrae,  
Et quæ gesta refert Machabæe historia gentis,  
Senaque cauda Esther, Danieli subdita bina,  
Una ode Psalmos augens, supplexque Manasses  
Non possunt merito divina oracula dici.

The same position is maintained in the important anonymous work, *Orthodoxæ Orientalis Ecclesiæ Dogmata* (1783), where it is declared that the 'apocryphal' books are worthy of commendation and are profitable for church reading, but that they have *not the same authority* as the canonical books. Precisely similar views are expressed by Macarius, Philaret, Bishop Silvester, Dagajev, etc. So far, then, from this doctrine of the Canon being an innovation, Dombrovski maintains that it has been the prevailing one for more than two hundred years. And that, not only as a pious opinion of theologians, but as the authoritative doctrine of the Russian Church. This is shown by the 'programme of polemical theology' designed and approved by the Most Holy Synod of St. Petersburg, in which, amongst the lapses of the Roman Church from orthodoxy is specified its having added the apocryphal books to the Canon

of the Old Testament. And in catechisms used in the schools of the Russian Empire the same doctrine of the Canon is carefully taught.

As to the Canon of the New Testament there is no difference between the Roman Catholic and the Russian Church.

It may be worth adding that Dombrovski's article is preceded in the *Revue Biblique* (itself Roman Catholic) by an editorial note, in which the article is said to cast a sad light (*une triste lumière*) on the subject. The hope is expressed that the Protestant doctrine has not yet obtained complete hold on a Church so attached to ancient tradition. 'Those who maintain it have evidently thought to oppose the ancient practice of the Catholic Church by a more scientific one. If they continue to make acquaintance with German and English Protestants, they may learn from those of them who are less dominated than the early Protestants by Rabbinical prejudices, that it is the reverse of scientific to believe in the men of the Great Synagogue, and to admit the Hebrew Canon *en bloc*, upon the principle that inspiration ceased with Malachi.'

### The Laying on of Hands.

In the *Z.A.T.W.* (1901, Heft i. p. 93 ff.) Dr. P. VOLZ discusses the meaning to be put on the Israelitish custom of laying the hand(s) on sacrificial victims. He sets out by looking at those instances in which the idea suggested by the imposition of hands is clear. Thus, in Nu 27<sup>18, 23</sup> (cf. v.<sup>20</sup>) it is evident that Moses lays his hands on Joshua in order to communicate to him the spiritual gifts which he himself possessed. Similarly Dt 34<sup>9</sup> states that Joshua was filled with the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him. To the same category belong N.T. passages like 1 Ti 4<sup>14</sup>, 2 Ti 1<sup>6</sup>, Ac 6<sup>6</sup> 13<sup>3</sup>, etc. An analogous case is that of one who in the act of blessing lays his hand on some one in order to convey a benign influence to him, Gn 48<sup>14</sup>, Mk 10<sup>16</sup> (cf. the expulsion of diseases by the touch of the hand, Mt 9<sup>18</sup>, Mk 16<sup>18</sup>). In all these cases the laying on of hands appears to be a process whereby a sacred influence is conveyed from one body to another, the physical contact rather than the accompanying formula being the medium of communication.

Volz next asks whether the above idea can be carried through in the case of the ritual of sacri-

fice. He is not favourably disposed to the widely prevailing view, according to which the laying on of hands in this ritual is to be explained in the sense of a *manumissio*, whereby the offerer gives over the victim from his own possession to Jahweh. We pass over his objections to this theory, which are well worth considering, to note his attitude to the explanation offered by W. R. Smith in his *Religion of the Semites*. The latter connects the sacrificial ritual with the laying on of hands in the act of blessing, etc., by holding that the two parties are identified by the physical contact; for instance, in an atoning sacrifice this physical touch takes the place of an actual partaking of the flesh and blood of the victim, in order thereby to attain to communion with the animal and with the deity. Volz finds it difficult to discover in the acts of blessing and of consecration such emphasis on the communion and identification of the two parties; the emphasis lies rather on the conveying of an influence from one person to another. Nor can he acquiesce in the distinction which Smith (*op. cit.*) makes between the laying of the hands on the Azazel goat, and that which is found elsewhere in the cultus.

Proceeding to deal more specifically with the expiatory sacrifices, our author finds that the laying of hands on the victim *effects a transference of something from the one party to the other*. This something is not, as in the cases considered hitherto, a purifying and hallowing influence; it is *sin, uncleanness, curse*. The passages are Ex 29<sup>10</sup> = Lv 8<sup>14</sup> (the consecration of Aaron and his sons), Nu 8<sup>12</sup> (the atonement for the Levites); cf. Lv 1<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, 15, 24, 29, 33, 2 Ch 29<sup>33</sup>, and finally Lv 16<sup>21</sup> (the goat of Azazel). The animal, infected now with impurity, is either sent away (as in the last-named case), or burned without the camp (*e.g.* Lv 4<sup>11</sup>), or, in the case of the burnt-offering (cf. Lv 1<sup>4ff.</sup>), carefully washed before being burned in honour of Jahweh. Similar notions about uncleanness as a material substance that may be carried away by an animal are quoted by our author from ancient Arabia, Massilia, Greece, and Egypt. He also finds an idea of the same kind underlying St. Paul's language in 2 Co 5<sup>21</sup>, Gal 3<sup>13</sup>, Ro 8<sup>3</sup>. The case of witnesses laying their hands upon a condemned transgressor (Lv 24<sup>14</sup>, Sus v.<sup>34</sup>) is brought under the same category. The former passage is specially instructive.



The idea is that those who have heard words of blasphemy are thereby themselves infected, and that by laying their hands on the offender they transfer to him this uncleanness to be carried with him outside the camp and to perish with him when he is stoned to death.

The only serious objection to the above theory appears to Volz to be this, that an animal upon which uncleanness and curse had been laden could not have been offered in sacrifice to Jahweh at all. This objection he gets over by supposing that originally the sin-offering was destined not for Jahweh but for *demons unfriendly to man*. Evidence of this he finds not only in the goat of Azazel (Lv 16), but in the custom of pouring out all the blood of the guilt-offering at the base of the altar (Lv 4<sup>7</sup>), no doubt as an offering to the underground black demons; and also in the very fact that the victim in such offerings was so frequently a goat, the animal most akin to those demonic goat-like forms whose worship was common in Israel even in later times (Lv 17<sup>7</sup>). It is needless to say that such propitiating of demons appears in many other religions.

One difficulty still remains, if we accept the theory that the original destination of the sin-offering was hostile demons. We hear of the laying on of hands also in offerings which have no relation to sin. In Ex 29<sup>15, 19</sup> = Lv 8<sup>18, 22</sup> Aaron and his sons, at their installation in office, lay their hands also upon the ram for the burnt-offering and the ram of consecration, with whose blood they are sprinkled; in Lv 3<sup>2, 8, 13</sup> the same rite is mentioned in connexion with the peace-offering; in Nu 8<sup>12</sup> the children of Israel lay their hands upon the Levites who are presented as a wave-offering and in substitution for the first-born. In this last instance it is quite possible to explain the act in the same sense as in the sin-offering; in Ex 29 = Lv 8, again, it is difficult to resist the impression that different strata of ritual are mixed up. Upon the whole it appears to Volz most probable that the usage of laying on of hands was originally peculiar to the sin- or guilt-offering, and from this passed on to the other offerings without its original significance being carried with it.

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## Recent Research in the Language of the New Testament.

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### II.

No reference has as yet been made to the department of lexicography. The dictionaries of Grimm-Thayer and Cremer still hold the field. And yet this province has passed through a transformation since these important works were written. We doubt whether a 'biblico-theological' lexicon on the lines of Cremer will ever again appear. It was of real value that attention should be emphatically called to the remoulding of terms which Christianity brought about. But it is of questionable advantage for any honest student of the N.T. language to have the content of the words and phrases which express the conceptions of Biblical Theology fixed for him at second-hand in complete isolation from the history of the thought by which those conceptions were reached.

In any case it is utterly unscientific in a linguistic investigation to take as starting-point the difference between the type of speech in question and the original language of which it is a modification, instead of discovering its characteristics rather from the point of view of its growth and historical development. The plan of Grimm, extended and improved as it has been for English students by Professor Thayer, appears to us more scientifically fruitful for the N.T. And for years this book has been indispensable. But it requires to be rewritten. Not only have the innumerable investigations in the department of Biblical Theology brought fresh light to bear on the content of familiar N.T. words, but the vast accumulation of new material afforded by the discovery of



papyri in Egypt, by the scientific treatment of epigraphy, and by the keen study devoted to the post-classical authors, necessitates a complete revision of statements of facts. Thus, *e.g.*, the valuable lists added by Dr. Thayer are already antiquated. The Dutch scholar J. M. S. Baljon has published five parts of a *Grieksch-theologisch woordenboek* (Utrecht, 1896-97). We are not acquainted with the work, but, to judge from notices by so competent a critic as Blass, it appears to be largely an expanded version of Cremer, into which a good many inaccuracies have been allowed to intrude. It is more than doubtful whether the time has arrived for attempting a new scientific lexicon. The sources to be drawn upon are extending rapidly from year to year. A new papyrus may at any moment, in an unexpected way, illustrate the Biblical vocabulary. There is a huge mass of material already available which will need to be patiently sifted.

No better example of what lexical revision will mean could be found than that afforded by Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897), which have just been issued together in an English translation. Next to Schmiedel's *Winer*, these volumes form, perhaps, the most instructive contribution to N.T. linguistic science which the last decade has seen. They embrace a varied content. Prolegomena to the Letters and Epistles of the Bible, illustrations of the LXX from epigraphy, Biblical proper names, verbal forms,—all the discussions are fertile in suggestion, but most attractive to the student are the direct contributions to the history of the language of the Greek Bible. These largely consist of the examination of separate words and phrases as illustrated by papyri and inscriptions, with important introductory paragraphs on the character of the so-called 'Biblical Greek.' The various discussions are concrete examples of the views set forth in the introductory sections. If we mistake not, specimens of Deissmann's most interesting results were given in this Journal some time ago. In our judgment Deissmann has done an invaluable service to the study of the N.T. by clearly setting forth the point of view from which the language must be surveyed, the criteria which are to be applied to it, the presuppositions which have to be borne in mind if its characteristics are to be rightly estimated. We must dwell upon this matter for a moment, as it really fixes

a standard for all future research. It has been tacitly assumed in most of the works dealing with the language of the N.T. that that language is, in itself, a type which can be viewed separately from the Greek of its period, whether written or spoken. Thus, *e.g.*, Hatch in his *Essays* definitely isolates the diction of the LXX and N.T. under the designation of 'Biblical Greek,' and, in consequence, makes the LXX the exclusive norm for interpreting the N.T. writings. Deissmann makes clear on a wide inductive basis what the present writer had attempted to do much more crudely in a dissertation published some years ago (*Sources of N.T. Greek*, 1895), that the language of both these groups of writings must be studied in its organic connexion with the Greek of that late epoch to which they belong. The Egyptian papyri corroborate what we might have supposed *à priori*, that the LXX reflects the Alexandrian diction of its environment. The inscriptions and more popular memorials of the Imperial Age reveal in the same way that the N.T. writers use the speech current in their day, inspiring it, of course, with their own conceptions, and at many points necessarily remoulding its terms. A Hebraistic colouring is far more visible in the LXX than in the N.T., because it attempts to be a faithful translation of a group of Hebrew documents. It is the necessities of translation which chiefly account for the Semitic strain in it, not the fact that the Greek has passed through the mould of Semitic minds. For a writer like the translator of *Sirach* can compose his prologue precisely in the style of current Greek; as soon as he begins to translate, the Semitic original shines through his rendering. This gives for the N.T. an important caution as to making a distinction between those writings which were originally written in Greek and those which are translations of a Semitic original. The result for criticism may be the obtaining of a criterion of real value for the Synoptic problem and others. As regards the Jewish background of many words and phrases in the Gospels, reference may be made here to G. Dalman's excellent work, *Die Worte Jesu*, Bd. i. (Leipzig, 1898). His explanations are sometimes too ingenious, but most of his discussions repay careful study. Keeping in view, then, the fundamental fact that the Greek used by the translators of the LXX and the various writers of the N.T. is not a

special type by itself, either Jewish or Biblical, but the Greek commonly spoken and, for ordinary business purposes, written in that Eastern world from which the Biblical literature sprang, modified, as the case might be, by the culture or ability of the separate writers, we can understand that the LXX is bound to have an important bearing on the language of the N.T. The works of the κοινή writers are, as a rule, literary. This is true even of the writings of Jews like Josephus and Philo. The language of the LXX, and, to a large extent, of the N.T. books, is non-literary, like that of the papyri and inscriptions, although often it is very difficult to draw the line.

Accordingly, contributions to the linguistic study of the LXX will be of real importance for the N.T. Without doubt, the most noteworthy of recent publications in this department is the great Oxford *Concordance to the LXX*, planned by Dr. Hatch and brought to a conclusion by Mr. Redpath. This magnificent work ought to form the basis of many important investigations. A trustworthy lexicon is sorely needed. We are gläd to notice that a grammar has been undertaken by Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray. When the large Cambridge *Septuagint* has appeared, this province of study will have been placed on a satisfactory footing. Meanwhile materials bearing on the language have been collected. There are many far-seeing suggestions in Hatch's *Essays in Biblical Greek*, in spite of the erroneous view he took of the diction as a whole, and he has presented the evidence for a number of words. As far back as 1841 H. W. J. Thiersch had published a useful dissertation on the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch. This deals with the principles followed in the translation, the type of language employed, and the Hebraisms. Thiersch had made judicious use of the papyri then discovered, and in matters of orthography had examined the usage of several important MSS. Some of his results on linguistic points in the Pentateuch have still to be reckoned with, although so great an advance in knowledge has been made since his time. A most interesting and valuable essay by H. Anz has appeared in the *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses*, vol. xii. pt. 2 (Halle, 1894), entitled 'Subsidia ad cognoscendum Græcorum sermonem vulgarem e Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina repetita.' He has adopted the method of investigating those verbs in Genesis and Exodus which seemed to depart from

the usage of the best Attic prose, or were not to be found in the best writers. These he usually arranges according to the first author in which they occur, and then attempts to write a short history of each. In making his researches he has taken into account the most important of recent discussions on the later language, including the Egyptian inscriptions published by Flinders Petrie and Gardner, and, to a certain extent, the papyri. His results are of genuine importance. Lexical for the most part, they form a distinct contribution to the history of non-literary or colloquial Greek, and disclose many strange facts as to the diffusion of words and constructions. His main thesis is the paramount influence of the colloquial Attic (which leaves, e.g., such clear traces on the language of Comedy) upon the further development of popular Greek, including that spoken in Egypt. The Ionic elements so marked in that type are not only due to the original connexion of Attica with the Ionians, but also to the subsequent commercial relations of the two peoples and, at a later stage, to the fusion of Athenians and Ionians in districts such as Lower Egypt. Here is a specimen of the method which Anz adopts. The verb λειτουργεῖν is common in classical Greek = discharge the stated public services at Athens. In Aristotle and the Palatine Anthology it is already used in a colourless sense = perform. In the Egyptian papyri, however, it is frequently applied to the sacred service of a god in his temple. An Attic inscription of the second century B.C. seems to pave the way for this signification. And Diodorus, among the writers of the κοινή, has the expression πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ λειτουργίας (i. 21, on the worship of Isis and Osiris). We are quite prepared, therefore, to find numerous instances in Exodus where it describes the service of the priests in the tabernacle. Hence it readily takes the sense of Christian service in the N.T., which assumes the priesthood of all believers. Attention must also be called to the interesting chapter on 'The Greek of the Septuagint,' with numerous examples, in Dr. Swete's admirable *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, and we may mention, in addition, a suggestive dissertation by Apostolides, *Du Grec Alexandrin et de ses rapports avec le grec ancien et le grec moderne* (Alexandria, 1892).

It is impossible here to name the various publications of Egyptian papyri which are of such



primary value for 'Alexandrian' Greek. We may mention, however, as specially noteworthy the *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, i. 2. 1-9 (1892-96); the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. by Mahaffy (*Cunningham Memoirs of Royal Irish Academy*, 1891, 1893); and the *Greek Papyri*, published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, including *Alexandrian Erotic Fragment, etc.* (Oxf., 1896), *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxf., 1896), *New Classical Fragments* (Oxf., 1897), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. ii. (London, 1898-99). Two grammatical works we have not been able to see, *Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, by E. Mayser (Leipz., 1898), and S. Witkowski's *Prodromus grammaticæ papyrorum græcarum ætatis Lagidarum* (Cracow, 1897).

A most fruitful department of research has next to be considered, the later development of the Greek language in its bearing on the speech of the N.T. Obviously that line of development which depends on a *popular* basis will be of chief importance for our purpose. The language of the N.T. is essentially the spoken language of its own epoch, modified, as the case may be, by the various degrees of culture in the separate writers. But this spoken language has a continuous history which stretches through the Middle Ages and continues in Modern Greek. In this province, more notably than in the literature of the κοινή strictly so-called, we may expect to find real light thrown upon our subject. But all research must be carried on in close connexion with the historical growth of the speech. Most valuable cautions and hints for working backwards and forwards along the line of development of the 'popular' Greek are given by Professor Krumbacher in his masterly *Beiträge zu einer geschichte d. griech. sprache* (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxvii. p. 481 ff.). The method of which he approves—and no scholar has a better right to judge—is there exemplified by his exhaustive discussion of the words ἀκμήν—ἀκόμα.

He traces ἀκμήν from Xenophon through Theocritus, Polybius, Strabo, Gospel of Matthew, Josephus, Plutarch, Sextus Empiricus, Phalaris, Dositheus, Anacreon, Æsop, Palatine Anthology, Inscriptions, Joannes Moschos, until he shows how gradually, in the popular language, it ousted ἔτι. It occurs repeatedly in Middle-Greek texts, in poetry in the form ἀκόμα. In this guise, with dialectical

variations, it survives in Modern Greek. The whole investigation is a model of what may be done by rigidly adhering to the historical method. Well worth consultation, also, are Professor Krumbacher's most suggestive survey of the language in his great *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (ed. 2 = Bd. ix. Abthg. 1 of Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*), and a remarkable article by K. Buresch entitled *Τέγωνα und anderes Vulgär-griechisch* (Rheinisches Museum, xlv. p. 193 ff.), in which he discusses many of the 'vulgar' forms, and gives fertile hints for their study and appreciation.

In spite of its close proximity to the N.T. period, the Greek of the Apostolic Fathers has for long remained a virgin soil for investigation. And yet, viewed from the historical standpoint, it is bound to yield valuable results. We saw that Blass made considerable use of some of these writers for purposes of grammatical illustration. Since the appearance of his work, H. Reinhold has published a useful dissertation, 'De Græcitate Patrum Apostolicorum Librorumque Apokryphorum Novi Testamenti Quæstiones Grammaticæ' (*Dissertationes Philologicæ Halenses*' (xiv. 1, Halle, 1898).

This treatise deals almost entirely with *Formenlehre*, only a dozen pages being given to syntax. But, as has been already noted, that is the true starting-point. The nominal and verbal *forms* do more than anything else to localize the language, to supply its historical setting. Questions of syntax will probably come next, and last of all the vocabulary, which is a more delicate matter to handle. Reinhold's results are very instructive. They point to a closer approximation of the phenomena he has examined to the 'vulgar' Greek than that which is visible in the N.T. This might be naturally expected in the case of the apocryphal *Acts* and *Apocalypses*, which were essentially 'plebeian' books. There is, in fact, a mixture of various types. While some writings, like the *Epistle to Diognetus*, have an echo of genuine classical elegance, and others, like *Hermas*, closely resemble the diction of the N.T., books such as the *Acts of Thomas* and *Acts of Pilate*, are plainly a direct reflexion of the common language of the market-place. Some of the later works, as, e.g., the *Martyrdom of Bartholomew*, exhibit that strange and uncouth medley of Attic, poetical, and popular elements which was so congenial to the Byzantine diction.



# At the Literary Table.

## THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

TRIGLOT DICTIONARY OF SCRIPTURE REPRESENTATIVE WORDS IN HEBREW, GREEK, AND ENGLISH. BY HENRY BROWNE, M.D. (*Bagster*. Imperial 8vo, pp. 520. 21s.)

Dr. Browne believes that every Hebrew word has one, and only one, Greek or English word to represent it. There *may* be exceptions, but he doubts it. And he is certainly nearer the truth than are those careless translators who are content with the first word that comes to them. If the Revisers had been more careful to find the right word and abide by it, their work would have been still more severely criticised but still more valuable. Dr. Browne believes that there are no such things as synonyms in any language. No two English, Greek, or Hebrew words can be placed like bricks above one another and made to fit. But there is the one word in each language made for the one word in the other. And this belief he has reduced to practice. He has prepared a Dictionary containing most of the English words in the Bible arranged in alphabetical order, and over against them in parallel columns he has placed the corresponding Greek and Hebrew word. His success is quite a surprise. To serve its purpose fully, the book should have given the Greek and the Hebrew in alphabetical order as it does the English. That would have made it three times its present size. But it is difficult to see what purpose is served by giving access to the English alone. Indeed the Greek or the Hebrew alone would have been more serviceable. For then we should have known how to translate these words; but who is likely to be occupied in translating the English back into Greek or Hebrew? There are errors in accents or the like, but their number is astonishingly few. The author's idea is a noble one, and he has gone a long way towards realizing it.

THE CORRECTIONS OF MARK. BY EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (*Black*. 8vo, pp. 355. 15s. net.)

This is the second part of a projected series of works by Dr. Abbott on the Gospels, and it assumes the conclusions of the first part, which was entitled *Clue*. *Clue* was noticed in these pages

a month or two ago. The series of works will go by the general title of 'Diatessarica.' This is 'Diatessarica,' part ii. 'The object of this book,' says its author, 'is to demonstrate that Mark contains a tradition from which Matthew and Luke borrowed, and to discuss the corrections of Mark jointly adopted by Matthew and Luke.' The 'tradition' was written, and in Hebrew. It was handled by a corrector (or correctors), whom Matthew or Luke or both followed. Unfortunately the corrector was as often wrong as right. And Dr. Abbott undertakes to reveal the blunders he made as well as the cause of them. This cause is nearly always the mistaking of one Hebrew letter for another.

For example: In Mk 1<sup>40</sup> we read, '... saying to him that, If thou wilt ...' In Mt 8<sup>2</sup> and in Lk 5<sup>12</sup> we read '... saying, Sir, if thou wilt.' The Hebrew for 'to him that' is לו כי; but לו is often exchanged with ר (as Belial or Beliar) and כ with כ; whence לו כי could become first רובי and then רבי, that is, 'Rabbi,' that is, 'Sir.'

There are more, and there are less, striking cases than that, that is a fair and brief example. The industry and ingenuity displayed throughout the work are marvellous. In this attempt to solve the Synoptic variations Dr. Abbott is as ploddingly persevering as he is dazzlingly original.

Messrs. Adam & Charles Black have entered on the publication of short monographs, somewhat after the German manner, but attractively printed and bound. We have recently received three such small volumes of works by Harnack. And here comes a lecture on *Schopenhauer* by T. B. Saunders (pp. 95, 1s. 6d. net.). If Messrs. Black could make such a style of publication popular, they would confer a real benefit on English theology. For why must every man among us make a book or gather a dozen essays together before he can find a publisher and an audience? It is certain that one who reads this essay will have quite enough to think about regarding Schopenhauer. If he reads a larger book he may know more and think less. And he has probably no

desire to read about the Income Tax and Confucianism and all the other things that a volume of essays may chance to contain.

The cheapest book in the English language is an English dictionary, and the cheapest English dictionary is Annandale's *Concise*. It is a quarto, printed in three columns, small type; it contains 848 pages—pages, not columns; it is bound in cloth, and it is published at 3s. 6d. A new edition has just appeared. It contains an appendix of new words, among which we find 'aphasia,' surely not new, only of new and melancholy interest to us. The publishers of the dictionary are Messrs. Blackie & Son.

RABBI JESUS. BY WILLIAM MACINTOSH, M.A., PH.D. (*Blackwood*. Crown 8vo, pp. 284. 3s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Macintosh's aim has been to present Jesus to young men to-day as the young men of Jerusalem saw Him in the days of His flesh. He is scholar enough to be able to hide the marks of his scholarship, and without the scaffolding his statue stands before us majestic and winning. There are many who write of the sinlessness of Jesus and leave Jesus Himself unnatural and unattractive. Dr. Macintosh makes us long to be like Jesus. The contents, the critic will cavil, are commonplace. But so are young men's minds, and all the most wholesome things in life and literature.

WITNESSES TO CHRIST. BY WILLIAM CLARK, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C. (*T. & T. Clark*. Crown 8vo, pp. 300. 4s.)

Professor Clark has revised and republished his volume of apologetics. Its position is distinct amongst apologetic literature. For Dr. Clark limits himself to the things that are essential, and then takes the utmost care neither to exaggerate nor misrepresent. If even one of the great matters here presented, if even the Resurrection of Jesus, is once established in the mind, it is an incalculable gain. That is Dr. Clark's aim. With honest hearts he is sure of success.

Messrs. James Clarke's 'Small Books on Great Subjects' have now reached their twenty-second volume. It is a volume apart. Its author is John Pulsford. He is an author apart. The title

is *Infoldings and Unfoldings* (1s. 6d.),—most appropriate, because it has just as much meaning as we are able to see in it,—and that is the way with the book. No doubt there are flashes, in the light of which anyone can see light. But for the most part God must reveal this book unto us by His Spirit.

A MANUAL OF PSYCHOLOGY. BY G. F. STOUT, M.A., LL.D. (*Clive*. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 677. 8s. 6d.)

There is no branch of literature over which a greater change is passing than students' class-books. The best book is no longer the book that can be most successfully crammed. It must educate as well as inform. It must awaken the mind and touch the imagination. Examiners are not what they used to be. It is now part of their business to distinguish the mind that has acted as a sponge from the mind that has gathered as a honey bee. As Dr. Stout himself puts it, students are now expected to do riders in Psychology as they do riders in Euclid. And this is the secret of the success of Dr. Stout's own book. It has the awakening gift, a gift not picked up accidentally but most deliberately cultivated. So the book has passed out of its first edition, and a second, revised and enlarged, edition has been published.

THE TEACHERS' COMMENTARY: ST. MATTHEW. BY F. N. PELOUBET, D.D. (*Oxford University Press*. 8vo, pp. xxxiv, 384. 5s.)

Dr. Peloubet has given himself for many years to the preparation of notes on the International Lessons and other aids to Sunday-school teachers. He has thus proved his armour, and comes before us without temerity as the author of a complete series of commentaries on the New Testament. The first volume is before us. In securing their publication through the Oxford University Press, Dr. Peloubet has won half his battle. For besides the prestige of that publishing house, he has at his command the Revised Version and the new marginal references. The text of St. Matthew's Gospel is printed after the Holman fashion, the Authorized and Revised Versions together. It is by far the best system of 'parallel' printing. This is the way of it—

But wisdom is justified of her children.  
And by her works.

A little practice makes the reading easy.

But to the commentary. The introductions are short, no criticism intrudes, nor other thing distracting to teachers and uninteresting to children. The notes are full and well packed with the right matter. Wisely there are references to books, most wisely the references are to easily accessible books, and less for fuller information than for illustration. Occasionally there is a lack of point, the words being multiplied without making the impression. Thus in the first Beatitude, who the 'meek' are no one would understand from this note. The dictionary definitions quoted are too general, and in this case misleading. If Dr. Peloubet had said that a long-suffering person does not resent a wrong, and a meek person does not claim a right, he had only to add an illustration or two and all was manifest.

There are some ordinary illustrations and some excellent maps and plans.

Altogether it is a distinct and welcome addition to our commentaries on St. Matthew, which need additions sorely.

#### THE MUSIC OF THE CHURCH HYMNARY.

BY WILLIAM COWAN AND JAMES LOVE. (*Frowde.* Crown 8vo, pp. 264. 5s.)

The Church Hymnary has obtained so wide a circulation in Scotland that there must be many persons who would know more about its music. This volume meets that wish. It is divided into two parts. The first part gives historical notices of the tunes, chants, and special settings, not only in the Hymnary, but also in the 'Psalter in Metre.' The second part gives biographical notices of the composers. Both subjects are treated alphabetically. The information is no doubt mostly contained in Julian's Dictionary, but how many possess that expensive work, and how many of its possessors have time to dig out the information? Here it is all in clear outline and beautiful setting forth.

Mr. J. H. Burn continues to exercise his peculiar gift of anthology-maker. The latest gathering is from the writings of Canon Knox Little. Its title is *Our Reasonable Service*, and its publishers are Messrs. Wells Gardner. The volume is smaller, and we think in more artistic taste, than any of those already published.

#### THE COMPLETE WORKS OF JOHN KEATS.

EDITED BY H. BUXTON FORMAN. (Glasgow; *Gowans & Gray.* Five Vols. 1s. each, net.)

Messrs. Gowans & Gray of Glasgow have resolved to publish a series of English classics under the title of 'The Complete Library.' The title explains itself. The first issue is Keats, and it justifies the title. The question may be raised whether it is wise to publish the complete works of anybody. But there is no question that the book-buyers want completeness. They may not read Keats or any other right through, but they rejoice to know that they can if they choose. The publishers might have called their series 'The Complete and Cheap Library,' for the books are a surprise of beauty at their price.

In the year 1843 a Chancery barrister wrote a book and called it *The Great Awakening*. In the year 1899 the Right Rev. Bishop Courtenay, D.D., edited and republished the book, and explained that the writer and the editor were one and the same (Edinburgh: Grant, crown 8vo, pp. 155). The book deals with the most momentous subject that occupies us in life—the leaving it. And it is surely something for its conclusions, sharply as they contradict our ordinary beliefs, that this scholar holds them as firmly in 1899 as he did in 1843. Its doctrine is briefly this. At death man sinks into unconsciousness, he remains in this state of utter unconsciousness till the last day. Then there shall be a 'great awakening,' and body and soul shall rise together, to life or to judgment. The proof is modestly and persuasively set forth. Perhaps the most immediate objection that occurs to the mind is the desire of St. Paul 'to depart and to be with Christ.' Dr. Courtenay believes that in speaking thus the apostle simply disregarded 'his brief plunge into darkness, his momentary hiding in the grave' (Is 26<sup>20</sup>).

A DYNAMIC FAITH. BY RUFUS M. JONES, M.A., D.LITT. (*Headley.* Crown 8vo, pp. 113. 2s. 6d.)

The Dynamic Faith is the faith of the Quaker. And how powerful a plea for the Quaker's faith can be made! This book will be read with intense interest. It clears away hindrances and comes close to the heart and purpose of the Redeemer. A dynamic faith is a faith that moves, that moves to loyalty, to self-surrender, to death. It has done this often, and it would do it yet more



often in the future, if that weakness could be removed which keeps Quakerism from multiplying. But apart from apology for the Quaker, this book is great. Professor Jones shows impressively that Christianity needs neither philosophy nor history in order to reap good results as soon as the soul has got into touch with the living Redeemer.

THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL. BY THE LATE JOHN TINDALL HARRIS. (*Headley*. Vol. 1. 8vo, pp. 332. 6s.)

When Mr. Tindall Harris died in 1887 he left in MS. a commentary on every book of the New Testament. Those on the writings of St. John were published in two volumes in 1889. And now a beginning has been made with the commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles.

Our first thought is to cast the book aside. Its author believes (1) that the Second Coming took place in the period after the destruction of Jerusalem, of which we have such scanty information. He also believes (2) that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul and second in time of all his Epistles. He further believes (3) that the baptism which Christ sent His disciples to administer—'Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them'—was a baptism not with water but with the Holy Ghost.

Now a commentator who is so highly original is apt to suffer for his originality. He is apt to suffer from neglect and even contempt. But those who have looked into Mr. Harris's work on St. John know that contempt is absurd and neglect most culpable. He knew what he was about. He knew what others had said on these things, and when he was original he was so deliberately. And he could give reasons for his originality. Incredible as it will seem to those who know nothing of Mr. Harris or his books, this volume deserves to be bought and mastered.

THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS. BY THE REV. JAMES STALKER, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*. Crown 8vo, pp. 130. 1s. 6d.)

'Perfecting holiness in the fear of God.' It is wise of Dr. Stalker to give himself to the subject. We need more sanctification, preached as well as lived. No doubt there are those who preach sermons on Pride, Sloth, and the rest of the Deadly Sins, without ever getting into sight of the gospel or the grace of God. But that some

men do so is no excuse to others for omitting all reference to these matters. The grace of God in rescue is most necessary, but 'without holiness no man shall see the Lord.' Dr. Stalker is a model for the practical preacher of righteousness.

*Clews to Holy Writ* is much too indefinite a title for a book. But there are books that live in spite of their titles. The book with this title contains a scheme for studying the whole Bible in its historical order during three years. And so skilful is the scheme and so widespread the desire to know the Bible, that the book has passed through many thousand copies, and is now issued in a cheap form to pass through many thousand more. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, crown 8vo, pp. 352, 2s.).

THE CENTURY BIBLE: ST. LUKE. BY W. F. ADENEY, M.A. (*Jack*. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 404. 2s. net.)

This is the second volume of Professor Adeney's enterprise, and Professor Adeney is himself the editor. His work is always sound and modern. He is liable, as good scholars are liable, to occasional slips; there is a curious one in the preface; but one can receive the occasional slip along with the uniform insight and sobriety.

Messrs. Longman are the publishers of a most engaging edition of the *Lyra Germanica* (the first series, 2s. net.). The red line round the page sets off the soft creamy paper, and the binding in crimson and gold is in perfect keeping.

A SHORT MANUAL OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY. BY P. GILES, M.A. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 659. 14s.)

Mr. Giles adds after his title, 'For Classical Students.' But he would not exclude New Testament students from participating in the benefit of his work. It is to be observed that one of the authors he frequently quotes, and to whom he expresses in his preface special obligations, is a distinctively New Testament scholar—the Rev. J. H. Moulton of Cambridge. Indeed, it is right to say that no reader of the New Testament in Greek can afford to lose the training which a study of this book will give him. The old opposition between Classical and Biblical Greek has been broken down. But, besides that, Mr. Giles goes behind all forms and dialects of Greek and of

Latin, and lets us see the words in their process of making. We thus understand how the Greek of the New Testament is connected with the Greek of Sophocles, and we can understand it in no other way. In the preface to his new edition of *St. Peter and St. Jude* in the 'International Critical Commentary,' Dr. Bigg says: 'A point which gives the commentator much trouble is the nature of the Greek with which he has to deal.' Yes, it is the most troublesome point of all now. And yet commentators write still as if the difficulty had never occurred to them.

But about the book. It is the second edition of the best Manual of Comparative Philology in existence. It will no doubt be translated into other languages.

THE KEY OF KNOWLEDGE. BY W. G. RUTHERFORD. (Macmillan. Crown 8vo, pp. 284. 6s.)

These sermons, we are told on the title-page, were preached in the Abbey to Westminster boys. We should like to know those boys. It is incredible that Dr. Rutherford, who is neither fool nor pedant, preached sermons which they could not understand. But there are no boys we know of who could make anything of them. It is astonishing what boys can do with political addresses when they live in a political atmosphere. It is astonishing what they can do with theological discussion, when they are brought up in the midst of it. But these sermons are neither political nor theological. They are spiritual and experimental. And we cannot understand how Dr. Rutherford's boys could have entered into them. But they are good. They deserved publication. Let the boys, let us all read them and think, and seek more earnestly the kingdom of God and His righteousness.

HENRY DRUMMOND. BY CUTHBERT LENNOX. (Melrose. Crown 8vo, pp. 260. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is no abridgment of Professor Smith's *Life*. It is what another man's eyes have seen, what another man's memory has stored. It is also most unlike an abridgment in its ease of manner and its unforced interest. To sit down to the first page is to rise up with the last. But, after all, it does not give us Drummond. It does not remove the contradictions; it does not weld the three or four men we know as Drummond into one. There is the Drummond into whose ear innumerable tales of sin were poured, and the Drummond who told

young men that in our day it is of righteousness the Holy Spirit convicts, not of sin. There is the Drummond who encouraged with transparent sincerity the keenest search for hypocrisy, and the Drummond who 'rushed' the signing of the Confession 'like the rest of us.' There was a Drummond of flesh and blood, but it seems that no biography can reproduce him, and what will posterity think of him?

A new edition has been issued of Mr. Smellie's fine book of daily meditations called *In the Hour of Silence* (Melrose, 5s.). May it reach many editions; every copy carries with it the gentle persuasiveness of the grace of God.

A second edition is also published of *Torch-Bearers of the Faith*, a book of Christian Heroes, which, with his inimitable taste and tenderness, Mr. Smellie has written—an almost unique prize or gift for boys (Melrose, 3s. 6d.).

S.B.O.T.: EZRA AND NEHEMIAH. BY H. GUTHE, D.D., AND L. W. BATTEN, PH.D. (Nutt. 8vo, pp. 74.)

This, the new issue of Dr. Haupt's 'Sacred Books of the Old Testament,' is due to several writers. Professor Guthe is chiefly responsible for the colouring of the text as well as for the notes. But notes are added to the English translation both by Dr. Batten and Professor Haupt. And the translation itself is the work of Dr. B. W. Bacon and Mr. D. B. Macdonald. There are nine colours or shades employed besides the white text and the 'overlining.' The notes are, as always, accurate and abreast of the most recent scholarship. Articles and books published this year are noted. Dr. Haupt himself often adds a valuable discussion, especially of some obscure Hebrew form. Altogether it records the high-water mark of present-day scholarship on the text of these books.

About the year 1380 B.C. Amenophis IV. built for himself a royal city and called it Akhet-haten. In 1888 some Egyptian peasants were digging for marl near an insignificant village called El Amarna, and came upon the library which Amenophis had gathered into his royal city. The village has become world-famous, the king and his city are known only to Egyptologists. Out of that discovery a new chapter has been written in the

history of the world, a chapter of intense interest and far-reaching issues. It has been written most successfully in a little book, one of a series of monograms on 'The Ancient East,' by Carl Neibuhr (Nutt, crown 8vo, pp. 62, 1s.). The title is *The Tell el Amarna Period*. The translation is by Miss J. Hutchison.

MISSION PROBLEMS AND MISSION METHODS IN SOUTH CHINA. By J. CAMPBELL GIBSON, M.A., D.D. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 332. 5s.)

The range of Dr. Gibson's book is wide, but his grasp is firm and his style clear. In the first chapter, which he calls 'The Proving of the Gospel,' he shows us the special conditions which the Gospel has to deal with in China. Then come two chapters on the Religions of China, chapters of independent value, for Dr. Gibson is no vender of other men's wares, chapters which lead us to express the hope that he will yet write more fully on that subject, misunderstood as it popularly is. Then follow eight chapters which tell the story of the preaching of the gospel in Southern China, and enter frankly into the many questions that have arisen or may yet arise regarding its method and its success. We may give it as our opinion that no source of information is more reliable than this, and that no writer has a deeper sense of responsibility to the God of truth. The impression left on us after reading the book is that there is no field so promising as China, and no easier way of 'perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord' than by becoming a Chinese missionary.

PRAYERS FOR THE CHRISTIAN HOME. (*Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier*. Crown 8vo, pp. 246. 2s. 6d.)

The Publications Committee of the (once Free now) United Free Church of Scotland has had this book in hand for many years. To give it a start many ministers made contributions. These have been sifted, sorted, accepted, rejected, recast, rewritten, and now time and sane editing have given to Scottish Christian families a most suitable book of prayers for morning and evening worship. Eight weeks are provided for, and there are also prayers for special occasions. It is the family we must preserve, else our churches will fall in ruins about our ears. It is family worship we must encourage, else there will be no joy when we say 'Let us go into the House of the Lord.' If we can persuade our heads of families, by the use of

a book like this, if they cannot do without a book, to gather their children together morning and evening for family worship, there is nothing that can come to Scotland that need make us fear.

FAMOUS SCOTS: JOHNSTON OF WARRISTON. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 159. 1s. 6d. net.)

There may be difference of opinion regarding the claim of 'My Lord Warristoun' to this honour, but the claim of Mr. Morison's book to a place in a most successful series will be admitted universally. There was a certain robust greatness about the man, no doubt; but the book owes its greatness to the time. Johnston had a deep hand in the affairs of Scotland during the time of Cromwell, and Mr. Morison makes that stirring time live again. Cromwell himself is here in unmistakable greatness, and the more lifelike perhaps that his portrait is drawn unconsciously.

THE AUTHOR OF THE 'PEEP OF DAY.' By MRS. MEYER. WITH A PREFACE BY F. B. MEYER. (*R.T.S.* Crown 8vo, pp. 221. 3s. 6d.)

It is a life-story that deserved recording. The surprise of it is the introduction of Cardinal Manning and the part he plays in it. But it is a story worth recording for its own sake. For the life was one of manifold service, yet never of service beyond our own attainment. Even the popularity of the books which Mrs. Mortimer (Favell Lee Bevan was her maiden name) wrote, was the result of patient toil and self-denying service. As Mr. Meyer says: 'It was through her conscientious earnestness in teaching the young children of the day and Sunday schools within her reach that she acquired the art of artlessness, the grace of unaffected simplicity.' About the *Peep of Day* itself we are told some curious facts, among the rest that since 1863 (it was published by Hatchards in 1833) it has been translated into thirty-seven different languages and dialects.

FROM AN INVALID'S WINDOW. By HETTIE TRAVERS. (*R.T.S.* Fcap 8vo, pp. 189. 2s. 6d.)

We see what we bring eyes to see. From an invalid's window more beautiful and comforting things were seen and are here recorded than most of us who are strong and active see all our lives long. And they are expressed with exquisite charm of language. Read these chapters to the children, one chapter at a time, they will acquire their souls thereby.



OLD HIGHLAND DAYS. By JOHN KENNEDY.  
(R.T.S. Crown 8vo, pp. 288, with illustrations.  
6s.)

It is a little doubtful if *Old Highland Days* is the title that should have been chosen. For the book is a biography of Dr. Kennedy, and the early days in the Highlands form only a part, and certainly the least important part of it. The explanation of the title is probably this. Shortly before his death Dr. Kennedy wrote the story of his early days for the *Leisure Hour*, and that story is reprinted here. The rest is due to his son's pen. And no doubt it is filial piety that has allowed the first six chapters to appropriate the title which should belong to the twenty-four.

The book is very pleasant to read, and the publishers have done well with it. It gives us the picture of a true follower of Christ, and of a right hearty, honest Congregationalist.

Through the Religious Tract Society Canon Fleming has published an appreciation of our present Queen. The little book is artistically produced and adorned with a fine engraving of the Queen and some illustrations of Sandringham Palace (2s. 6d.).

A NEW TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH. By THE REV. E. FLECKNER, M.A. (*Elliot Stock*. Crown 8vo, pp. 299. 6s.)

To translate *Isaiah*, to annotate the book, to write a biography of the prophet—it must have been a fine discipline for the man who did it all. For us it is of less value. The translation is not better than the one we have in the Revised Version, the notes are obvious, and even the biography, though startling enough in some of its suggestions, is neither critical nor impressive.

EATING THE BREAD OF LIFE. By W. H. K. SOAMES, M.A. (*Stock*. 8vo, pp. 203. 2s. 6d. net.)

If scholarship is the unbiassed search for truth, and if there is more scholarship spent on the Bible to-day than ever before in the Church's history—and we believe both suppositions to be true in fact—then we shall not despair of seeing the end of all controversy even regarding the Supper of the Lord. To that consummation Mr. Soames has made his contribution. It is chiefly a study of the meaning and bearing of the sixth chapter of St. John. It carries the marks of true scholarship—

reverence for truth, patience to discover it, reserve in expressing it. If this book is read without bias, there is no exaggeration in the hope that it will be found to have rescued this great chapter from the shame and disfigurement of generations of misinterpretation.

Mr. Elliot Stock has published a small volume of earnest addresses by a 'Yorkshire Priest' under the title of *By the Power of the Spirit of God* (2s. 6d.). The plea is for less sensation and more spirituality.

Mr. Stockwell has published other three volumes of his 'Baptist Pulpit.' They are *A National Pentecost*, by the Rev. Frank James; *The Church and its Privileges*, by the Rev. J. D. Gilmore; and *The Enrichment of Life*, by the Rev. Frank Burnett (2s. 6d. net, each). They are fellows of the volumes already noticed, in outward form and inward loyalty.

Professor Muss-Arnolt of the University of Chicago has published (through the University Press) a record of *Theological and Semitic Literature for the Year 1900*. It is the most complete record in English, perhaps in any language. Its range, its insight, its accuracy, all are astonishing.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM. By GUSTAF H. DALMAN, D.D., PH.D. (*Williams & Norgate*. Crown 8vo, pp. 64.)

Why is it that the Jew, the modern, enlightened, tolerant Jew, the Jew who rejects the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the like, why is it that he refuses to embrace Christ? He knows now that there is none of the Jewish race to be compared with Jesus in moral character and moral force. Yet he refuses to become a Christian. It is chiefly the notion that Judaism is the religion of one God, while Christianity has gone back to the pagan belief in three. Professor Dalman shows in this masterly essay that that is a misconception of Christianity. And he further shows that poor enough as the actual attainments of some Christians are, it is only Christianity that can carry a man to the heights of holiness.

The Rev. G. H. Box has to be congratulated on his idea of translating the essay, and on his success in carrying it out.

## The World's Epoch-Makers.

FIVE volumes of this series have already been published and mentioned. Two more are just out. Of the five already issued, the most interesting is Professor Lindsay's *Luther*. It is enough of itself to give the series a name. It is a master's masterpiece. It proves that books as well as lives may 'in short measures perfect be.'

The new volumes are *Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders*, by Professor Herkless (crown 8vo, pp. 237, 3s.); and *Savonarola*, by Dr. G. M'Hardy (crown 8vo, pp. 283, 3s.). Dr. M'Hardy's *Savonarola* will be read first. There is no 'epoch-maker' in all the long array that so touches the universal human heart. There is room, too, for a good short biography. For want of it, many have taken to Villari's ponderous volumes and read them through. But even after Villari this biography will find a place. Dr. M'Hardy is both just and sympathetic. His sympathy enables him to understand Savonarola, his justice enables

him to understand his adversaries. But the chief merit of the book is its proportion. The great men and events are most conspicuous, the rest come in as colour and shade; and yet the least are real and distinct.

Professor Herkless has had a movement to write about rather than a man. He has conceived his duty to lie in the epoch rather than the epoch-maker. It is true that he has two notable men to handle, and he has not despised the picturesque that so readily arranges itself around them. He has given us a biography in brief both of St. Francis and of St. Dominic. But it is Mendicancy that is his subject; the Mendicant Orders have received the most thorough investigation. For the accomplishment of such a task, Professor Herkless is specially fitted. He spares no pains to get at the truth, even on the most intricate, even on the most tawdry matters of doctrine or practice. And when he has obtained a clear understanding, he spares no pains to set it clearly before his readers. His words may be unadorned, but they are unmistakable.

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## The Way of Life.

BY THE LATE REV. W. A. GRAY, ELGIN.

THE common way of interpreting the words, 'Go thou thy way,' is to refer them to Daniel's dismissal to death. 'Depart,' they are supposed to mean, 'thy work is over, thy time is done; take thy journey across the dim borderland that separates between seen and unseen, temporal and eternal; go thy way, and may the valley be bright, the passage be easy, the entrance be full.' One might draw various good lessons from this reading. But it labours under a fatal objection. It implies that the end is immediate, just overshadowing, just impending. Whereas the end is future. 'Go thy way,' says the speaker, 'until the end.' The way, then, that Daniel must go is the way of life, not the way of death, life with its business, life with its duties, life with its work. Death and the things that follow death, these come afterwards.

Such then is the meaning we adopt,—let us see

'But go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.'—Dan. xii. 13.

how it fits in with the case of Daniel. What a wonderful career had Daniel's been! From being cup-bearer to the Babylonish king, he had mounted to be liberator of God's people and recipient of God's revelations. But in both aspects now his work was complete. There were no more people to be liberated. There were no more revelations to be received. There were just two things which Daniel in all probability desired. One was to return with the people to Jerusalem, to see their good, and rejoice with them in their great joy. It could not well have been otherwise. Daniel at the return to Canaan, like Moses at the entrance, must have longed and prayed to go over and see the good land beyond Jordan. 'Nay' is the answer of God. 'I have another place for thee, I have another task for thee. As cup-bearer in Babylon thou didst begin, and notwithstanding all that has happened in the interval, as cup-

bearer, or at any rate as state official, thou shalt end. Back then to the king's service! Back to the king's business! Arrange in his household. Advise in his court. You best please God, you best serve His people, by acting and by living thus. Return to your post then, and where life occupies you, there let death find you, waiting, working, ready. Go thy way till the end be.'

And does this seem a downcome for a history such as Daniel's? To be relegated to the old position, the old level, the old routine, after a record so brilliant, a course so august, does this seem a downcome? There is no downcome in following the path and performing the task that Providence has marked out. For the man that does that, in contentment, submission, and patience, there is an honourable destiny and a sure reward. Is there not something sublime in the figure of Daniel at this point, as he consents to renounce the patriot's ambition, deny himself the patriot's wish, and stay in heathen Babylon, while the Jews—his much-loved kinsmen—repeopled ancient Zion? How great his unselfishness! How signal his surrender! How ready his obedience to God! There is a moral nobility in Daniel's attitude, in thus agreeing to take the commonplace road and accept the commonplace fate, which, after all that had come and gone, presents an aspect of heroism. That then was one wish. Daniel desired to return with his people to Jerusalem. God said 'No' to it. 'Go thy way, the way of appointed service, of quiet and undemonstrative work.'

But there was another thing which Daniel wished, and the thing I refer to was this. He had not only parted with his kinsmen, and seen them return without him, he had received an announcement in figure of their future history. It was not all clear, this announcement, very far from it. It was mysterious, it was vague. One thing alone was clear, one thing alone was certain. The future was to be a time of trial, a time of temptation. In many ways the future was to be a time of distress. Daniel wished to know the meaning. He wished to know the termination. He was curious. He was anxious. He was perplexed. 'No' is the answer of Jehovah again, 'follow thou thine own path. And follow it not only independent of thy people's company, but independent of thy people's future. Leave problems alone. Put difficulties to the side. It is not for

you to know the times and the seasons. The secret things belong to the Lord, the revealed things to you—for you to accept, and for you to practise. And the main revealed thing is this, your duty to the king's interests, your engagement in the king's service, till the call comes to stop. Will you have this question answered? Will you have that riddle solved? Desist from them all. Be satisfied with the fact that your own weal is cared for. Be satisfied with the fact that your own safety is ensured. Go thou thy way till the end be. All will be well when that comes. Thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.'

And now I think we are in a position to understand the drift of the text, which has its complete fulfilment, not in time but eternity. It is a word with a special application to those that are downcast, downcast because of doubt, downcast because of fear. And we may look at it as conveying the following three truths:—

I. First, *for every doubter his path*—'Go thou thy way.'

II. Second, *for every path its term*—'Go thou thy way till the end be.'

III. Third, *for every term its issues*—one sooner, 'Thou shalt rest'; the other later, 'and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.' Is not the chain just this,—duty, death, the intermediate state, the Resurrection, with all that the Resurrection signifies, and all that the Resurrection bestows.

I. For every doubting disciple his path—'Go thou thy way.' I mean a way he should follow independent of his doubts. All else may be dim, but that should be clear. All else may be puzzling, but that should be plain. What, my brother, my sister, is your doubt? Certain I am there is no doubt so dense, no doubt so staggering, but there is something that falls to you, in the midst of it, of daily obedience to be rendered, of daily duty to be done. And if the doubt is to be lessened, if the doubt is to disappear, it is to the obedience you must give heed, it is to the duty you must turn. How apt are we all to put the speculative before the practical, things to be argued before things to be done, to the loss of our Christian comfort, to the breaking up of our Christian peace. Mysteries! we are compassed with mysteries. And men brood on these mysteries, they vex themselves with these mysteries, they allow these mysteries to divert



them from plain daily duty, seclude them from plain daily work. What is it, then, in your case that clouds your spirit, that shakes your faith?

Perhaps *the dealings of God with the world*. His slowness in upholding the right, his slackness in visiting the wrong. Nay, find *your* path first, before you impeach or find fault with God's. And having found it, follow it. 'Go thou thy way.'

*Or is it the dealings of God with the Church?* His delay in blessing its efforts, His tardiness in promoting its ends. But first find your path before you cavil at God's. And having found it, follow it. 'Go thou thy way.'

*Or is it the dealings of God with yourself?* Here, too, the question rises, Why has He clouded your prospects? Why has He embittered your lot? Why has He emptied your home? Why has He imposed this trial? Why has He taken away that joy? Why has He suffered you to pray, and denied you the thing that you pray for? Why has He suffered you to strive, and denied you the thing striven for? Cease to murmur. Cease to pry. Persevere with your appointed task-work. Fulfil your appointed destiny. Find your own path first before you act critic of God's. And having found it, follow it. 'Go thou thy way.'

What that way may be depends upon circumstances, depends upon character. It may be a public way, leading you through the world's crowds, or it may be a private way, leading you through the world's solitudes. It may be a way of busy activity, or it may be a way of silent endurance. It may be a way of labour for the Church, or a way of sacrifice for the family, or a way of industry for one's fellow-men, in the exercise of an earthly calling, in the prosecution of an earthly trade. One thing is certain. Every disciple has a way, his way, her way,—his and hers in a sense in which it is no other person's, with possibilities of usefulness, with means of well-doing, that are unshared by their neighbours, but remain individual, distinctive, and their own. Never let the problems that surround you, whether of providence, or experience, or doctrine, detach you from present, plain, clamant duty. God will give light upon other things in His own time, in His own way. Wait for Him. Trust in Him. Cast your care on Him. And meanwhile calmly, expectantly, perseveringly, go thou thy way.

2. That is my first thought—for every doubting

disciple his path. Now take another—for *every path its term*. 'Go thou thy way,' it is said, 'till the end be.' What is the end? It is the end which men call death. Ah, yes; many and varied as the roads are, they all lead up to the same gate. Many and varied as the streams are, they all discharge themselves in the same sea. It is appointed for all men to die.

'Till the end be.' Observe there is nothing told Daniel of details. There is nothing to indicate when, or where, or how the end was to come; only the gentle reminder that it would come. Neither is there anything to indicate the when, or the where, or the how with us. Will it come in the nearness of the early future, or the distance of the far-off years? Will it come in the stir of the busy highway, or the silence of the lonely sickroom? Will it come in fever and in painfulness, or in gentleness and in calm? We cannot tell. It is useless to speculate. One thing is certain about death, and that is, that it *will* come, and that when it does come it will be an end,—'go thy way till the *end* be.' For thousands of times the minister has preached in the pulpit, but a time comes when he shuts the door, and never again will he enter it. For thousands of times the scholar has studied in his library, but a time comes when he lays down his books and never again will he read them. For thousands of times the physician has ministered in the sickroom, but a time comes when he descends the doorsteps, and never again will he climb them. For thousands of times the workman has wrought in the field, but a time comes when he gathers his tools, and never again will he handle them. So in an hour we think not, so sometimes in an hour we wish not, cometh the end.

The end, but an end of what kind, an end in what sense? Not an end in the sense of extinction, but an end in the sense of transition,—an end which means a beginning,—the beginning of new life, new experiences, and for those who, like Daniel, have prepared for it, new privileges and new joys.

3. And thus we come up to my third thought. We have found that for *every doubting Christian there is a way*, and that for *every way there is a term*, and we note in the next place, that for *every term are its issues*, the one being immediate—'Thou shalt rest,' the other being final, 'Thou shalt stand in thy lot at the end of the days.'

(1) First there is the immediate issue 'rest'—'thou shalt rest.' Some join the thought of rest with the thought of duty and the going of our way, the way individually appointed, and individually followed, of which we have spoken at length already. And it is true that duty means rest. Duty means rest even on this side eternity. To do the will of God, along whatever lines, in whatever spheres, this is rest. What harmony exists like the harmony of the stars in space? Each keeps its separate orbit. Each knows its separate place. It is because each hears its Maker's commandment, and each does its Maker's will. 'Go thou thy way,' He said, as He launched them from His hand at the first. And they went their way as He bade them. They are going their way still—obediently, punctually, and therefore quietly, in perfect concord and in perfect peace. Yes, there is rest even in life, rest for those who know God's will, and who do it, going, each one his way, as God has arranged.

But it is not of a rest in life that the text speaks, but a rest in death, of which the rest in life is an earnest and a foretaste. I join the word 'rest,' not with the going of one's way, but with the end that concludes that way and introduces to the deeper and sublimer rest that follows when life is over, and death is passed, and the believer is in some mysterious sense present with God.

It is a great mystery this question of the intermediate state. It has an ever-present interest. It has an ever-absorbing fascination. I do not know that we shall get farther in our discoveries of it than just the description of the text, 'Thou shalt rest.' There is rest for the body. The accidental constituents may have mouldered, but the essence and the germs are there. God watches over them where they lie. And by and by, though the time is not come yet, they shall waken at His summons, they shall start at His touch,—there is rest, we are sure, in the meantime for the body.

And there is rest, too, for the spirit. Some say the spirit, like the body, sleeps,—sleeps between death and the Resurrection. According to this view, there would be no felt space or interval at all. What is spread out into hundreds and thousands of years, while the world's history evolves itself and the world's processes go on, is contracted to the spell of a seeming moment, in which the soul falls asleep and wakes amidst

Resurrection solemnities and Resurrection awards. There is nothing inherently inconceivable in this. But it is not in conformity with feeling, and it is hardly in conformity with Scripture. If the intermediate state be a state of unconsciousness, then what did Christ mean when He said to the penitent thief, 'This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise'? Paradise is surely not a place of insensibility—an experience to be slept through. And what did St. Paul mean when he said, 'I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better'? If the soul is unconscious, I question the betterness of being with Christ in heaven. I would rather work for Him and know it on earth. Add to these things the fact that there are allusions, more common than perhaps we think, that seem to imply that at certain times and in certain circumstances at least the saints above have a knowledge of, and take an interest in, the affairs of the world beneath. And I think we may safely dismiss the theory of unconsciousness. But if the rest is something different from the rest of unconsciousness, it is rest notwithstanding. Once, and once only, in a mysterious passage in Revelation, is there a trace of disturbance in the ranks of the ransomed brought home,—a ripple on the surface of the glassy sea. It is when the spirits of the martyred saints, as they see their brethren still suffering in the flesh, cry, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true.' And what is the answer? They are given white robes, and are told to rest awhile,—rest till the time be accomplished,—hushed and soothed and quieted, as weary children by a loving mother, who says, 'Cease your pleadings, cease your questionings, and all will yet be well.'

On the whole, then, the idea of the intermediate state is that of rest,—conscious rest, and rest in the presence of Christ, rest from sin, and rest from sorrow. It is a vast transition. It is an unspeakable change. But it is not consummation. It is not completion. It is not full and final blessedness. How can it be? The body has yet to be raised. The Church has yet to be gathered. The great world has to be perfected,—perfected morally, perfected physically, its laws subjected to Christ's rule, its very material transformed by His glory.

Does the text, brethren, say anything of this? Has it any description to give? Has it any hope to hold out? A farther and fuller blessedness,—



an ulterior and richer joy, as of some divine far-off event, towards which creation, terrestrial and celestial, is slowly, surely moving,—does the text point to this?

(2) Yes; take the last clause, when we pass from the immediate blessedness of repose to the ultimate blessedness of inheritance,—inheritance amidst Resurrection experiences, Resurrection rewards,—‘Thou shalt stand in thy lot at the end of the days.’

To exhaust or even explain the meaning of these few sublime words is beyond our capacity and beyond our time. But a hint or two may be helpful in closing. What is spoken of here is the property of the saints in the Resurrection, and three things are said of it. *It is a lot.* The imagery is borrowed from the distribution of Canaan among the tribes, to each tribe a lot. It is the idea of order. Heaven is a place of order. One house but many mansions. One feast but many seats. One temple but many stalls. One country but many lots. The idea, as I say, is the idea of order—order and appointment.

But there is more. The text speaks of *thy lot*. Ah, then, there is something more than appointment, there is peculiarity, propriety, individualism. What God chooses, He does not choose arbitrarily. What He assigns, He does not assign without a reason. He only seals, ratifies, perpetuates what we have chosen and assigned for ourselves. We shall reap just what we have sown. We shall inhabit just what we have built. Brother, do you ask, ‘What shall be *my lot* in the solemn upwinding of all things?’ I will answer the question by another, What is thy way now? For it is the present way that makes the future lot. Again, I ask of you, ‘What is thy way?’ If it be the way of patient and quiet obedience, of repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, of fellowship with the Holy Ghost, together with such service and sacrifice as are peculiar from circumstances or character to yourself, if this be your way, then go on in it. It will lead to your lot in the end, and that lot will be very congenial and very home-like, a lot prepared by you, and a lot befitting you. But if not, if your way be the way of conscious and wilful transgression, of indulgence in

evil habit, of compliance with evil principle, of adhesion to evil company,—if this be your way, stop, brother, turn and think, lest you find at the end of the days there is a lot too for you, which your own hands have fashioned, to which your own way has led, on the left hand of the Judge.

But the text speaks of a believer, and to the believer we return. ‘*Lot*,’—there we said is the idea of order. ‘*Thy lot*,’—there is the idea of peculiarity, propriety. ‘Thou shalt *stand* in thy lot,’—there for one thing is the idea of confidence—the confidence of one who is accepted, the confidence of one who is triumphant, and takes the posture to which his trial and triumph entitle him, steadfastly erect, gloriously complete. Confidence,—that is one thought.

And permanency,—that is another. ‘Thou shalt *stand*,’ no one dislodging thee, no one evicting thee, no one threatening thee, through the endless ages of eternity. Of how many settlements here upon earth can the same thing be said? We take our place in these settlements, and we speak of them as our lot, saying, ‘Soul, take thine ease and be satisfied.’ But the settlement becomes unsettled. The lot is broken up. Here have we no continuing city. Our homes, our estates, they abide not. They abide not because of change. They abide not because of death. And the wind whistles, and the rain drips, and the icicles hang in many a pleasant bower where once the roses bloomed, and once the sweet birds sang. And wilt thou set thy heart upon that which fades? Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. For the world passeth away and the lust thereof. But he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever. May such be our attitude, may such be our position, as those whom no charge can impugn, no convulsion shake, no temptation overthrow, no vicissitude assail, but who stand in the end of the days—ay, and beyond the end—secure and irrevocable in their eternal lot.

So runs the text. Thou shalt go, thou shalt rest, thou shalt stand; go thy way on earth, rest in the calm of the blessed, stand in the full Resurrection glory, for ever in the body and for ever at home, together with each other, and together with the Lord.



# The Arrangement of Materials in St. Matthew viii.—ix.

By THE REV. CANON SIR JOHN C. HAWKINS, BART., M.A., OXFORD.

ONE of the two crucial difficulties in the study of the internal arrangement of the Synoptic Gospels—the other of course being that presented by St. Luke's 'great interpolation' (9<sup>51</sup>–18<sup>14</sup>)—is to be found in the way in which the Marcan and other materials are arranged in Mt 4<sup>23</sup>–13 generally, but especially in chaps. 8–9; or, to speak more exactly, in 8<sup>1</sup>–9<sup>34</sup>, for vv. 35–38 of chap. 9 admittedly form the introduction to the mission of the Twelve, which is the subject of the next division of the Gospel. Upon the whole, the most satisfactory account of the matter that I have seen is that which was given by my friend Mr. W. C. Allen in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES last year (vol. xi. p. 279 ff., 'The Dependence of St. Matthew i.–xiii. upon St. Mark'). But in the course of a prolonged and careful examination of that valuable 'Study,' it has seemed to me that there are a few points in which it might be supplemented, so as to cover the whole ground of chaps. 8<sup>1</sup>–9<sup>34</sup> more completely than was there attempted, and also that there are a very few points as to which a more probable hypothesis might be suggested. And when I showed my notes on these points to Mr. Allen, he expressed a wish, which he has since repeated, that they should be submitted to the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, who might thus form their judgments on the details as to which he and I differ.

Let me state, then, my own view as to the plan and procedure of Matthew—*i.e.* of the compiler of our First Gospel—in these two chapters. As Mr. Allen's 'Study' will be quoted so often, the references will be made merely to the page and column of it (*e.g.* 280*a*), without naming it on each occasion.

I agree substantially with the preliminary assumptions that Matthew's scheme in 1–16<sup>20</sup> was such as is drawn out on p. 280*a*, that 'throughout his Gospel' he 'copied and enlarged Mark's narrative' (*ib.*), and that now 'in accordance with his plan, he is to give illustrations of Christ's miracles' (281*a*). He had already given an intimation of this purpose in an 'anticipatory sketch of Christ's activity' (p. 280*b*, referring to Mt 4<sup>23</sup>), the words of which are repeated almost exactly

when the section which we are now to consider is concluded (Mt 9<sup>35</sup>). (This anticipatory sketch does not, however, cover the Stilling of the Storm, for here, as elsewhere, the general summaries of Christ's wonderful works are confined to miracles of healing, it being apparently implied that those which we now call 'nature-miracles' were only wrought on those few occasions which are recorded in detail.)

I can perhaps best explain the account of the matter which seems to me least unlikely, if I first make some general suggestions as to the principles and purposes which seem to have guided this compiler; and afterwards, in the second part of this article, call attention to some particular points as to his selection and arrangement of miracles.

## I.

The subject-matter of the division of the Gospel before us may be conveniently divided into thirteen sections.

Sec.	Miracles.	Matthew.	Subject.	Apparent Source.
i.	1	81-4 (? 2-4)	Healing of Leper	Mk 140-45.
ii.	2	85-13	Healing of Centurion's Servant	? <i>Logia</i> ; cf. Lk 7 <sup>2-10</sup> .
iii.	3	814. 15	Healing of Peter's Wife's Mother	Mk 128-31.
iv.		816. 17	Healings at Eventide (Is 53 <sup>4</sup> )	Mk 132-34.
v.		818-22	The Two Aspirants	? <i>Logia</i> ; cf. Lk 9 <sup>57-60</sup> .
vi.	4	823-27	Stilling of the Storm	Mk 436-41.
vii.	5	828-34	Healing of Gadarene Demoniacs	Mk 51-20 (? ? also 121-28).
viii.	6	91-8	Healing of Paralytic	Mk 21-12.
ix.		99-17	Call of Matthew, etc.	Mk 213-22.
x.	7	918. 19. 23-26	Raising of Jairus' Daughter	Mk 522-24. 35-43.
xi.	8	920-22	Healing of Issue, of Blood	Mk 525-34.
xii.	9	927-31	Healing of Two Blind Men	? ? Mk 1046-52.
xiii.	10	932-34	Healing of Dumb Demoniac	? ? <i>Logia</i> ; cf. Lk 1114. 15. also Mt 1222-24.

But the origin of the sections numbered xii. and xiii. is very obscure; they may perhaps be merely echoes of oral tradition, or they may be unverified memories of Matthew's own records of miracles, which he may have prepared or set apart for insertion in Mt 20<sup>29-34</sup> and 12<sup>22-24</sup> respectively.

Now in selecting and compiling materials for these thirteen sections, Matthew seems to have had *three purposes* (A, B, C) more or less distinctly in view.

## A

In no part of his Gospel, from 1<sup>22</sup> to 27<sup>10</sup>, does he forget his purpose of *exhibiting the correspondences between Christian history and Jewish prophecy*. In this division of the Gospel he takes the only opportunity of doing this which presents itself to him. He retains a brief general account of activity in healing on a certain evening, which he finds in Mk 1<sup>32-34</sup> in connexion with one of specialized miracles which it is his main business (see C, below) to record in detail; and having, after his manner, further abbreviated it by the omission of certain repetitions, and of the picturesque incident of 'all the city' being 'gathered at the door,' he declares these works of power and mercy to be a destined fulfilment of Is 53<sup>4</sup>. So we may account for our sec. iv., Mt 8<sup>16, 17</sup>.

## B

Matthew also bears in mind here that the next of the five bodies of collected sayings, which he has planned to insert into the Marcan framework of his Gospel, will relate to the *mission of the Twelve Apostles*, and will necessarily be prefaced by an account of that mission. Therefore he includes in the division now before us any details he can find as to the calling of those who were to become apostles, or at least members of that body of disciples out of whom the apostles were to be chosen. He had already described the calling of the four fishermen in the course of that earlier part of his narrative in which his order agrees with that of Mark (Mt 4<sup>18-22</sup>, Mk 1<sup>16-20</sup>); and the Johannine tradition of the call of Philip and of Nathanael (Jn 1<sup>43-51</sup>) does not seem to have been known to him. So there are only two such passages which he finds reason to introduce here.

(a) One of them is the call of Levi-Matthew (Mt 9<sup>9-13</sup> = Mk 2<sup>13-17</sup>), which he has preserved in its Marcan sequence after the healing of the paralytic. This he has done, not because there was any very close connexion (p. 281*b*) between the two incidents—for it is only he himself who supplies such a close connexion by his addition of the word *ἐκεῖθεν*,—but merely because there was no reason for removing the second of them from the place in which he found it. Naturally this

compiler would be especially desirous to preserve the record of the call of that apostle whose *Logia* (if we adopt provisionally the hypothesis now very largely held) he was using so constantly in his Gospel, that it came to be known by the very name of Matthew. It is no doubt surprising that the discussion on fasting (Mk 2<sup>18-22</sup> = Mt 9<sup>14-17</sup>) is also retained here, instead of being relegated, with the rubbing of the ears of corn, and the healing of the withered hand (Mk 2<sup>23-36</sup>), to what may be termed the anti-Pharisaic division of the Gospel in chap. 12. But probably the connexion in Mark appeared in this instance to be too close to be broken: there we read that the disciples of John *ἤσαν νηστεύοντες* (2<sup>18</sup>), *i.e.* not 'used to fast' (A.V.), but 'were fasting' (R.V.) at the time of this particular feast, which therefore they were unable to partake of. So in this place at least Matthew's *τότε* expresses an exact identity of time, and there seems to be no reason for regarding this as one of the cases in which Matthew 'makes a temporal connexion of what in Mark is merely topical' (*Expositor's Gk. Test., in loc.*), though no doubt there are several such cases elsewhere.

(*b*) There is a less strong probability, but still, I think, a considerable one, that another passage was inserted here among the miracles, because it also prepared the way for the selection and mission of the Twelve, which were to be recorded in chap. 10. I refer to our sec. v., which contains the (probably Logian) records of the 'Two Aspirants,' and of the receptions that they met with (Mt 8<sup>18-22</sup> = Lk 9<sup>57-60</sup>). Mr. A. Wright (*Gospel of St. Luke*, p. 93) suggests that 'perhaps St. Matthew thought that both these aspirants became apostles, for "Follow me" generally led to that.' And it certainly is a remarkable support to this suggestion that Luke connects at least the second case with evangelistic work—'but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.' (In Luke, however, the connexion, if any, would be with the mission of the Seventy, which he is just going to relate, rather than with that of the Twelve.) But at anyrate, even if neither of these particular men was thought by Matthew to have become an apostle, he might well think that the records of both of them would serve to show how Jesus tried and sifted each member of that whole band of disciples out of whom the Twelve were to be selected. And if he did wish, for this or any similar reason, to insert these two Logia into this portion of his Gospel,



certainly the most appropriate place for them would be that which he has chosen. He places them at the time when the disciples were to pass over with their Master from the neighbourhood of their homes, and from the populous plain of Gennesaret to the rougher, wilder, thinly inhabited country on the other side of the lake; and that is the time at which there would be seen, as there probably had not been seen before, the likelihood both of physical hardships and of the necessary omission or postponement of domestic and family duties, for those who would follow Jesus whithersoever He went.

Thus, then, we may account for our secs. ix. and v., as we had previously accounted for our sec. iv.; and, accordingly, there remain only ten of the thirteen sections for consideration under the third and most important heading.

### C

Each of these ten sections contains a single miracle, which is recorded with more or less fullness of detail, in pursuance of what we have seen to be Matthew's primary purpose in this division of his Gospel, namely, the purpose of giving *examples and illustrations of the miraculous activities of Jesus Christ*, especially in the early part of His ministry. So prominent was this purpose of his here that he has placed in these two chapters exactly as many separate records of miracles as we find in the whole of the rest of his Gospel.

As to the *ten* miracles thus collected here, the first question must be, Is the number of them accidental or designed? And in attempting to answer that question, I come to the only points of any importance as to which I am unable to agree with Mr. Allen. There are two such points, closely connected with one another.

(a) He regards these miracles as nine, not as ten. He is entitled to do this only by including the healing of the issue of blood with the raising of the daughter of Jairus (9<sup>18-26</sup>). But is there any adequate reason for doing so? Surely the former miracle is a distinct and separate one, and none the less so because it took place between the request of Jairus and the fulfilment of that request. And as such Matthew appears to have regarded it when he concluded his record of it with his formula, 'was made whole from that very hour,' which is such as he uses also as the conclusion to other similar narratives of healing (8<sup>13</sup> 15<sup>28</sup> 17<sup>18</sup>).

(β) Taking, then, the number of these illustrative miracles as nine, Mr. Allen suggests, as an account of their position and order, that they are arranged in three 'triplets' (pp. 281a, 282a). And certainly a considerable amount of probability is given to this suggestion by the reference which follows to Matthew's habit, now generally acknowledged, of 'grouping his incidents in numerical groups' (p. 281a), combined with the appended list of instances in which he 'shows a predilection for the number *three*' (see note on p. 284). I should be disposed slightly to shorten that list; at any rate I should omit Mt 4<sup>3-11</sup>, because Luke also records three temptations, which therefore must have been found in the source common to both evangelists. And when that excision is made from the list, Mt 12<sup>1-24</sup> (containing three instances of Pharisaic hostility) is the only passage, except those now under consideration in chaps. 8 and 9, in which *incidents* are arranged in a triad. All the other cases, except of course the genealogy which stands by itself, are instances of the arrangement of matter in *discourses*. To this distinction reference has to be made again presently.

I feel that there is not a little to be said for the first two triplets of miracles having been arranged intentionally, namely, 'the three miracles of healing of typical diseases (leprosy, paralysis, fever)' in 8<sup>1-15</sup> (p. 281a), and the 'triplet of miracles (p. 282a) illustrative of Christ's authority over forces natural (8<sup>23-27</sup>), demoniacal (8<sup>28-34</sup>), and spiritual (forgiveness of sins, 9<sup>1-8</sup>). In both cases it will be noticed that the triad is followed by a kind of break in the catalogue of special miracles, *i.e.* by the sections numbered above as iv. and ix. And in the second triplet the ascending scale from insensate nature upwards is very remarkable; the only question is whether it is not too subtle and (in no bad sense of the word) too artificial to have been designed by any of the Synoptists, though in the Fourth Gospel we should have been more prepared to find it. But when we pass to the third of the triplets, the theory seems to me to break down altogether. Not only, as we have seen above, are there *four* miracles remaining to be reckoned; but if we get rid of that difficulty by ignoring the healing of the issue of blood, the three miracles which remain are hardly such as could be congruously grouped together as a 'triplet' (see 9<sup>18-34</sup>). It is suggested that they are chosen as 'illustrative of Christ's power to



restore life, sight, and hearing' (p. 282a). But they are miracles of such very different degrees of importance that the idea of restoration seems quite insufficient to distinguish them as a special class. And when we look at the order of the three items in this supposed class, there is in the descent from 'life' to 'sight' and 'hearing' an anti-climax which we cannot easily attribute to the compiler who *ex hypothesi* arranged so skilfully the ascending scale of miracles in the second triplet.

As I have elsewhere pointed out (*Horæ Synopticae*, p. 134), but as I would now explain more fully, I believe that if any of those numerical arrangements of which Matthew was undoubtedly fond is to be detected here, it will be found in the use of the number *ten*, and not of the number three. No doubt three was a number in frequent use among Jewish writers. Hershon, in his *Talmudic Miscellany*, which I understand to be a trustworthy compilation, gives (pp. 36-67) 64 instances of 'The Threes of the Talmud,' but none of these (or indeed of the other favourite numbers, such as 4 and 7) refer to collections of miraculous or exceptional occurrences, while a very large number of the 'Threes' are concerned with moral and practical teaching, as we saw just now to be mainly the case with what we may call 'The Threes of St. Matthew.' But when we turn to the 51 'Tens of the Talmud,' which Hershon has collected (pp. 128-147), we find some of them referring to matters similar to those which Matthew is collecting in these chapters. Not only is ten a favourite number for computations generally, as is naturally and obviously the case among all nations, but in Hebrew sacred literature there seems to have been a tendency, from the records of the Ten Plagues onwards, to collect into decades the accounts of any unusual appearances or interventions of supernatural power. Thus, as is well known, we read in *Pirge Aboth*, v. 5 (p. 81, ed. Taylor, or Hershon, p. 144), 'Ten miracles were wrought for our fathers in Egypt, and ten by the sea'; and as Dr. Taylor shows in his note *ad loc.*, the 'ten by the sea' are made up in various artificial ways from the account of the passage of the Israelites through the sea, and the drowning of the Egyptians.' [There is perhaps also an attempt in the next verse, *P.A.* v. 6, to enumerate a second decade of plagues brought upon the Egyptians by the sea, but the saying is of doubtful genuineness, being perhaps a gloss on the preceding verse (Taylor's

*Crit. Note*.)] Again, we read in *Pirge Aboth*, v. 8 (p. 81 ff., ed. Taylor; or Hershon, p. 132), 'Ten miracles were wrought in the sanctuary.' They are such proofs of divine interposition and preservation as these, 'The holy meat never stank; a fly was not seen in the slaughter-house; a defect was not found in the sheaf, nor in the two loaves, nor in the shewbread; serpent and scorpion harmed not in Jerusalem.' Again, Hershon (p. 145) quotes from another source, 'Ten times the Shekinah came down into the world'; *i.e.* at the Garden of Edom, at the time of the Tower, . . . on Mount Sinai, . . . in the pillar of cloud, etc. And another saying, 'Ten things were created during the twilight of the first Sabbath eve' (Hershon, p. 132), though it does not at first appear to bear upon our present point, really does so. For the 'ten things,' when the list of them is examined, appear to have been mainly, if not exclusively, preparations for future miracles or for what were regarded as specially divine gifts; they consist of 'The well that followed Israel in the wilderness, the manna, the rainbow, the letters of the alphabet, the stylus, the tables of the law, the grave of Moses, the cave in which Moses and Elijah stood, the opening of the mouth of Balaam's ass, the opening of the earth to swallow the wicked.'

Without unduly pressing these few instances of decades of supernatural occurrences, I think that, unless some set-off against them can be produced from the similar use of other numbers in Jewish literature, they are enough to show that, if any number was aimed at by the Jewish-Christian compiler of this list of miracles, the number is likely to have been *ten*. As to whether any number at all was aimed at I am much less certain; and yet, unless there was some reason for making up a list of a certain length, it is very difficult, as we shall see in the second part of this article, to account for the inclusion in that list of the two brief miracles with which it ends (9<sup>27-31</sup>, 32-34). Of course my hypothesis does not necessarily require that Matthew should have compiled this list of ten miracles for the purpose of this division of his Gospel. I should think it quite as likely, if not more likely, that he had previously made for catechetical purposes, or had adopted from some other teacher, such a list in accordance with the conventional Jewish number, and that now he utilized it, or at least referred to it, again.

(To be continued.)

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

### HEBREWS IX. 13, 14.

**'For if the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling them that have been defiled, sanctify unto the cleanness of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish unto God, cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?'** (R.V.)

### EXPOSITION.

THE effect of the Melchisedec high priest's ministry was briefly stated in the words 'obtained eternal redemption,' v.<sup>12</sup>. This statement is now sustained by argument, and by contrasting the Son's offering with the Levitical ordinances. It is probable that in these verses, just as in v.<sup>15</sup>, etc., the author does not adhere to the formal high-priestly ministry in the sanctuary, though he includes this, but views the sacrifice of the Son as a whole. A comparison is drawn between the blood of beasts and other purifying media of the Levitical ritual and the blood of Christ. The comparison is twofold—first as to the comparative effectiveness of the two; and second as to the spheres within which they are respectively effectual. The blood of goats and the ashes of an heifer purify—much more will the blood of Christ. The former sanctify to the purity of the flesh—the latter will purify the conscience.—DAVIDSON.

**'The blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer.'**—Both the Levitical remedies for uncleanness are spoken of as availing merely for the purity of the flesh. The statement is strictly applicable to the ashes of the heifer, for the sole design of that peculiar institution was to make a man technically clean whose person had come into contact with a corpse. But it may seem rather depreciatory to say of the blood shed on the Day of Atonement that it availed only to the purifying of the flesh, seeing the express purpose of the sacrifices offered on that day was to make atonement for the sins of Israel. Yet practically, and in effect, the representation is correct. These sacrifices did not purge the conscience, but only the persons of the worshippers. Grave moral offences they did not even profess to deal with, but only with technical offences against religious ritual. And their effect was just that which followed application of the ashes of the heifer, the removal of technical disability to serve God.—BRUCE.

**'Sanctify unto the cleanness of the flesh.'**—May mean *sanctify, producing purity* of the flesh, in which case the last words define what sanctity means; or *sanctify in reference* to the purity of the flesh—defining the sphere within which the sanctity is produced.—DAVIDSON.

**'How much more shall the blood of Christ.'**—The superior efficacy of Christ's blood is based generally on the considerations that His sacrifice was: (1) Voluntary, not by constraint as in the case of the animal sacrifices of the law. (2) Rational, and not animal. (3) Spontaneous, not

in obedience to a direct commandment. (4) Moral, an offering of Himself by the action of the highest power in Himself, whereby He stood in connexion with God, and not a mere mechanical performance of a prescribed rite.—WESTCOTT.

**'Through the eternal Spirit.'**—Christ's sacrifice was one in which *spirit* was concerned, as opposed to the legal sacrifices in which flesh and blood only were concerned. The important thing in connexion with the latter was the simple fact that the blood was shed and sprinkled according to the rubric. The important thing in Christ's sacrifice was, not the fact that His blood was shed, but the spirit in which it was shed. Then, further, we have no difficulty in determining the ethical character of the spirit in which Christ offered Himself. It was a *free, loving, holy* spirit. But the writer, it is observable, omits mention of these moral qualities, and employs instead another epithet, which in the connexion of thought it was more important to specify. . . . That epithet is *eternal*. The apparent purpose it is meant to serve is, to explain how it comes that the sacrifice of Christ has perpetual validity, how it obtained *eternal* redemption.—BRUCE.

UPON the whole, therefore, the phrase 'through eternal Spirit' seems to be of a piece with that in 7<sup>16</sup> 'became priest according to the power of an indissoluble life.' The eternal Spirit and the indissoluble life are not identical: the former is the basis of the latter. The expression describes the essential being of the Son, Spirit; and the attribute of it, eternal. This Being, carrying with it an indestructible life, enabled the Son, though dying as an offering, yet as again a living High Priest, to minister the highest act of His own offering in the Sanctuary on high.—DAVIDSON.

**'Cleanse your conscience from dead works.'**—It relieves the mind from that shameful burden of a sense of impurity and alienation, which, making of the inward man a living corpse, produces only works (and among them even those of apparent legal righteousness) in which no pulses of the higher life are found.—DELITZSCH.

**'To serve the living God.'**—Purity is not the end but the means of the new life. The end of the restored fellowship is energetic service to Him who alone lives and gives life. The thought of performing certain actions is replaced by that of fulfilling a personal relation.—WESTCOTT.

### METHODS OF TREATMENT.

#### I.

#### The Forgiveness of the Law and of the Gospel.

*By the Right Rev. F. Temple, D.D.*

In the comparison drawn between the sacrifices of the Law and that of our Lord, the difference insisted on is the powerlessness of the one, the power of the other. The sacrifices of the Law could not take away sin, therefore they had to



be repeated. The sacrifice of the gospel was offered once only because it 'perfected for ever them that are sanctified.'

Two objections occur. (1) Had the offerers of those old sacrifices not the right to consider themselves forgiven? Yes, but they sinned again, and needed the sacrifice again. They were not cleansed as well as forgiven. (2) Must we not say the same of Christians? If they are forgiven, do they sin no more? Sacrifice under the Law gave the worshipper the sense of forgiveness because it was the appointed means of approaching God. He might learn from it, as an allegory, the heinousness of sin, and that its forgiveness was connected with the death of the victim which pointed to his own life forfeited but spared. But though the sin was cancelled, the sacrifice did not profess to make him a new creature. By the sacrifice of Christ we receive not bare forgiveness only, but a new heart. The love of our Saviour in His death speaks to our conscience, unites us to God, assures us that we are His children. The Christian may sin again,—it may be possible for him to fall away altogether,—but in the Cross he has a new strength, and power of resistance.

The forgiveness of the two covenants differs then, not in degree, but in nature. The Cross is more than remission of sins, it is a source of strength, present not future. Will God who has given you so much refuse you this? Throw yourself on this strength in temptation, and you will find you *can* obey, however weak you feel.

Lastly, the Cross is a call. It is a source of strength to those who know their weakness, and long to be free from sin. If we have few temptations to teach us our weakness and little to awaken the sense of sin, the Cross of Christ calls us to live for the God who loved so much. To the penitent the Cross of Christ says, 'Thy sin hath not quenched my love.' To the struggling it says, 'My strength is sufficient for thee.' To every soul it has a message, and it calls us to the loving arms of God who has been our Father, even when we knew it not.

## II.

### The Cleansing Blood.

*By the Rev. H. P. Liddon, D.D.*

The stress laid in the Bible upon the blood of Christ is very striking. Modern feeling would

lead us to give it a subordinate place. We shrink from anything harrowing to the feelings. Yet the New Testament is strongly in contrast to this feeling. In the Gospels every painful incident of the Passion is recorded, especially such as involved the shedding of Christ's blood; in the writings of the apostles, the shedding of His blood might almost seem the main purpose of His death. How must we account for the prominence assigned to it?

It is sometimes answered that the language of the apostles is that of metaphor and symbol, borrowed from the Old Testament, and used for their own purposes. This explanation is unworthy of the seriousness of the men and of the subject. If they used Old Testament language about the Jewish sacrifices to describe Christ's atoning work, it was because they believed there was a real relation between the two things; the Jewish sacrifices were types of the sacrificed Son of God.

The writer has in his mind the rites of the Day of Atonement, and the sprinkling of blood. But why should this effusion of blood have been so prominent in these rites? Why should Christ's blood, rather than His pierced hands or His thorn-crowned head, be the symbol of His Passion and Death? In all languages blood is the proof and warrant of affection and sacrifice. The blood of the soldier who dies for duty, of the martyr who dies for truth, of the man who dies that another may live,—such blood is the embodiment of the highest moral powers in human life, and these were all represented in the Blood of Christ. But it involves more. Blood is closely connected with the principle of life. It is its basis and support. This is assumed when Scripture speaks of the blood as the life or soul,—that is the sensitive soul possessed in common with animals, the existence of the spirit is independent of bodily life, and will survive it. But in Christ there was more than body, soul, and spirit—the Divine Nature. The contrast is between the Eternal Spiritual Nature vivifying the blood of Christ, and the perishable life of the sacrificed animal resident in its blood. The value of the sacrifice varies with the dignity of the life represented. 'How much more the blood of Christ.' The sacrifices on the Day of Atonement could restore the Israelite to his place in the sacred nation. Here is the blood of God made manifest in the flesh.



Who shall limit the power of His voluntary sacrifice? Its power is limitless, but the writer restrains himself to one result—'shall purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.'

This Blood of Christ is still the secret power of all that invigorates or purifies souls. It tinges the water of the baptismal font, to the eyes of faith. It makes effective the declaration of the absolution and remission of sins. It refreshes and strengthens our souls in Communion. By it we 'have boldness to enter into the holiest' in prayer. Who does not need to be sprinkled with it? What are our lives, our thoughts in the eyes of our Judge? Our works may be not only soulless and dead, but actively evil. It befits us to pray, not merely 'Purge my conscience from dead works to serve the living God,' but 'Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin.' And if we pray, the Eternal Spirit will sprinkle us with the precious blood, and the old promise to Israel will hold good, 'When I see the blood I will pass over; and the plague shall not be upon you.'

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE sacred connotations of the word 'Blood' among the Jews were the absolute antithesis of those which we attach to it. The Blood of Christ 'cleanses our consciences from dead works to serve a living God,' because 'the Blood of Christ' is the symbol, *not of His death*, but of His Eternal Life. . . . 'The Blood of Christ' is not simply the price by which the redeemed were purchased, but the power by which they were quickened so as to be capable of belonging to God.—F. W. FARRAR.

To heart and soul how sweet Thou art,  
O great High Priest of God!  
My heart brought nigh to God's own heart  
By Thy most precious blood.

No more my countless sins shall rise  
To fill me with dismay—  
That precious blood before His eyes  
Hath put them all away.

My soul draws near with trust secure,  
With boldness glad and free;  
What matters it that I am poor,  
For I am rich in Thee.

Forgotten every stain and spot,  
Their memory past and gone,  
For me, O God, Thou seest not,  
Thou lookest on Thy Son.

Is all a dream? Thou canst not lie.  
Thy Spirit and Thy Blood  
Proclaim to sinners such as I  
The boundless love of God.

They tell Thy Love, so deep, so free,  
They tell the Father's heart—  
Not what I am, or I must be,  
They tell me what Thou art.

Come, weary sinners, great and small,  
The open door stands wide,  
Thy blessed heart that welcomes all,  
O Lamb of God, who died.

G. TER STEEGEN.

WHEN a collection was being counted after an enthusiastic missionary meeting, a small piece of paper was found in the plate, on which was the one word 'Myself.' It was put in by a young man who had given himself that night to the service of Christ in the foreign field.

**Dead Works.**—Works that are not good in that their motive is good, nor bad in that their motive is bad, but dead in that they have no motive at all,—in that they are merely outward and mechanical,—affairs of propriety, routine, and form, to which the heart and spirit contribute nothing, 'Dead works': to how much of our lives, ay, of the better and religious side of our lives, may not this vivid and stern expression justly apply? How many acts in the day are gone through without intention, without deliberation, without effort, to consecrate them to God, without any reflex effect upon the faith and love of the doer? How many prayers and words and deeds are of this character; and if so, how are they wrapping our spirits round with bandages of insincere habit, on which already the avenging angels may have traced the motto, 'Thou hast a name that Thou livest and art dead'? The blood of Christ delivers from much else; but especially from those dead works. For as the blood of the slain animal means the life of the animal, so the blood of Christ crucified means the life of Christ,—His Life who is eternal Truth and eternal Charity. And thus when a Christian man feels its redemptive touch within him, he has a motive—varying in strength, but always powerful—for being genuine. He means his deeds, his words, his prayers. He knows that life is a solemn thing, and has tremendous issues; he measures these issues by the value of the redeeming blood. If Christ has shed His blood, surely life is well worth living; it is worth saving. A new energy is thrown into everything; a new interest lights up all the surrounding circumstances,—the incidents of life, its opportunities, its trials, its failures, its successes,—the character and disposition of friends, the public occurrences of the time, and the details of the home—are looked at with eyes which see nothing that is indifferent; and when all is meant for God's glory, though there may and must be much weakness and inconsistency, the conscience is practically purged from dead works to serve the living God.—H. P. LIDDON.

### The Conscience Cleansed.

HERE on earth a temple stands,  
Temple never built with hands;  
There the Lord doth fill the place  
With the glory of His grace.  
Cleansed by Christ's atoning Blood,  
Thou art this fair House of God.  
Thoughts, desires, that enter there,  
Should they not be pure and fair?  
Meet for holy courts and blest,  
Courts of stillness and of rest,  
Where the soul, a priest in white,  
Singeth praises day and night;  
Glory of the love divine  
Filling all this heart of thine.

HEINRICH SUSO.

### Sermons for Reference.

Body (G.), *The Guided Life*, 103.  
Brown (A.), *God's Great Salvation*, 236.

Bruce (A. B.), *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 326.  
Burns (J. D.), *Memoir and Remains*, 344.  
Candlish (J. S.), *Holy Spirit*, 39.  
Fleming (J.), *Gospel in Leviticus*, 37.  
Hoare (E.), *Sanctification*, 23.  
Holland (C.), *Gleanings from a Ministry of Fifty Years*, 173.  
Kingsley (C.), *Discipline*, 50.  
Liddon (H. P.), *Passiontide Sermons*, 69.  
Manning (H. E.), *Sermons*, i. 242.  
Matheson (G.), *Voices of the Spirit*, 215.  
Melvill (H.), *Fifty Sermons from the Penny Pulpit*, 343.  
Meyer (F. B.), *Way into the Holiest*, 136.  
Milligan (W.), *Resurrection of Our Lord*, 304.  
Paget (E. C.), *Silence*, 104.  
Saphir (A.), *Expository Lectures on Hebrews*, ii. 123.  
Selby (T. G.), *Holy Spirit and Christian Privilege*, 25.  
Spurgeon (C. H.), *Christ in the Old Testament*, 439.  
Stewart (J.), *Outlines of Discourses*, 49.  
Temple (F.), *Rugby Sermons*, iii. 165.  
Vallings (J. F.), *Holy Spirit of Promise*, 173.  
Vaughan (C. J.), *Epiphany, Lent, and Easter*, 195.

## Contributions and Comments.

### Apologetics in Criticism.

I HARDLY know whether it is necessary for me to make any further reply to Mr. Moffatt. It is true that I failed to guess, as I imagine that many besides myself would fail to guess, what exactly it was that he intended to single out for reprobation. As to the sentences which he now quotes, I can only say that, whatever their demerits, apologetics had nothing to do with them—unless it be apologetics to write as a Christian.

I see that 'p. v' of Dr. Plummer's commentary is 'p. vii' in my edition.

For the rest, must I refer Mr. Moffatt to the May number of the *Critical Review*, p. 253 f.?

Oxford.

W. SANDAY.

### The Wells of Beersheba.

AFTER reading your short account in the June number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES of Professor Robinson's interesting discoveries in Beersheba, some of your readers might be induced to believe that there were five, six, or even seven wells to be

seen in Beersheba when I visited that place in February 1899, and that I failed to see more than three of them. I should be thankful if you would state that till the beginning of 1900 there were really only three wells in use and visible, and that the opening or reopening of the others is quite a recent fact. If you kindly recur to my letter from Jerusalem, 4th March 1899, which you printed in your issue of April 1899, you will see (a) that the citation of my letter, as given by Professor Robinson in the *Biblical World*, p. 248, is not a very accurate one; (b) that I did not exclude the possibility of recovering other wells, but, on the contrary, admitted expressly that this was possible, and even suggested the eventual place of a long-buried well; (c) that in my letter to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES I brought to notice that Beersheba, after many generations of total forlornness, had just gone through a recent change, that some permanent inhabitants had settled there, that a *khân* had been built and the old wells been repaired. Professor Robinson's new discoveries show that this process has been continued by the clearing up of other wells and by the establishment of a Turkish Kaimakam.

I may add that it was not Dr. Trumbull's com-

munication in the November number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, 1896, but Mr. Selbie's and Professor Driver's articles in the July and September numbers of the same year, that raised the question in your columns and led me to repeat in 1899 the visit I had already made in Beersheba in 1894, the account of which had attracted the attention of the two scholars I have named.

LUCIEN GAUTIER.

*Geneva.*

### 'Lord' and 'the Lord' in the Gospels.

THE article in the June number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES was submitted in proof to a scholar, who wrote certain criticisms on the margin, and unfortunately the proof on which these notes appeared was sent to press. The following corrections are therefore necessary. On page 426 omit 'No doubt it refers to Jehovah or the *αἰών* would be otiose.' For 'oral tradition' read 'translation,' and omit footnote 3. On page 427 omit 'St. Mark's is the Archaic Gospel. In later times the tendency to multiply terms of reverence and respect for our Lord is to be expected'; and 'I doubt this: oral tradition would quite easily produce this variation.'

JOHN REID.

*Dundee.*

### 1 Corinthians xi. 23-34.

THERE is no passage better known and none more generally misinterpreted than this. The seed of this misinterpretation is to be found in the unfortunate word 'damnation' in v.<sup>29</sup>. And although this is now universally read 'judgment,' much of the old misunderstanding remains.

The popular view is that this passage contemplates the distinction between those who are and those who are not true Christians. There is, however, no justification for this view in the passage itself. On the contrary, Paul is writing to those whom he calls 'my brethren' (v.<sup>33</sup>), and we have in v.<sup>32</sup> the contrast between 'we' and 'the world.'

The passage refers exclusively to Christians, and deals exclusively with their preparation for sitting

at the Lord's table and the manner in which they observe the ordinance. Self-examination is necessary in preparation, and discernment of the Lord's body is necessary in observance. If these are not present, then judgment follows. But what is this judgment? We are plainly told in v.<sup>32</sup> that it is the chastening of the Lord, the purpose of which is that those to whom it is administered may not be condemned with the world. Here then we have an application of the principle that 'whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth.' But the apostle teaches us that we may avoid this chastening—'if we would judge ourselves we should not be judged,' *i.e.* if we examine ourselves we may gain salutary self-knowledge without the affliction which otherwise God will send upon us to accomplish the same end. There are then, as Godet points out, three degrees of judgment spoken of in the passage—judging ourselves (*διακρίνεσθαι*); to be judged, *i.e.* to be chastened (*κρίνεσθαι*); to be condemned (*κατακρίνεσθαι*). The last of these three is not specially associated with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Whereas the first two are.

What, then, is the practical emphasis of the whole passage? Clearly this rests upon adequate preparation for the observance of the Sacrament on every occasion and not on the necessity of being a true believer. And it is very desirable that right views on this matter should prevail. For the Church has lost much through the perversion of this passage. The Lord's Supper has been invested with a kind of awfulness which has taken the place of its proper solemnity, and has degraded the nature of the reverence with which it is regarded. Again, the view is very prevalent that if a man is satisfied that he is a true believer, that is all the preparation he requires. In this way the practical value of the Sacrament as a means of grace has been seriously weakened. The remarkable thing about Paul's language here is, not the solemn way in which he speaks of a peculiarly odious form of false profession,—for he is not speaking of this at all,—but rather the solemn way in which he rebukes those who lightly regard the observance of the Supper, and do not make a Communion season a time of very special self-examination and prayer.

ANDREW N. BOGLE.

*Larbert, Stirlingshire.*



## Christ's Names in St. John's Gospel.

THE Gospel according to St. John is that which, of all the four, propounds the most sublime view of the person of our Saviour, and sets forth most strongly His claims to the allegiance of mankind; and it is a remarkable fact (even when allowing for the arbitrary nature of our stichometry) that in its first chapter almost all His names and titles are recorded, as though to impress on the reader as powerfully as possible the personality of Him to whom it witnesses. In no other part of the New Testament is He spoken of by so many appellations in so small a space.

Thus in ver. 1 we find Him called 'the Word' and 'God,' and in ver. 14 'the only begotten of the Father.' In ver. 18 we read, 'the only begotten Son,' where many important manuscripts, including the Sinaitic and the Vatican, with the ancient Peshito-Syriac version, read, 'the only begotten God.' In ver. 49 we have Nathanael's confession of Him as 'the Son of God,' while in his reply, in ver. 51, He speaks of Himself as 'the Son of Man,' as though to emphasize the contrast of His divine and human natures. In ver. 30 St. John the Baptist speaks of Him definitely as 'a man'; not, indeed, using the Greek word for a mere human being (*ἄνθρωπος*), but that which more particularly implies manly characteristics (*ἀνὴρ*). The vulgar opinion of the Jews is given in ver. 45, where St. Philip speaks of Him as 'the son of Joseph.'

In ver. 29 and elsewhere He is simply named 'Jesus,' while in ver. 17 we find this combined with 'Christ'—'the Christ,' whom St. John the Baptist speaks of in ver. 20. In ver. 41 St. Andrew gives the original Hebrew of this title, 'the Messiah,' the evangelist duly interpreting it for his Greek-speaking readers; while the end of His Messiahship is set forth in ver. 49, where Nathanael acknowledges Him as 'the King of Israel.' His popular title is given in ver. 45 'Jesus of Nazareth.'

In His great office as the Revealer of the God-head and Teacher of the highest Wisdom, He is called not only 'the Word,' but also, in ver. 5, 'the Light,' and again, in ver. 9, 'the True Light'; while one mode of His enlightenment of mankind is pointed out in ver. 33, where the Baptist is taught to recognize Him as 'He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.' 'That Prophet' (in the original simply 'the Prophet'), ver. 21, is another of His titles in this office, as we may see by referring to St. Peter's speech (Acts iii. 20-23). In recognition of this, the two disciples of St. John, in ver. 38, address Him as 'Rabbi,' which the evangelist interprets as 'Master,' and which again

Nathanael uses in ver. 49. His Mastership, in another sense, is asserted in ver. 23, where He is spoken of as 'the Lord' by that forerunner who, having thus indicated His greatness, shortly afterwards points to His gentleness and self-sacrifice as 'the Lamb of God' (vers. 29, 36), as he had already done to His humility, in ver. 26—'One whom ye know not.'

One more title remains, which is not so distinct in the English as in the Greek, and which we find in ver. 15 and in the original of ver. 27—'He that cometh' (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*—literally, 'the Coming One'). This is often applied to Him in the New Testament, but its emphatic beauty and appropriateness have been obscured in both our Authorized and Revised translations. ALEX. B. ORR.

## John viii. 57 in the Codex Vaticanus.

IN THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, vol. xii. p. 417, Mrs. A. S. Lewis repeats the statement suggested to her by the late Mr. Theodore Harris, that in the Codex Vaticanus the first hand had probably written ΕΟΡΑΚΕΕ. From her earlier publication (*In the Shadow of Sinai*) I had adduced this reading, which is not mentioned by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Fabiani, or any other textual critic, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, col. 176, as proof for my Ceterum censeo, that two or four sharp eyes—but not 'three,' as the English translation of my Introduction, p. 289, makes me say—should revise the statements current about B throughout the whole of the N.T. For this passage, as mentioned in the book just quoted, I tried to do it myself, but did not succeed in finding any trace of the correction mentioned by Mr. Theodore Harris. The ο has been changed into ω, the second ε erased and replaced by α, so as to give εωρακας for εορακες. The free space of two letters after s is meant to divide the sentences. Among the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES there are certainly some who have better access to the photograph of B than the present writer. It would be interesting if they were to communicate their impression. The custom of B to retain the ν ἐφελευστικόν before consonants is against the supposed reading εώρακέ σε, the first hand would have written εορακενσε, and of this reading there is no trace at all. EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

DID our Lord ever speak in irony? It has been said that He did, and examples have been produced. One of the examples has been found in Mk 14<sup>41</sup>, 'Sleep on now, and take your rest.' How could Jesus say that in earnest, it has been asked, when immediately after He has to say, 'Arise, let us be going'?

In a little book called *Here and There in the Greek New Testament* (published by Revell in Chicago, and by Allenson in London), Professor Potwin, of the Western Reserve University, considers that passage. He does not believe that there is irony in it. He believes that if we read the narrative of the Agony in the Garden right through, keeping the eyes of our imagination open, we shall see that there is no irony in it.

Three times Jesus went away a little from the disciples to endure the Agony alone, and yet be not too far away from human sympathy. Twice He returned and awoke them from sleep. He gently chided, but kindly excused them. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak. He returns for the third time. This time He does not awake them at once. With eyes of pity He looks upon the forlorn 'o'erwatched' friends. He speaks a few tender words to ears that do not hear. 'Sleep on now,' He says, 'and take your rest: it is enough, the hour is come; behold, the

Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.' He speaks, but they do not hear. They are taking their rest. And for their sakes He could wish that Judas would delay his coming. But it may not be. He hears the steady tread of Judas' band. In simple words He wakes them now: 'Arise, let us be going. Behold, he that betrayeth me is at hand.'

The first part of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1901 has been published. Its first article is on the Address and Destination of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. It is written by Professor W. B. Smith of Tulane University.

Professor Smith does not believe that St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was written for the Romans or sent to Rome. It is true that in the seventh verse of the first chapter are found the words, 'to all that are in Rome.' But Professor Smith believes that these words are spurious. After going through the evidence against them, he says that three things about them are 'as certain as anything of the kind can be.' First, that both in the East and in the West, from very early times, there existed a text without any mention of Rome in this verse; second, that this text was considered so authoritative as to be adopted by the two earliest commentators, Origen and Ambrosiaster, though neither doubted that the Epistle was

addressed to Romans; third, that the idea that the destination was Rome established itself in the minds of men generations before the expression of this destination established itself in at least some of the best MSS.

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But we pass to the fifteenth verse of the same chapter, and read the words, 'I am ready to preach the gospel to you also that are in Rome.' Professor Smith believes that here again we have an early interpolation. For again there are good MSS. which omit the words 'in Rome.' He supposes that some early scribe, thinking that so great an Epistle could only have been written for so great a church, placed the words 'in Rome' on his margin, and scribes who followed him complacently received them into their text. Professor Smith reckons it easy to account for their introduction when once the church in Rome had become famous; but it is inconceivable to him that any scribe could have omitted them after that, and omitted them from both the places where they were found.

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Professor Smith does not understand how any one who reads the Epistle can believe that it was addressed to Rome. How could there have been in Rome at the time when this Epistle was written a community of Christians to whom it could be said, 'Your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world?' And if there were such a community then, how could it be that afterwards, when the apostle arrived in Rome, the leading Jews there knew practically nothing either of him or of Christianity? Wendt is struck with this incongruity, and suggests that Luke has deliberately misrepresented the facts. Professor Smith thinks it more likely that we have misunderstood the letter. If you ask to whom the letter was written, he does not know. He only knows that it was not written to Romans.

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There is no easier way of marking the progress of English Etymology within the last twenty years

than by comparing the earliest (1882) and the latest (1901) editions of Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary*. And there is no better word to select for comparison than GOSPEL.

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In the old edition we were told that Gospel did not originally mean 'good news' but 'life of Christ.' For there were in Anglo-Saxon two words with the same spelling, but with a difference in the length of the vowel. The word with a short vowel, *gōd* (like German *gott*) was 'God,' but *gōd* with a long vowel was the adjective 'good.' And as the English word 'Gospel' had early been introduced into Germany, and had there taken the form of *gotspell*, that is, 'story of God,' or 'life of Christ,' it seemed to follow that that was the earliest meaning of the English word itself.

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In the new edition the change is radical. The earliest form is given as *gōdspell*, and it is stated to be simply a translation of the Greek word (*εὐαγγέλιον*) for 'good news.' For between Skeat's editions Murray's great Dictionary has come out. And Murray has shown not only that this is the meaning of the word in its earliest examples, but also that its introduction into German and other languages in the sense of 'life of Christ' was due to a mistake. The word had come to be applied in English not only to the gospel of the grace of God, but also to the books which contained it, as we still speak of the four Gospels; and the German writers, seeing it as written, and not hearing it pronounced, took that to be its proper meaning.

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Greater in appearance but much less in reality is the change in the word GOD itself. The old article simply gave the Teutonic forms of the word, and added that it had no connexion with the adjective 'good.' The new article suggests a fundamental Teutonic form *guth-om*, and behind that an Indo-Germanic root *ghu*, meaning 'to worship,' like the Sanscrit *hu*, 'to sacrifice.' So 'God' would be 'one who is worshipped,' or 'one to whom sacrifice is offered.'



And it may be so. But there still is room for brilliant suggestions. Such a suggestion is made by Dr. John Fiske in his Concord Address just published by Messrs. Macmillan, under the title of *The Idea of God*. Dr. Fiske believes that we owe the word to our heathen ancestors. He believes that it is simply another spelling of the heathen divinity *Wodan*. The change from the *w* to the *g* is easy enough, as words like 'warden' and 'guardian' testify. Moreover, there are in Germany town-names like *Godesberg*, *Gudenberg*, and *Godensholt*, all derived from *Wodan*. We have preserved in Christianity the remembrance of this great god of our fathers in the name of one of the days of the week. Mr. Fiske believes that we have taken over the name itself, degrading it, however, from a proper to a common noun.

'It would be difficult for me,' says the Bishop of Durham, 'to describe the feeling, almost of despair, with which I first looked on the desolation of the Tyneside and of the denes of Durham. I could not believe, and I cannot believe now, after thinking of the question for ten years, that such desolation was the necessary condition of securing any part of our rightful inheritance. Surely we have been over hasty in our pursuit of material wealth; and now we have to meet the consequences of our impatience. "Toil, glitter, grime, and wealth on a flowing tide" ought not to be the description of our noblest river. Every form of disorder—ruins and refuse heaps—is a source of demoralization. The remedy must be spiritual.'

It was in an Address to the College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the 23rd of March 1900, that the Bishop of Durham spoke in this way. The Address is printed in his new volume, entitled *Lessons from Work* (Macmillan). He has called the Address 'The Spiritual Ministry of Art.'

In a few swift sentences at the beginning Dr. Westcott told the College of Science what Art is.

Art, he said, deals characteristically with Beauty only. Therein it differs from Science and from Literature. The student of Nature or of Life strives to learn and to present all facts. The student of Art learns and presents only those facts which ennoble us, those facts which help us to perceive what is highest about us, which help us to make the wisest choice, that we may feel and enjoy aright. The artist may be constructive or he may be interpretative. If he is constructive, he finds his joy in the power which has been given him to manifest God's glory. If he is interpretative, he brings to others intelligent delight in God's works.

Now if that is so, a man's conception of Art will depend upon his conception of Nature. If he believes that Nature is the sum of things seen, his Art will be simply imitation. But if he believes that throughout, beyond, beneath phenomena there is a divine thought, his Art will be its interpretation. The latter is a prophet.

The world's no blot for [him];  
Nor blank; it means intensely, and means good;  
To find its meaning is [his] meat and drink.

Is this, then, what Dr. Westcott means by the *spiritual* ministry of Art? No, it is not this. When the artist has found the divine thought that lies beneath phenomena, the divine unity of which phenomena are signs; and when he has lent us his eyes that we may see it with him, his work is not done. At this point there enters a new consideration of which he must take account. It is the Incarnation of Christ.

The Incarnation has given a new significance to all Nature and to all Life. It has brought into all that touches our senses an element which Dr. Westcott is not afraid to call Sacramental. This element separates the materials of Art into two classes; and alas! it separates the artists themselves. For there are artists who remain content with the general aim of Art, 'to present the truth of things under the aspect of Beauty.' But there

are also artists who recognize that it is the special aim of Christian Art to realize Beauty in the light of Faith. Both find the objects of their Art in humanity and nature. Both seek an ideal underlying these. But the one remains content with the ideal which man as man suggests; the other sees an ideal beyond the human, the pledge of the spiritual destiny of the finite in the Word made flesh. The one has no higher ideal than that of the ancient Greek, and despairs of realizing it; the other with an infinitely nobler ideal finds victory in the very sense of his defeat.

The Bishop of Durham illustrates his meaning by a reference to a picture in the National Gallery. It is Francia's *Pietà*. 'The picture,' says Dr. Westcott, 'is ridiculously labelled "The Virgin and two Angels weeping over the dead body of Christ." No one is weeping, and the student as he looks and looks will feel that the artist desired to suggest that the Lord lives still. The picture is indeed a revelation of life through death. The eyes of the Virgin are red with weeping; but her tears are dried now; she has learned something of the mystery that has been made known. One of the angels raises in her hand the hair of the Lord, and appeals to the spectator to witness that nothing even of earthly beauty has been lost. The other joins her hands together in adoration, as acknowledging the Divine Presence in Him whom men might call dead. All this is clear, if not to the picture-hanger, yet to anyone who reverently labours to discern what he saw whose eyes were opened.'

But surely this insight is only for the few? Not so. It is for men as men, made in the image of God, and thus capable of intelligent sympathy with His works. The obligation therefore lies upon us to strive untiringly to bring back the sense of the beautiful, the sense of the divine, which Art develops, to toilers in the fields, in the mines, in the workshops. Here, says Dr. Westcott, lies the solution of some of our saddest problems,—such problems as the

desolation of the Tyneside and of the denes of Durham.

'For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might become rich.' 'He was rich'—when was He rich? It is usually understood to have been before His Incarnation. But in the most recent commentary on the Pauline Epistles Dr. James Drummond doubts that. And in his newly published book on *The First Interpreters of Jesus* Dr. Gilbert doubts it also.

Dr. Drummond doubts if there is any reference in this passage to our Lord's pre-existence. For if St. Paul had been thinking of a pre-existing Person, Dr. Drummond does not believe that he would have called Him 'Jesus Christ.' 'Jesus' is the name of a man who lived and taught in Palestine; and 'Christ' is the official title of a man who was 'anointed' for a special work on earth. So if there was a pre-existing Being, and if St. Paul recognized Him, He was not Jesus Christ, but was incarnate in Jesus Christ. To say that Jesus Christ was pre-existent is, in Dr. Drummond's opinion, to affirm pre-existence of a human personality.

The obvious answer is that St. Paul used the name for the Person of the Incarnate Son, without considering the original meaning of each of its parts. But Dr. Drummond will not allow that. He admits that the name 'Jesus Christ' was used loosely in this way afterwards. But he does not think St. Paul would have used it so. He thinks he would rather have said, 'For ye know the grace of *the Son of God*.'

Besides, he thinks the meaning is unnecessary. He would translate the passage in another way and pass the difficulty easily. He would say, 'Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was rich, yet for your sakes He was poor.' He would not say, 'He *became* poor,'

but 'He *was* poor.' He thinks the Greek (ἐπὶ-χρεῖς) will bear that rendering. Then the riches and the poverty were Christ's at one and the same time. And the meaning is that though He was spiritually rich, Christ became materially poor, that we through His poverty might become spiritually rich.

Dr. Gilbert also is anxious to save the apostle from speaking of Christ's pre-existence. But he cannot agree with Dr. Drummond. All he can say is that 'nothing in this verse *requires* us to go outside the historical career of Jesus.' St. Paul may have been thinking of Christ's pre-existence, and he may not, we cannot tell.

But when Dr. Drummond and Dr. Gilbert have dealt with 2 Co 8<sup>9</sup> in their own way, they are far from being out of the wood. They next have the great passage in Philippians to explain. Of this passage (Ph 2<sup>5-8</sup>) they both give long and elaborate explanations.

Dr. Drummond's note is longest and most elaborate. He begins as he began his examination of the other passage. He doubts if St. Paul would have used the name 'Christ Jesus,' if he had been thinking of pre-existence. Again he says that he would rather have used the expression 'Son of God.' He then takes up the clauses one by one.

The first clause is, 'Who being in the form of God.' The margin of the Revised Version states that the Greek for 'being' (ὑπάρχων) means 'being originally.' Dr. Drummond objects to that, and quotes certain passages (Lk 8<sup>41</sup>, Ac 17<sup>29</sup>, 1 Co 11<sup>7</sup>, Gal 2<sup>14</sup>) which seem to him to contradict it. Then he comes to the word 'form.' St. Paul does not use the word (μορφή) except in this passage. But from his use of cognate words Dr. Drummond determines its meaning here. 'Jesus,' he says, 'was in the form of God, not through identity of metaphysical essence, but through participation in the Divine Spirit of Love, giving to

His soul, as it were, the divine impress, and making Him supreme among men, through the perfection of His communion with God.'

The next clause gives him more trouble. In the Authorized Version its words are 'thought it not robbery to be equal with God.' This suggests the sense that Christ being in His essential nature God, thought He was not committing robbery in being equal with God. But that sense, says Dr. Drummond, is out of keeping with the sentiment of the passage, and is, besides, a 'vapid truism.' The English Revisers translate 'counted it not a prize.' On which Dr. Drummond remarks that it is so immoral a sentiment that one must hesitate before attributing it to the apostle. Jesus taught His disciples to be perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. How could St. Paul say that Jesus Himself did not count such perfection a prize? He thinks the American Revisers must have seen these difficulties, for they translate 'counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped.' But Dr. Drummond is not satisfied with even the American Revisers' rendering. It seems to say that Christ was already in the form of God, but to be on an equality with God was something higher than that, and instead of grasping at that higher thing at once, He emptied Himself and became a servant, in order that He might get it afterwards as a reward for His humility.

Dr. Drummond's own translation is this: 'Did not think the being on an equality with God was grasping.' The clause does not say Christ was actually on an equality with God. It only says that the way to be on an equality with God is not by grasping, not by seizing everything (the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them), but the very opposite of that, by renouncing all these things. Well, Christ did renounce these things, as the apostle goes on to say. He emptied Himself. He took the form of a slave. He realized the Divine in humanity, through absolute self-renunciation.



He discovered and He taught that the way to equality to God is the way of the Cross.

The next clause thereupon becomes easy: 'But emptied Himself, taking the form of a slave.' The usual interpretation is that this was the way in which He forsook the form of God, the way in which He renounced His equality with God. Dr. Drummond believes that the apostle's meaning is the very opposite of that. This was the way in which Jesus showed that He was in the form of God; this was the way in which He found equality with God. 'Whosoever will be first among you, let him be your slave.' He will be first, not as the reward of his slavery, but just by being your slave, at the very time when he is your slave. He who was in the form of God appeared to men in the form of a slave. It was His appearance, His voluntary appearance, in the form of a slave that gave Him the form of God.

Now if the apostle had ended here, Dr. Drummond might almost have claimed a victory. But the apostle does not end here. He adds 'being made in the likeness of men.' What will Dr. Drummond do with that? He believes that the apostle is speaking of a man. To say that a man was made in the likeness of men is surely to be guilty of a vapid truism, as Dr. Drummond himself would express it. It seems to mean that the Person of whom the apostle is speaking was not a man until He was made in the likeness of men. It seems to refer, and it is usually understood to refer, to our Lord's Incarnation.

But Dr. Drummond will not admit that it refers to the Incarnation. He has several objections to take. First, if it means that the Son of God became man, it does not say so, or it says so in a very peculiar fashion. Secondly, it implies that He assumed the appearance of man, but was not really human; and that would destroy all the force of St. Paul's doctrine of the Resurrection. Thirdly, it ought to run,

'made in the likeness of *man*,' not 'in the likeness of *men*.' And lastly, the whole clause is in the wrong place; it ought to precede and not to follow the clause 'taking the form of a slave.' So Dr. Drummond does not believe that St. Paul refers to the Incarnation.

He believes that we have all missed the word on which the emphasis lies. It lies on the word 'men.' Of the two Greek terms for 'man,' the one used here (*ἄνθρωπος*) signifies the genus man, and it is of the genus man that the apostle has usually been understood to be speaking. But sometimes it is used in a derogatory sense, and sharply contrasted with the other word (*ἄνθρωπος*). Dr. Drummond believes that it is so used here. He thinks that in certain other passages St. Paul uses the word in this depreciating sense. Thus in 1 Co 15<sup>32</sup> to 'fight with beasts like any common man' (*κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*); and in 1 Co 3<sup>3</sup> to 'walk according to a man' is to fall below the level of one's Christian profession, and yield to vulgar human passion; and, 'Are ye not men,' in the next verse, means, 'Do ye not sink back into the common herd?' Then the meaning of the clause, 'being made in the likeness of men,' would be, 'being made like one of the crowd.'

Whereupon the succeeding clause explains itself. 'Being found in fashion as a man' means simply being found in the garb of a common man. The word 'found' expresses surprise. Men looked for the world's Redeemer, and they found Him in the garb of a common suffering man. This is the last clause Dr. Drummond deals with, the rest explains itself.

Dr. Drummond is Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, and a scholar of the highest reputation. He is on his guard against prepossession, and declares in regard to this very passage that his only desire is to find out what the apostle meant. Yet when we read his paraphrase of the whole passage, it is impossible not

to feel that as an expositor he finds much less in the passage than an ordinary reader would find. He may be right, and he may be wrong, but if he is right he has stripped the passage of half its glory.

This is his paraphrase. 'Have the humble and self-renouncing mind which you know was in Christ; who, though He was spiritually the image of God, did not think that the being on an equality with God consisted of selfish grasping, but emptied Himself of all self-regarding claims and advantages; and assumed the image of a slave, being among us as one that served, and made like the common run of men; and being found in His outward fashion as an ordinary man He humbled Himself, and was submissive to the will of God, even to the extreme of dying on the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted Him.'

Dr. Gilbert is as unlikely to accept the ordinary interpretation of this passage as Dr. Drummond. Yet he does not follow Dr. Drummond. He refers to Dr. Drummond's view in a footnote. But he simply calls it 'a view wholly counter to the ordinary theological interpretation of this passage.' He does not follow Dr. Drummond. He flatly contradicts him, or rather, he simply

sweeps all Dr. Drummond's elaborate explanations aside, and says that St. Paul does believe in a pre-existent Christ, and that he states his belief in a pre-existent Christ in this passage.

But what does Dr. Gilbert mean by a pre-existent Christ? Not that the incarnate Jesus Christ existed before the Incarnation. Jesus Christ pre-existed only in idea, just as the pattern of the Tabernacle pre-existed in the Mount, before the Tabernacle was made. Dr. Gilbert finds the best illustration of his meaning in the Book of Proverbs. There Wisdom is personified and speaks. She says that she was formed from everlasting, that she was with Jehovah as a master-workman, and the like. Thus Wisdom, the Wisdom of God, though only an ideal, is treated as an independent being. So is it with the Divine and eternal ideal of the Messiah. First the ideal existed in the mind of God, and then it was incarnated in the historical Christ. And if it is answered that the ideal is spoken of in this passage as doing certain things, Dr. Gilbert replies and says that so is Wisdom spoken of in the Book of Proverbs. Therefore he concludes that the Lord Jesus Christ did not exist before His Incarnation, except as an idea in the mind of God.

## Divine Revelation in the Light of Old Testament Criticism.

BY THE REV. J. E. M'OUAT, M.A., B.D., LOGIEALMOND.

THE questions of Biblical Criticism which for a generation or more have occupied the attention of students, are now finding their way through the pulpit and the press to the general Christian public, and not only awakening an ever-widening interest, but causing in many quarters no small uneasiness and suspicion. The time has now come when something must be done to allay the concern thus produced in many earnest minds; and while it is scarcely yet possible to attempt a

full reconstruction of faith in the light of modern research, the general results and tendencies of all competent criticism are sufficiently well determined to make it at once needful and practicable to seek some readjustment. The purpose of this paper is to attempt a helpful consideration of some of the new aspects of the Old Testament Scriptures thus presented for our acceptance; and that from a standpoint in full sympathy with the old views, and yet open to any fresh light

that experience and scholarship may be able to cast upon the methods and functions of Divine Revelation.

The time is now long past for questioning the legitimacy of the *methods* of historical and literary criticism as applied to the Bible. Since the days of Bacon it has been recognized that the true road to knowledge lies through the study of facts as we find them, not through the application of abstract *à priori* theories. And from even an earlier period a similar principle has been followed in the study of the Scriptures. For 'the right of private judgment' vindicated by the Reformation was the germ from which modern biblical criticism has grown, by a natural process of development. That principle dealt a fatal blow to the arbitrary authority of the Church and the barren methods of the Schoolmen; and, first applied to biblical interpretation, it led on to textual or 'lower' criticism, and finally issued in the 'higher' or historical criticism of our own day. The method, in all its applications, is nothing more nor less than letting the Bible speak for itself; taking it as we find it, and bringing to its study a candid mind, with all the resources of learning and skill, and from the facts as thus ascertained forming our theories. And surely the Bible itself is its own best witness; and those who hold, as we all now do, that no authority whether of Church or tradition is equal to that of the written Word, cannot object to the Bible being searched and studied, whilst with all reverence, yet with all the means of scholarship at our command.

Approaching our subject from the Christian standpoint, we are entitled to assume as fundamental principles not only the existence of a 'living' or personal God, and the consequent possibility of a Supernatural Revelation, but also the spiritual witness of the Bible to its own unique and authoritative character. These are truths which have an independent validity of their own, and do not wait for their credentials upon the results of any critical inquiry. No amount of criticism can disprove the divine authority of the Bible to those who truly feel its spiritual power, nor prove its authority to those who lack such an experience. And the individual convictions is immeasurably reinforced by the consensus of testimony in the Christian Church through nineteen centuries, not to speak of the witness of

God's people in Old Testament times. Here we have evidence of the pre-eminence of Scripture in the spiritual sphere, independent of criticism, a real, though subjective, certainty which some of the most fearless critics have been foremost in affirming. In the fine words of Dr. Robertson Smith: 'The persuasion that in the Bible God Himself speaks words of love and life to the soul is the essence of the Christian's conviction as to the truth and authority of Scripture. . . . The element of personal conviction, which lifts faith out of the region of probable evidence into the sphere of divine certainty, is given only by the Holy Spirit still bearing witness in and with the Word.'

Within these limits there is ample scope for the fullest application of critical methods to the study of the Bible; and from such criticism Christian faith has nothing to fear. While theories and conclusions which involve the denial of the supernatural will thus be set aside, and criticism of a rationalistic aim and spirit will be judged with discrimination, all candid and reverent inquiry may be freely encouraged, in the assurance that faith can thereby only be strengthened and enriched by a truer and deeper knowledge of God's works and ways.

It is of great importance in dealing with such questions as this to distinguish what is essential from what is only secondary; and in the present case the solution of the problem is largely to be sought along such a line of wise discrimination, thus relieving the mind and conscience of matters of minor consequence with which faith hitherto has been, as it were, needlessly overloaded.

The traditional view, held by most Christian people until recent years, regarded the Bible as actually being in every part the Word of God, and attributed to it as such a certain ideal perfection. The strength of this position lay in its simplicity and definiteness; its weakness was its *à priori* standpoint and its consequent liability to be assailed by an appeal to facts. Even the most uncompromising advocates of this theory were apt to find themselves hard pressed when closely questioned on details; and we need not wonder that long before the higher criticism appeared, inroads began to be made upon the all-round completeness of the traditional position. Just as textual criticism made it impossible to maintain the infallibility of any existing document,



so the discovery of discrepancies and inaccuracies in minor matters of fact, as well as characteristic varieties of style, necessitated a modification of the old mechanical theory of Inspiration. In like manner, a growing recognition of the historical method of Revelation and more enlightened conceptions of God's manner of working in Nature and Providence, prepared the way for the application of systematic scientific criticism to the Holy Scriptures.

The general result of such criticism has been to bring to light to an extent not before realized the human element in the Bible. A certain human factor in Revelation has of course always been recognized; but nothing was admitted as affecting the current theory of the ideal perfection of the Bible as a fully inspired and authoritative Revelation. Inductive criticism, however, has given rise to new conceptions of the methods and processes of Revelation, which seem to many to impair its divine character and authority. The use of various documents by sacred writers as sources of information, the large place given to tradition and such primitive means of preserving the materials of history, the free play allowed to the peculiar literary methods of the times,—these are features of the Old Testament revealed by criticism, which are felt to necessitate some readjustment of our theories of Scripture. And the question now disturbing many minds is whether such readjustment will vitally affect any element of real value in the old faith.

As to the discovery of various documents incorporated side by side in some of the sacred books, it is sufficient to remark, that if we have been accustomed to regard as essential to the divine character of the Bible any method of Revelation which would supersede the use of the ordinary means of literary composition, we have loaded our faith with a burden which it was never meant to bear. It is true that not long ago there were many who held the entire Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (with the exception of the last chapter of Deuteronomy) to be an article of the Christian faith; but no reasonable man can now think that it makes any difference to the religious value of these books whether they consist of one document or several, or by whose hand they were put into their present shape. While we may reserve the right of questioning, in the name of common sense, the refinements of some critics,

which seem but a *reductio ad absurdum* of their methods, the main lines of analysis may be freely accepted without any result more disturbing than the recognition in another sphere of a method of divine working already elsewhere familiar.

So far it may be easy to follow the leading of modern criticism without misgiving; but we cannot go farther without meeting questions which have power to cause real perplexity, because they have a moral as well as a literary aspect. When we are told, for example, that certain books, professing to be the direct utterances of men in whose names they are written, were really the productions of a later age; that much of the earliest Scripture narrative is drawn from legendary or mythical sources; and that even the history of later times is coloured and idealized by the religious spirit of the writers;—we are apt to conclude that the truthfulness of the Bible is impugned, and that its moral perfection as a Divine Book is at stake. And such an attitude is but natural on the part of those trained in the simplicity of the traditional view. We should think but little of the man who, at the call of the latest theorist, was ready to cast lightly aside long-treasured convictions and could view without concern the threatened removal of venerable landmarks. Nothing is more foolish and dangerous than premature concessions. New theories have to be carefully scrutinized and tested; but if they are found able to justify themselves by sound observation and reasoning, then we must proceed to make room for them, if need be, in a readjusted system. And we may do so without fear that Christian faith will not be able to interpret and assimilate any new truth which patient and honest study may bring to light.

The key to such difficulties is to be found, as already indicated, in a more enlightened view of the nature and processes of Revelation. We are coming to realize more and more clearly that God has been pleased to reveal Himself through such agents and media as existing conditions from time to time provided. That we have no right to dogmatize in the abstract as to the probable methods of divine procedure was shown long ago by Butler in his chapter on 'Our incapacity of judging what were to be expected in a Revelation'; and all the facts of experience make such an *à priori* position more and more unten-

able. It would indeed have been possible for the Almighty to dictate to a chosen scribe, or to engrave in enduring characters on tables of stone, a complete and scientific system of divine truth; just as it was possible for Him to have called at once into being a perfectly finished universe. But in neither case has He chosen so to act. As science reveals long processes in Creation ever working towards a distant goal, so too an elementary study of Revelation teaches us that God has seen fit to make known spiritual truth through the slowly moving and often imperfect agencies of human life and history. And this procedure at once commends itself to reason. The mind recoils from the thought of processes that are arbitrary, mechanical, artificial, as less worthy of divine wisdom and power than the accomplishment of great purposes by the operation of a few simple laws. Whether or not, for example, we accept the principle of Evolution in Nature, we must feel at least that the conception tends rather to exalt than to destroy our sense of the greatness of the Creator. Another example of the general principle may be permitted, as analogy is often helpful where it is unsafe to dogmatize. God's purpose is to win all men to the saving knowledge of Himself,—a purpose so great and so needful as to justify, we might think, the most urgent means for its accomplishment. And yet in this supreme object He has been content to wait for slowly developing processes, and to commit a great part of the work to the weak and imperfect agency of human hearts and hands. Can we wonder, then, that in Revelation also God condescended to make use of such means as human nature and history afforded? Is it not, rather, a reassuring mark of the harmony of all the divine methods of working, that as in Creation and Providence, so too in His purposes of grace, God has seen fit to act through the limiting conditions of natural and spiritual law?

Already, indeed, to a certain extent this principle has long been admitted; but modern criticism points to further applications and extensions of it. If Inspiration can be regarded as consistent with varieties of form and style among the sacred writings, it is but an easy step to the admission of a still freer use by the Divine Spirit of the literary methods of the times. In the Old Testament we find history, poetry, and prophecy, allegory and proverb, and other forms of litera-

ture all made subservient to spiritual purposes. In these we may now include drama, as represented by the Book of Job, without doing violence to any reasonable theory of Revelation. Thus it appears that each varying form in which from time to time human thought expressed itself, was consecrated to spiritual use and chosen as a fitting medium of divine truth. Should we not in like manner expect that even primitive modes of thought and expression should have been similarly used as vehicles of Divine Revelation to their own age? There was a time in the early history of all literature when the truths of nature and life were expressed in imaginative pictures, and the character and actions of men and peoples were celebrated in song and story from one generation to another. Need we be surprised, then, if we find in the most ancient parts of Scripture traces of an early Revelation under these primitive forms? For these mark a natural and necessary stage in the history of human thought, which, like all the others that followed it, was surely capable of being sanctified by the Spirit of God and turned to sacred uses. It may be repugnant to our feelings at first to entertain the suggestion that the earlier chapters of Genesis are only a pictorial representation of certain spiritual truths, and that the beautiful stories of the patriarchs are not meant to be read in all their details as literal history. But a little reflection will help to reconcile us to the new standpoint. Indeed, the process of readjustment is already accomplished with regard to a part of the sacred book in question. It caused great alarm in many quarters, when about fifty years ago, the discoveries of geology were found to conflict with the traditional six-day theory of creation. A situation arose exactly similar to that now produced by modern criticism; some rejecting the new science as atheistic, others losing faith in the Bible, and many not knowing how to escape from the seeming *impasse*. But truth gradually justified itself on both sides, and it came to be seen that the first chapter of Genesis was poetry, not prose, and was meant to teach religious ideas, not scientific facts. And so the dust subsided and both Revelation and science emerged in a clearer light. Such an experience in the past should do much to reassure us in regard to the new problems of the present, and help us to await the ultimate issue with composure. We may yet



come to see a new significance in the third and other chapters of Genesis, as clearly as we now understand the first, and with as little detriment to our confidence in the Bible—nay, with a similar gain in reality and impressiveness. Thus it may be recognized that Creation, the beginnings of human sin, the rapid and fatal spreading of evil, and the divine judgment pronounced upon it, are presented in a series of pictures none the less truthful and striking that they are, so to speak, after the manner of a great master of the brush rather than that of the photographic camera; and that the stories of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph are not less reliable and suggestive in their spiritual significance though cast in the mould of the age to which they belong, and idealized by a sanctified imagination. But, let it be always remembered, the difference between this part of Scripture and other mythical or legendary stories of antiquity would be the same as the difference between any other part of Scripture and the corresponding form of secular literature. This difference in every case alike is to be defined as *Inspiration*. Just as the prophecy of the Bible is distinguished from heathen oracles by the divine purity and loftiness of its moral and religious teaching, as the poetry of the Bible is infinitely deeper and more spiritual than any other literature of the kind; so biblical mythology, if such there be, would bear, as these stories of Genesis certainly do, the stamp of the Divine Spirit in its purity, truthfulness, and deep religious significance. And as the Word of God has admittedly followed and used as its medium the course of human history and literature, would it not be reasonable to believe that it did not disdain to employ even those humble channels of man's earliest thought and feeling, as the means best fitted for the primitive revelation of spiritual truth?

It is of interest to note that some anticipations of this view are met with in the early Christian centuries,—though from a standpoint differing from our own. Origen plainly declares 'that the Scripture has, interwoven in the history, what did not actually happen'; and elsewhere that the narrative of the Fall is purely figurative, and that the purpose of the Bible is not to convey information that may be otherwise obtained. Augustine likewise recognizes what he calls a figurative element in Scripture narrative. We are perhaps

now as far removed from the allegorizing tendencies of the early Fathers as from the rigid literalism of a later school; but if we may be thought to presume too far in suggesting that any part of the Bible is not to be literally understood, we do so at least in the company of men who stood historically much nearer than ourselves to the central Fountain of all truth.

When we come to other questions, such as the attributing of certain writings to an author who lived in a previous age, or the idealizing of history from a religious standpoint, the same general principle carries us far towards the removal of seeming anomalies, viz. that God made large use of existing materials and conditions in the development of His purpose. Here, as elsewhere, we have first to examine the facts; and in some cases the difficulty will be found not to exist, but it is at least a rash and superficial method of meeting such a problem to speak glibly of 'forgeries' and 'pious frauds,' and so dismiss the case. The facts are not so easily disposed of; and to the candid mind another alternative is soon found admissible. We make a dangerous mistake if we judge ancient Hebrew writers by the standards of our own day, and attribute to them our own modern ideas of literary morality. With a Jewish author there was no thought of dishonesty in appropriating the work of his predecessors, in giving weight and impressiveness to his own work by the use of some well-known name, or in colouring the materials of history with the religious ideas of his time. This, as Dr. Bruce remarks, may have been imperfect morality; but it was not immorality; and we know that much imperfect morality was permitted in Old Testament times. 'Forgery' and 'fraud' ('pious' or otherwise) are in this connexion entirely inappropriate terms. Hebrew writers followed in perfect good faith the standards of their own time; and it was no part of God's purpose to enable them to anticipate the standards of a later age. It pleased Him, rather, to make them, with all their imperfections the media for the revelation of such spiritual truth as the times in which they lived most needed, and could best appreciate.

Even in the strictly historical parts of Scripture, it must be remembered, the mere recording of the events is subordinate to the religious teaching embodied in them. The historical books were known as 'the former prophets,' and their aim and scope are prophetic as well as historical.



They contain history, related and interpreted from a spiritual standpoint. It is beside the mark, therefore, to look in them for the accuracy of the modern scientific historian. It is in the religious ideas, not in the chronicling of the mere facts, that Inspiration chiefly reveals itself. As mere narrators we may believe that the writers were left to the free use of their own faculties, while as prophetic interpreters they were guided by wisdom and insight imparted from a higher source. The narrative as such may exhibit many of the limitations and defects of the time, while its value as a part of Revelation remains unimpaired.

We are now prepared to review the whole situation and to summarize the argument and its results. What, we may ask, is the issue of criticism as it affects our conception of the Old Testament Scriptures? It is simply this,—that while the fact of Divine Revelation, and with it the unique character and supreme spiritual authority of the Bible remain untouched, our views of the methods and functions of Revelation are undergoing a change of great significance. Much irrelevant matter is being removed from our conceptions of Scripture, with a consequent gain in force and reality. And, particularly, the spiritual meaning and purpose of the Bible are being apprehended as never before. Neglect or forgetfulness of the supremely spiritual function of Revelation led in the past to misconceptions which are only now being with difficulty cleared away. Applying to the Bible certain ideal standards of their own, men expected to find in it more than it was ever intended to contain, and attributed to it a perfection even in its external features which it never claimed for itself. In short, the Bible was regarded as a perfect Book, rather than what alone it professes to be, the vehicle of a perfect Revelation. To the earthen vessel were attributed all the perfections of the treasure which it contained. True, even as a Book, or a collection of books, the Bible exhibits many excellences unequalled in all other literature; for a man could not become the medium of such a unique revelation of spiritual truth without having all his faculties quickened and ennobled by the divine influences flowing into his soul. But we must not extend these indirect results of Inspiration too far; and we have no reason to think that those agents through whom divine truth was given, were enabled there-

by altogether to surmount the intellectual or even the moral limitations of their own day, or to anticipate the developments of the future. It was enough that the spiritual revelation in each successive age should be conveyed through the medium provided by the time, and should keep pace with, rather than outrun, the various stages of human progress.

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως (He 1<sup>1</sup>); these profound words are gaining in our day new meaning and impressiveness. 'In many portions, and by many methods' indeed God was pleased to speak unto the fathers, using in each portion the method appropriate to its own time, and such channels as the existing stage of human development afforded. It is a sublime conception that we thus obtain, of a Divine Revelation interwoven with human history, in perfect touch at every point with its successive developments, beginning in its earliest dawn, and growing with it and through it towards the fulness of the day of Christ. In the light of this thought the rigidly literal theories of the older school begin to seem a little crude; and their clear-cut lines are suggestive of mathematical rather than spiritual truth, of inorganic crystallization rather than of the vital processes of life and growth.

Here, then, we have a Revelation of the Divine not imposed upon, but incorporated with, human history; the supernatural not breaking in arbitrarily, but blended with and ingrafted on the natural. And if we cannot trace the exact line of division, there is here in this respect no exception to universal experience. In the life of the soul, who can tell where the natural ends and the supernatural begins? In the Person of Christ, who can presume to define the precise limits of the Divine and the human? In the history of Revelation the Supernatural is sometimes so merged in the natural as to be scarcely distinguishable from it, but, again, its influence rises to fuller manifestation, reaching from time to time a climax in some outburst of miracle or prophecy. Neither in its periods of quiescence is it wholly withdrawn, nor in its most striking developments is it out of organic relation to human life and history. It is an impressive thought, this presence and self-revelation of God in history, and especially in the history of that people through whom He chose to develop His purpose of grace. 'In the beginning, God,' is the fitting keynote of Revelation. With the first dim

awakening of human thought and imagination, God was there, claiming for Himself those feeble movements of primitive intelligence, and guiding them to higher issues; and in each later stage of slow development He still was present, breathing into it such spiritual life and meaning as it was able to bear: first by picture and story, and then by the clearer voice of prophecy and sacred song, keeping before men's minds the spiritual and the unseen, until in 'the fulness of time' the Revelation of the Divine reached its final and perfect expression in the Living and Incarnate Word. And it is, after all, in its relation to Christ that the Old Testament finds its ultimate vindication; and criticism is giving invaluable help in making this relation clearer and more real to our minds. Scientific study of the Old Testament may indeed have altered or even destroyed some of the formerly accepted methods of Messianic interpretation; but it has revealed far deeper and more vital lines of connexion leading from every part of the Old Dispensation, by unerring spiritual development to the truth as made known in Jesus Christ. Biblical criticism is making it more and more evident that Christ must ever be the starting-point of all apologetic, whether in regard to the Old Testament or the New.

There is space only for a sentence or two on a practical issue of vital concern to many, viz. How do critical views affect the use of the Old Testament in teaching, preaching, and private devotion? It may seem in this connexion that any advantages of the new standpoint are purchased at too great a cost; and we may look back with regret to the simple faith of the past which accepted without question every part of the Bible in its most obvious sense as of equal authority and value. The loss, doubtless, has been great in definiteness and force; but in real power and significance surely a more enlightened view can bring nothing but gain. One has but to refer, for example, to such works on the prophets as those of Dr. Robertson Smith and Professor George Adam Smith to see how one great era in Israel's history has been made to live again and stand before us in vivid reality in the light of critical research. And even where the gain may seem doubtful, we must remember that losses in one direction will be more than compensated for by an increased relevancy and a truer perspective; and the spiritual significance and profound moral and religious teaching of no part

of the Bible is in any degree affected. But the new standpoint necessitates some change in our manner of using the Bible. The easy method of taking isolated texts and passages, and giving to their obvious sense all the weight and finality of a Divine Revelation must now largely give place to more intelligent, discriminating, and systematic study. It is becoming more and more evident that the Bible can no longer be regarded as a mine of proof texts for the theologian, or a magical talisman for the superstitious, or even a mere manual of devotion, from which the best may be culled at pleasure; but a living record of a progressive, historical Revelation, which will yield its treasures ever more fully to earnest, patient, and strenuous study. And it is the great and inspiring task of an educated ministry to help Christian people to understand better the significance of biblical truth; not by introducing into the pulpit the apparatus of critical research, but by presenting its spiritual results in a comprehensive survey of the great religious lessons of each stage of Revelation.

A calm consideration of the results of modern criticism tends to show that we can afford to await the issue with patience and composure. True, we must prove every step, and suspend our judgment, it may be, on many points as long as possible; but when candour demands it, we must accept the new position fearlessly, for nothing that bears the credentials of truth can ultimately conflict with the unchangeable realities of faith. Whatever leads to a truer view of God's works and ways, in Nature, Providence, and Grace, is an inestimable gain to faith, whatever may seem for the moment to be lost. To give way to alarm and resist the progress of earnest and reverent research is an attitude that has been proved again and again to be not less harmful than untenable. A rigid doctrine of the external perfection and inerrancy of Scripture, based as it is upon a misconception of its nature and purpose, is a mistaken means of advocating its claims. Thus to attempt to preserve the standpoint of an obsolete stage of religious thought, only invites opposition and opens the way to endless perplexity. The true lines of defence lie in other directions. The task of the apologist is now not so much to prove that there are no imperfections in Scripture, as that, in spite of all, it is still our supreme and unerring authority in all things pertaining to our highest life. And



this is the greatest gain of all from a critical study of the Bible, that it drives us back more than ever to the spiritual basis of faith as its ultimate security and vindication. If certain lines of external evidence are weakened, it should only make us cling the more closely to the self-evidencing realities of the spiritual life. It may well be that religion is to become more experimental and intuitive, and therefore more real than it has ever been before; more a thing of the heart and less of the head; more spiritual and less dependent on

the intellect. And who can tell but that when we see some of the outward framework long deemed essential to the structure being taken away, it may be permitted, in order that faith, purified and set free, may stand still more securely in its own spiritual strength and sufficiency? And thus movements, which may be causing for a time perplexity and concern, will prove to be but 'the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are artificial, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.'

## Ezekiel's Priests and Levites.

BY PROFESSOR A. VAN HOONACKER, D.D., LOUVAIN.

IN the May number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES I have already offered a word of explanation regarding a passage in my *Sacerdoce lévitique* which appeared to have been misunderstood by Dr. König in his critique of that work in the April number (p. 300 ff.). Since then I have gone over the whole of Dr. König's article, and have come to the conclusion, after reading it, that it will not be without advantage to return once more to the subject in question, not for the purpose of studying in detail the ritual of Ezekiel—which would give rise to too many developments,—but in order to indicate clearly what are in reality the principal points in the study which I have made of this in *Sac. lévitic*. pp. 184-220.

§ i. I have set myself first of all to discover what underlies the thought of Ezekiel in the discourse of chap. 44 (*l.c.* p. 188 ff.).—In this discourse (vv.<sup>6-8</sup>) Ezekiel reproaches the house of Israel with an *intolerable breach of the covenant and of justice* in having intrusted certain offices<sup>1</sup> in the temple to foreigners, and in having thus established the latter as 'keepers of the charge of Jahweh in His sanctuary' (v.<sup>8</sup>). He presupposes that, according to law, the offices in question ought to have been held by the Levitical ministers of the cultus (not by *lay* Israelites). This is

<sup>1</sup> Namely, inferior offices, especially those of *porters, servants of 'the house,' killers of the victims for the service of the people*, as is plain from vv.<sup>10<sup>t</sup></sup>, where Ezekiel indicates by whom the foreigners are to be replaced (cf. *Sac. lévitic*. p. 189).

shown by two considerations. (a) The formula by which in v.<sup>8</sup> he refers to the dignity which had illegally been conferred on foreigners, does not suit, at least in the time of Ezekiel, any but members of the tribe of Levi; it is employed in almost identical terms by Ezekiel himself for the priests the 'sons of Zadok' (v.<sup>15</sup>). (b) The history tells us elsewhere that, as a matter of fact, the functions of *porters, e.g.*, had not failed, before the Exile, to be discharged by officials who are sometimes included in the same list as those who belonged to the Levitical *personnel* (as in 2 K 23<sup>4</sup>), while sometimes they receive themselves the title of 'priests' (as in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>).<sup>2</sup> Thus, then, Ezekiel is aware that certain inferior offices in the performance of the cultus ought to have been discharged by members of the tribe of Levi instead of being held by foreigners.

But is Ezekiel not aware at the same time that there was a class of members of the tribe of Levi who were not, by law, bound to these inferior offices? He is. In vv.<sup>10-14</sup> he proclaims that the members of that tribe who have been guilty of idolatrous practices are to be degraded to the rank of *porters, servants of 'the house,' killers of the victims for the service of the people*. I have insisted in the most express terms on this point: that the

<sup>2</sup> A passage to which I refer on p. 193 as having been examined in other parts of my book; see the List of Scripture Texts at the end of the volume.—The reader will find later on in the present art. (§ ii.) in what sense I consider the porters to be called 'priests' in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>.



penalty imposed by Ezekiel upon the unfaithful Levites consisted formally in their degradation to the rank of porters, servants of 'the house,' killers of the victims (vv.<sup>10-12, 14</sup>); that deprivation of the right to ascend the altar (v.<sup>18</sup>) was only mentioned incidentally as the corollary or the negative aspect of the same penalty; that for Ezekiel these two things are synonymous, namely, being bound to the office of keeper of the doors, etc., and being without the right to ascend the altar (see *Sac. lévít.* p. 192 f.). It appears to me that one needs but to read the text of Ezekiel to be convinced of this.<sup>1</sup> Thus, then, the members of the tribe of Levi, of whom Ezekiel is thinking in vv.<sup>10-14</sup>, were not, by law, bound to the inferior offices of porters, etc., since they are punished for their idolatry by being degraded to these same offices.

My conclusion is that Ezekiel's discourse (44<sup>6-14</sup>) presupposes in theory<sup>2</sup> the existence of two quite distinct categories of ministers of the cultus within the tribe of Levi: the one comprising those members of the tribe on whom inferior duties

<sup>1</sup> V.<sup>10</sup> But the Levites who departed from me when Israel went astray, when they went astray from me after their idols, even they shall bear their guilt; <sup>11</sup> they shall be in my sanctuary ministers in the offices at the gates of the house; it is they who shall kill the burnt-offering and the sacrifice, and it is they who shall stand before them to minister unto them; <sup>12</sup> because they ministered unto them before their idols, and were a stumbling-block of guilt to the house of Israel; therefore I swear concerning them, saith the Lord God, that they shall bear their guilt. <sup>13</sup> And they shall not draw near to me to do the office of a priest to me, or to touch any of my holy things—the most holy things; but they shall bear their shame and abominations which they have done. <sup>14</sup> And I will make them keepers of the charge of the house for all the services thereof, and for all that is to be done about it. [I have followed, in this passage, with certain trifling modifications which appear to me to be required by the text or the context, the rendering of W. R. Smith in *O.T.J.C.*<sup>2</sup> p. 261.] The ministers of the house are opposed as such to the ministers of the altar (cf. 40<sup>45f.</sup>) or of the sanctuary (45<sup>4-5</sup>).

Dr. König takes no account, in his article, of my remarks on Ezk 44<sup>10-14</sup>, which are, however, of the very highest importance for my exegesis. While professedly exhibiting my line of reasoning, he does not look at anything in the penalty imposed by Ezekiel, except the deprivation of the right of service at the altar (*THE EXPOSITORY TIMES*, *l.c.* p. 300<sup>b</sup>, 301<sup>b</sup>, 303<sup>a</sup>). It is impossible, under the circumstances, for the reader to understand my argument. To appreciate properly the extent of the penalty imposed by Ezekiel upon the guilty Levites, it is necessary to consider it in the terms in which it is formulated by the prophet.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will see later on (§ iii.) in what sense and for what reason I say 'in theory.'

fell by law (since it was Levitical officials who had been improperly supplanted in the functions of porters, etc., by foreigners); the other comprising those who, by law, were not bound to those duties (since the obligation to discharge them in future constituted in their case a degradation and a punishment).<sup>3</sup>

§ ii. The same conclusion is reached by a careful comparison of the various other passages where Ezekiel speaks of the ministers of the cultus (see *Sac. lévít.* p. 194 ff.). In 48<sup>11</sup> the prophet distinguishes *priests* and *Levites* as two classes belonging to different orders. These designations have here a special sense quite fixed by usage;<sup>4</sup> otherwise the prophet could not, as he here does, have opposed the *priests* as such to the *Levites* as such and have made a distinction, formulated in these terms, serve as the basis for a distribution of the sacred territory (48<sup>9-12</sup>. 13-14). In fact, he employs elsewhere the term *Levites* in a purely genealogical sense, as in 44<sup>10</sup>, and applies it readily in this sense to the priests the sons of Zadok themselves (44<sup>15</sup> 40<sup>46</sup> 43<sup>19</sup>).<sup>5</sup> Under these circumstances, I repeat, the use made of the designations *priests* and *Levites* in 48<sup>11</sup> (cf. vv.<sup>10, 13</sup>) implies a special acceptance of these titles, and one consecrated by tradition (see also 45<sup>4-5</sup>). —Already in 40<sup>45f.</sup> Ezekiel similarly mentions a

<sup>3</sup> I fail to see the difficulty which Dr. König professes to feel in understanding the imperfect *constituait* (*E.T. l.c.* p. 301<sup>a</sup>), which has the same *raison d'être* as the preceding imperfects in the same clause. See, further, my note in May number, p. 383. As little do I understand Dr. König's remark (*l.c.*): 'The admission that in v.<sup>10b</sup> a degradation of these particular members of the tribe of Levi is announced, and the view that the very same persons were previously bound as a matter of fact to discharge the same lowly offices, contradict one another.' Certainly, any one who put forward such views, as Dr. König here disapproves, would contradict himself, but I never maintained any such position.

<sup>4</sup> *Sac. lévít.* p. 194. Dr. König has not observed that this remark, as is evident from the context, applies to v.<sup>11</sup> of chap. 48 and not of chap. 44! He sets himself accordingly to a piece of criticism which is absolutely pointless (*l.c.* p. 301<sup>b</sup>). Nowhere in this connexion do I examine 'the list of duties to be imposed upon the degraded priests.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dr. König objects that in these passages the term *Levites* is employed in the genealogical sense (= members of the tribe of Levi). But does he not see that this is precisely what my argument supposes? See *Sac. lévít.* p. 195<sup>fin.</sup> f. Dr. König has never imagined, apparently, that my intention is to maintain that in the view of Ezekiel the 'Zadokite priests' were and continued to be simple Levites subordinate to the priests properly so called.

double category of ministers of the cultus; the technical formulæ which the prophet-priest employs there to describe these two classes, betray once more the traditional character of the institution. He distinguishes as orders subordinate the one to the other, 'the priests charged with the service of the house' (שְׁמֵרֵי הַבַּיִת, מְשִׁמְרֵי הַבַּיִת), and 'the priests charged with the service of the altar' (שְׁמֵרֵי מ' הַמִּזְבֵּחַ). The first as well as the second are called *priests*, but we learn (45<sup>4</sup>, 48<sup>10ff.</sup>) that 'the priests charged with the service of the house' bore in a more special way the title of *Levites* in opposition to that of *priests*. I consider that I have shown, moreover, in various passages of my book, that in certain documents originating before the Exile or dealing with the pre-exilic history, the name 'priests' was employed also in a wide sense, being applied in common to priests properly so called and to Levitical ministers of an inferior order (Ezk 40<sup>45f.</sup> compared with 45<sup>4f.</sup> and 48<sup>10ff.</sup> presents a striking example of this usage). It is also in this wide sense that the porters are called 'priests' in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup> *Sac. lév.* p. 163 f.<sup>1</sup> The 'priest charged with the service of the altar' are the priests of first rank, as they are still called by Philo; the 'priests charged with the service of the house' are those of second rank (cf. *Sac. lév.* p. 157 ff.), i.e. the Levites in the restricted sense of this term.

§ iii. In the various passages I have cited,

<sup>1</sup> With reference to this passage Dr. König says (*l.c.* p. 302<sup>a</sup>): '... What clearer proof could we have that the concept of *kōhēn* had in early times a wide range? What clearer indication of the legal basis from which Ezekiel started in sketching his programme?' As to the first of these questions, I myself hold that the concept and the name *priest* have, in certain documents, either habitually or occasionally, a wide range in this sense that they are applied in common to the Aaronites and the inferior Levites; the reader will easily find the passages in my book where this question is discussed, by consulting the Alphabetical Index, under 'Prêtre' and 'Levite.' As to the second question: (a) I have just replied to it by my remark on the first; (b) Ezekiel himself indicates clearly enough, it seems to me, the legal basis from which he starts; (c) in order to answer this question, regard must be paid to the whole data supplied by the O.T.—Dr. König adds: 'Instead of calling attention to this wider use of *kōhānīm*, van Hoonacker thinks he has discovered an opposition to it in 40<sup>45</sup>,' etc. The truth is that van Hoonacker has never either thought or said anything of the kind. On the contrary, he finds in 40<sup>45</sup> a proof that the name *priest* was employed in a wide sense, in the fashion that has just been indicated.

Ezekiel implies or announces that the priests charged with the service of the altar in the renovated cultus of the future, are to be only those who have remained faithful, whom he calls 'the sons of Zadok'; the priests charged with the service of the house, i.e. the simple Levites, are to be those who have been guilty of idolatry. The *idea*, the *theory* of the division of the tribe of Levi into two classes, is not created by Ezekiel; it is, I believe, manifestly borrowed from the institutions of the past. What belongs to Ezekiel is, so to speak, the new material which in his hands fills the framework furnished by the traditional institutions; the rule according to which he desires that in future the duties of the clergy shall be distributed. There will be, as before, priests of superior and inferior rank; but the distinction is no longer to rest upon the old *genealogical* title, it is a *moral* principle that is to decide the future assignment of sacred functions (*ib.* p. 196, 205 f.). The procedure followed by the prophet in this matter is in harmony with the character of the whole of this part of his book. It is not a reform of a practical but of an *ideal* order that he describes; and this is what explains his lack of concern as to concrete situations (*ib.* p. 206); everything in the renovated cultus, of which he traces the mysterious outlines, is to be dominated by the exigencies of the holiness of the temple and of the divine service. Not only the purifying stream issuing from the temple (chap. 47), but several other features show clearly the theoretical and ideal character of Ezekiel's ritual (*ib.* p. 197 f., 200); note, e.g., the rôle attributed to the *nāsî*, the manner in which the land is to be divided among the tribes, and the sacred domain reserved in the midst, etc. (45<sup>1ff.</sup> 48), the arrangements about the means of subsistence for the priests and their situation in relation to the other tribes (44<sup>28-30</sup> 45<sup>1ff.</sup> 48<sup>8ff.</sup>), arrangements which are irreconcilable in practice, the omission of the Feast of Weeks, which is sacrificed to the parallelism between the two halves of the year (45<sup>21-25</sup>). It is not surprising, then, that Ezekiel in his scheme takes no special account of the historical Levites, i.e. those whom the Law distinguishes from the Aaronites. I repeat once more, he borrows from the institutions of the past nothing more than the empty frame for his new organization of the clergy, with the result



of thus finding, on the one hand, the terms of the penalty to be imposed on the unfaithful priests, and, on the other hand, the terms of the recompense for the faithful ones.

§ iv. The fact that Ezekiel's code is not a piece of original legislation reveals itself in the clearest fashion in the numerous implicit references inherent in its arrangements, which are conceived in very general or even incomplete terms, and which imply a *familiar ritual* (*Sac. lév.* p. 198 ff.). The question whether the latter is the *Priestly Code* is a complicated one, whose solution must be sought with the aid of the data of various kinds supplied by the literature of the O.T.<sup>1</sup> I believe, in any case, that the study of the relations between the ritual of Ezekiel and the 'Priestly Code' is very instructive from the present point of view. It is remarkable how in general the implicit references of which I have just spoken can be verified from the Priestly Code. Thus, e.g., Ezk 43<sup>21</sup> and 44<sup>29</sup>, in dealing with the rites to be practised in offering the sacrifices for sin, lay down regulations which appear to contradict one another, but which are explicable on the ground of the rules of Lv 6, 7, regarding the different cases in view. We may compare, from the point of view even of the text, Ezk 45<sup>21</sup> with Nu 28<sup>16, 17</sup>. The principle that Levi has no lot in Israel is logically applied by the Priestly Code in the regulations about the towns to be given to the Levites to dwell in (*Sac. lév.* pp. 425, 427 ff.); in Ezekiel the same principle is found in a more advanced, though purely artificial combination with the assigning of a veritable territory to the members of the tribe of Levi (44<sup>28ff.</sup>, 45, 48). Ezekiel is acquainted with the institution of the year of jubilee, 46<sup>17</sup> (*Sac. lév.* p. 201 ff.), etc.—From this point of view I have specially remarked that, if the priestly legislation affecting the organization of the clergy is made to be the outcome of the 'reform' of Ezekiel, it is impossible to understand the *double line* of Eleazar and Ithamar starting from a common source at the time of Moses.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The majority, or at least a good many, of these data are touched upon in various parts of my book; see the Alphabetical Index, esp. under 'Code Sacerdotal.' Cf. also my study on *Le lieu du culte*, etc. (1894).

<sup>2</sup> *Sac. lév.* p. 204 f. I have, however, carefully avoided saying what Dr. König (*E.T. l.c.* p. 303<sup>a</sup>) attributes to me, namely, that if the organization of the clergy laid down in the Priestly Code had consecrated the reform of Ezekiel, 'it would have named only Zadok as the ancestral head of

All this, however, is not meant to imply that I believe the Priestly Code to have been reduced to definite shape by the time of Ezekiel, or that nothing was added to it afterwards. On the contrary, I have expressed the opinion (*ib.* pp. 126, 209 f., 433 ff.) that the episode of the punishment of Korah (Nu 16) was the echo of the difficulties occasioned during the Exile by the reform which deprived the Levites of the privileges with which they had become endowed in course of time until they found themselves almost on a level with the priests (cf. *Sac. lév.*, deuxième section, chaps. 1 and 2 *passim*), a reform which reduced them again to their legal status.

§ v. The programme of Ezekiel was in no way and to no extent the point of departure or the rule by which, during the Exile and afterwards, the reorganization in the ranks of the clergy was worked out (*ib.* p. 208 ff.). The *Nethinim* and the *Sons of Solomon's servants* reappear on the scene at the Return, as if Ezekiel had never demanded the exclusion of foreigners from the service of the temple; the 'Levites,' the 'porters,' and the 'singers' form in certain respects groups as distinct from one another as from the priests; and these groups rest entirely upon genealogical titles (cf. esp. Ezr 2<sup>62</sup>), even in the case of those who had remained in the East (Ezr 8<sup>2, 18</sup>). No one after the Exile knows the 'sons of Zadok,' etc.<sup>3</sup> It is frequently supposed that the 'sons of Zadok' represent in Ezekiel the clergy of the temple at Jerusalem in opposition to the priests of the *bāmōth*; but was it not the clergy of the temple that had been the chief offenders in the abuse so severely condemned by Ezekiel, namely, the admission of foreign servants into the sanctuary? Is it not in the temple itself that Ezekiel is a witness of the vilest idolatry (chap. 8)? It is more probable, it seems to me, that the 'sons of Zadok' are a symbolical creation of the prophet (*Sac. lév.* p. 210).—It is quite true in general, as Dr. König says, that the 'meaning of a prophetic utterance cannot be made to depend upon whether it was effectual or not' (*E.T. l.c.* p. 303<sup>b</sup>). But in the actual case this consideration helps us

the priests!' Nor have I lost sight of the circumstance that the family of Eleazar was divided into sixteen classes, and that of Ithamar into eight (*ib.* p. 213 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> On the small number of Levites mentioned in the list of the companions of Zerubbabel, see *Sac. lév.* pp. 65 f., 212 f.



to fix the purely ideal character of the prophecy, and this is of importance for the exegesis.

The above is a summary analysis of my study on the priests and Levites of the Book of Ezekiel.

The question may be addressed to me whether it would not have been simpler to discover in 44<sup>10ff.</sup> the announcement of the reform whereby the non-Aaronite Levites were deprived, during the Exile, of the considerable prerogatives assured to them by usage under the Monarchy. This explanation, according to which the 'sons of Zadok' would represent the Aaronite priests, has two advantages: (a) it accounts for the distinct employment of the terms *Levites* and *priests* respectively in v.<sup>10</sup> and v.<sup>15</sup>; (b) it permits us to discover in Ezekiel's announcement a practical scope and aim. But, although at first it appears simpler, I am not disposed to accept of this explanation. In the first place, in view of the general character of Ezk 40 ff., there is no real interest in discovering an explanation which permits us to recognize a practical aim in the prophet's announcement (see above, § iii.). As to the employment of the terms *Levites* and *priests*, we must note the difference between 48<sup>10-13</sup> and 44<sup>10.15</sup>; in the latter Ezekiel opposes to the priests the 'sons of Zadok,' not the Levites as such, but the Levites 'who departed from me,' a definition which allows us to understand the term 'Levites' in a wider sense, as = 'members of the tribe of Levi.' Or, if necessary, we might suppose that in v.<sup>10</sup> the prophet used the term 'Levites' in the restricted sense by a kind of prolepsis, in order to indicate the rank to which he would have the

guilty priests reduced.—Here, on the other hand, are the principal reasons which forbid my accepting the explanation just referred to. (1) On this hypothesis we should have to hold that Ezekiel represents the non-Aaronite Levites as guilty in a body of idolatry, and the Aaronite priests as without a stain—which is quasi-absurd. (2) Although I do not believe that the 'sons of Zadok' represent in an exact fashion, in Ezekiel, the clergy of the temple of Jerusalem, it is very probable that, in proclaiming the degradation of the idolatrous priests, Ezekiel may have thought of the priests of the *bāmōth* who were dispossessed by Josiah (*Sac. lév.* p. 194)—a story which was not calculated to suggest to him the idea of a collective accusation against the non-Aaronite Levites. (3) Nor, as it seems to me, can it be held that this accusation was merely a *pretext* put forward during the Exile, in order to deprive the Levites of their privileges and to place them in their proper position; for not only would it have been going too far to oppose the idolatry of the Levites to the fidelity of the Aaronites, but the pretext was quite superfluous, the reform in question being naturally brought about by circumstances, and one that was capable of being imposed upon the Levites in the name of the Law and of strict justice (*ib.* p. 208 f.).

It is plain that the 'reform' of Ezekiel, if it is to be rightly understood, must be studied in connexion with all the data which the O.T. supplies regarding the Levitical priesthood. For this reason the chapter in my book which deals with this 'reform,' cannot, I think, fail to gain in clearness by the reading of the whole of which it forms a part.

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

#### HEBREWS XI. I.

'Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen' (R.V.).

#### EXPOSITION.

'Faith.'—The order shows that the object of the writer is not to give a formal definition of Faith, but to bring out characteristics of Faith which bear upon his argument. It seems to suggest the affirmation of the reality of faith as well

as the nature of faith, as if it were 'Now faith is, and it is this. . . .'—WESTCOTT.

FAITH is not regarded in this Epistle from the same aspect as by St. Paul. He contemplated it as the spiritual act by which the believer originally finds acceptance before God in Christ; this Epistle views it as the spirit which animates the lives of faithful men, the trust in God by which they overcome the world. Its practical efficacy, again, distinguishes it from the barren faith which St. James condemns.—RENDALL.

THE chapter which illustrates 'faith' is full of works ; and this alone should show how idle is any contrast or antithesis between the two.—FARRAR.

'Assurance of things hoped for.'—The first form of the definition is incomplete. *Assurance of things hoped for* would limit faith to the *future*. Whereas the realm of faith is larger. All the past belongs to it, and the greater part of the present. Things hoped for, if the definition is to be complete, must be replaced by things not seen.—VAUGHAN.

'Proving of things not seen.'—The only possible renderings here are *proof* and *test*. Of these two the latter introduces a thought somewhat far-fetched. *Proof*, that which convinces us of something, is simple and adequate. Faith is that quality or faculty of the mind which convinces us of, which enables us to accept, to grasp, to realize the invisible.—VAUGHAN.

## METHODS OF TREATMENT.

### I.

#### Faith.

*By the Right Rev. Frederick Temple, D.D.*

This is the only place in the Bible where we have a definition of Faith. It is the laying hold of the future in the midst of the present, of the unseen in the midst of the seen. The mark of the true disciple is that he walks by faith not sight. This faith is to the Christian what the Law was to the Jew. To have kept the Law was the highest praise for a Hebrew, but St. Paul says not 'I have kept the Law,' but 'I have kept the Faith.'

If the world were what it should be, this faith would be little tried. But we see wrong and falsehood prevail over right, strength and cunning over goodness, and the laws of Nature and Death the same for the righteous and the wicked, and the consequences of sin seem far off when temptation comes to us. Yet in spite of contradictions without and weakness within, a voice in our own souls proclaims with authority the eternal law of right and truth and goodness ruling the universe as the will of its Creator. To believe this voice and to obey it is faith.

Such faith is not peculiar to Christians. It was required of men before a revelation was given in obedience to the natural conscience given to all, bidding them put the unseen above the seen. But such faith is not enough for those who have heard God's word. The Jew received the Word of God as far as it was then written. In it and in his religious observances he found much that was unintelligible, but he found there the same Spirit which spoke in his conscience, and he knew this was the voice of God. To throw himself unreservedly

on the power thus revealed to him within and without was the faith of the Jew.

But in his revelation a question remained unanswered. Not the injustice of the world, not our trials and perplexities, but our weakness and sinfulness make it difficult to trust our lives to that holy guidance. There is a law in our members warring against the law of our mind. We would believe, and live by our belief, but we are too weak, too wicked, too hampered by the fetters of nature and habit. Will that awful voice of Conscience lead us to peace or to our own destruction?

The gospel gave the answer. We read there of One whom we are forced to confess to be the express image of the Father of whom our conscience and the prophets have told us. We read His promises corresponding to the need of our souls ; of a power flowing from Him, entering our souls, and conquering the enemy, sin, whom we dread. He bids us surrender ourselves to Him, He promises to join us to Himself, and not merely to undo the riddle of the world, but to give us victory over our sin, and to prove that God has forgiven us by the token of His having cleansed us. To throw ourselves on His promise, clinging to Him in spite of darkness, perplexity, and sin, is Christian faith. We see its power most clearly in the great crises of life, but the greatest victories of faith are over trivial and recurring temptations, and are rewarded by Him who seeth in secret. The final victory is given by God alone when He sees fit, but we know that soon or late we shall win if we hold fast our faith, for God has promised and we believe His word.

### II.

#### Faith.

*By the Rev. George Dawson, M.A.*

Many of the controversies of Christendom have been wars of words only. One says we are saved by faith, meaning belief of the heart. Another, understanding faith as conviction of the intellect, says, Nay, not so. They are agreed if they only understood one another. The word Faith is ambiguous. Owing to the limitation of human language the same word may express different meanings. Faith may express intellectual belief or the thing believed, or heart-belief or the result of that belief, or the realizing of the unseen.

1. Faith in general. Faith is not peculiar to



religion, it is at the root of everything in life. The infidel sneers at the patriarch who left his home in search of a country which God would show him. It will be easy to show him that all his heroes are men of faith. Milton's land of promise was his ideal Commonwealth. Columbus believed in an unseen America. Inductive science is built upon faith. Faith is essential in daily life, for without it as a basis experience could not be built up. You eat to satisfy your hunger, you take medicine to cure your disease. These acts are the results of experience, but were once the workings of faith, and in repeating the experiment, not doubting its success, you act by faith. Society also is founded on faith in one another.

2. Faith as intellectual conviction. (1) Is a man answerable for his beliefs? and (2) is this 'saving Faith'? A man is not answerable if his belief is the necessary result of evidence set before him. The juryman who gives an impartial hearing to all the evidence, cannot help his conclusion. But in moral truth it is almost impossible for a man to surrender himself to the evidence, setting aside his own inclinations. Therefore men are answerable for their opinions—for the process, not the result. God's sunshine is His affair, but if my laziness has left the window dirty it is my fault if I sit in darkness. (2) Will intellectual belief save us? We see men of most orthodox opinions living in sin. What cannot save from sin now, cannot save from its consequences hereafter.

3. Faith of the heart. It is an instinctive, intuitive power. It manifests itself in Patriotism, Loyalty, Chivalry, and Love. A shallow school represents man as purely selfish, and all we do for others as the purchase-money of divine favour for ourselves. History gives this the lie. For Patriotism, Loyalty, Chivalry, and Love men lay down their lives, and will not Religion accomplish as much? Men do believe in justice, for they are just to their own hurt; they believe in freedom, for they give their lives for it; they believe in heaven when they are content to be poor and despised in this world, to lay up treasures there.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

SOCIETY rests on the faith which man has in man. The workman, toiling through the week for the wage which he believes he will receive; the passenger, procuring a ticket for a distant town, because he believes the statements of

the time-tables; the sailor, steering his bark with unerring accuracy in murky weather, because he believes in the mercantile charts and tables; the entire system of monetary credit, by which vast sums circulate from hand to hand without the use of a single coin—all these are illustrations of the immense importance of faith in the affairs of men.—F. B. MEYER.

I ENVY no quality of the mind or intellect of others, not genius, wit, nor fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I would prefer a firm religious belief to any other blessing; for it makes suffering a discipline of good, creates new hopes when earthly hopes vanish, awakens life in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity, giving the most delightful visions, and the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair.—SIR HUMPHRY DAVY.

It was belief in an unseen America that carried Columbus across the ocean. When land-birds and land-plants appeared, the mariners to a man believed in America; but through the long years of hopeless endeavour, the long weeks of anxious navigation, he, the man of Faith, had seen America as clearly as they saw it on landing.—G. DAWSON.

IN an address to the British Association on 'Least Action in Nature,' the Rev. Dr. Haughton said: 'There are truths in the system of things as real and as certain as any laws of Nature, although we cannot perceive them with our senses. My eyes cannot see them, my ears cannot hear them, nor can I touch them with my hands, but they are there. I know them to be true, and that they will endure when Nature and her laws have passed away, like the memory of a troubled dream. I testify what I have seen. I have many a time seen a humble earnest faith in these unseen truths cause a smile of joy to play upon the pale face distorted with pain like a sunbeam dancing on the bosom of the troubled ocean. I have seen those truths illumine with a light from heaven the dim eye soon to be closed for ever by the cold hand of death. Those truths are more dear to me than all that Nature can teach me, because they touch my inner life and consciousness.'

WHEN asked what Faith is, a schoolboy answered, 'It is when we believe what we know is not true.' If many men of the world, as they are called, are prejudiced against faith and dislike sermons on the subject, it is very often because in their secret thoughts they explain faith in much the same way as did the schoolboy. They think that it means credulity, or at least something which is opposed to reason.—E. J. HARDY.

SELF is earthly—Faith alone  
 Makes an unseen world our own;  
 Faith relinquished,—how we roam,  
 Feel our way, and leave our home.  
 Spurious gems our hopes entice,  
 While we scorn the pearl of price;  
 And preferring servants' pay,  
 Cast the children's bread away.—COWPER.



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 Westcott (B. F.), Historic Faith, i. 172.

## Science and Faith.

BY THE REV. G. FERRIES, M.A., D.D., CLUNY, ABERDEENSHIRE.

### II.

#### Difficulties occasioned for Religious Faith by Science.

THE positive certainty of the achievements of science affords every ground for satisfaction and implicit trust to the thinking mind. The command which is gained over nature is at once a source of keen mental gratification and of many tangible benefits; life is aided and embellished, and that too in the immediate present, in a great variety of ways. Furthermore, large hopes are held out for the future. An ideal is formed and the imagination is set aglow. A faith and hope are generated by enthusiasts and by certain writers of fiction, which, it is claimed, serve all the legitimate purposes of religion, and possess the unique advantage of being built on ground that is demonstrably trustworthy. Those who cherish this ideal or faith anticipate a time when the secrets of nature will be disclosed to such an extent that her resources, which are already understood to be practically limitless, will be made to yield an abundance of good to all the inhabitants of the earth, all being educated sufficiently to employ the gifts of nature with intelligence and profit. Chemistry and electricity, *e.g.*, are peculiarly promising. The chief hope, or the dream, of many hearts is bound up with such sciences as these. The material world appears to offer the prize of happiness which is appreciable in form or quality, which is here and now forthcoming, and which is or promises to be sufficient in amount.

Next, whereas science is cosmopolitan, the creeds are only for sections of the people: which religious creed is true, and why? The habit of judging according to evidence makes it hard to

assent to any body of dogma. In this way the faith inherited from tradition is involved in difficulty. History now traces the formation of dogma, and shows that it is a product of human thought, imperfect therefore as everything human is. If again the inspired word of Scripture is appealed to, the ground for this appeal has to be examined; a blind acceptance of scriptural declarations must be valueless; we require to have truth which approves itself as such. And assuredly there can be no confidence whatever, in these days of science, that the person who is affected by doubt as to the whole subject of religion will be constrained by an intellectual study of Scripture, and on grounds of indisputable evidence, to become a man of faith. A human element, relativity to their age and circumstances, and a process of growth are discovered by him in the Books, and this raises many questions as to their absolute trustworthiness, before the spiritual things are spiritually discerned. But not to speak of other points, one feature above all staggers him—the amazing character of many parts of the writings, those, namely, which report miracles. For while science knows of a multitude of unsolved problems in its own sphere, it refuses to treat any of them as in principle insoluble; there is often great difficulty therefore in admitting that in a bygone age there were occurrences on the earth of which a natural explanation is impossible.

There remains the belief in God as a present living Power. It has already been indicated how the need for God may be lessened till the feeling

is entirely lost. And when the crucial question is raised, 'Is there conclusive evidence for the existence of God?' a one-sided habit of resting in exact scientific proof tends to raise doubts, to lead to a suspension of judgment, which may become life-long, or pass into Agnosticism or unbelief. An explanation of the origin of the world is frequently sought in some form of development of the matter and forces actually discovered in the universe. Evolution is taken to be the cause of all that is, and not to be merely the mode of the Creator's working. Darwin, the coryphæus of nineteenth century science, tells us that owing to his specialism in Biology he found to his regret that in his later years there was an atrophy or decay of some of the principal powers he once possessed; the faculties for literature and music. We can only expect, therefore, that religion, which depends so much on the cultivation of the feelings and the guidance of the will, would be similarly affected, if a person has been exclusively and passionately engrossed for a great length of time with any department of study—all the more as there is apt to be a pride of science which is alien to the spirit of religion.

But notwithstanding the difficulties that often bar the way to faith, religion may present itself as reasonable, even to the mind that is steeped in science. In this connexion the history of thought is again instructive; for if one leading class of intellectual pursuits has tended, in the manner already indicated, to disturb the faith of many, another main branch of modern research, in which the widest survey of man's powers and interests is taken, has been found to lead up to Christian belief and to yield results which amalgamate with it; the whole of knowledge has been combined in an articulate unity in which the material element is understood in the light of the spiritual. Accordingly, we return to one of the chief threads of the history, which was taken up for a moment.—The mental and spiritual powers of man have been the subject of much investigation, especially in the last generations. *Man* is one of the objects in nature, and distinguished as he is by the possession of mind he presents problems of a special type, which science, if true to itself, cannot disregard. What is the origin and what are the limits of his knowledge? This question, as raised by Kant, was discussed in the early part of the nineteenth century, and a long course of scientific or philo-

sophical inquiry thereupon followed. *Thought* was proved to be constitutive of experience; we call into requisition certain ideas in the very act of knowing the world of sense. Thought is not produced by external objects, nor is it explicable in terms of sense; it is elemental and formative. And just as ideas contribute their part to form man's experience, the intelligible world itself presupposes universal thought as constitutive of it. So, then, the ultimate truth we require is by no means to be discovered in the external sphere of nature, which is often supposed to be exclusively of interest to science. There is a mental component of actual existences which imperatively demands attention, and which must be investigated by methods that are applicable to mind. Then, too, as science brings the separate fact of observation under a law, the laws again, and the sciences themselves, have to be related to still higher knowledge. Viewed in their isolation they are but fragments belonging to one self-consistent, organic body of truth. A fragment is properly understood only in relation to the organism of which it forms a part. The very quest for fact and reality, for truth unqualified and entire, impelled very many during the century just finished to rise from the single sciences to the higher truth which shows their meaning—to universal truth which is gathered up in the mind of God. It was declared that the finite, as appearing in nature or science, and in human thought itself, implies the infinite as its ground and necessary complement. While the natural sciences were left free to follow their proper methods of research, the course of inquiry just referred to, aided by the growth of Romanticism, succeeded in giving a powerful impetus to the cause of Christian faith, and the effect continues till now.

The idealistic philosophy did not profess to be a means of producing religion; it avowedly assumed the existence of religion in the form of faith (so, e.g., Hegel, *Phil. of Religion*, i. p. 6, ed. Marheineke; Biedermann, *Dogmatik*, 2nd ed., i. p. 174 ff.; Principal Caird's *Introd. to Phil. of Religion*, new ed., lects. ii. and vi., esp. p. 41, and his *Gifford Lectures* on 'The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity,' lect. ii.). Its task was to bring out the rational meaning of the sense-forms in which that popular faith was clothed, to make explicit the reason that underlay the whole of Christian doctrine. The intellect thus obtained



satisfaction in the matter of religion, similar to that which is afforded by any of the sciences when it clarifies and articulates the fragmentary, half-developed knowledge that passes current in daily life and practice. By means of philosophical theology the Christian religion was retained, through the greater part of the century that has just closed, by many minds that were imbued with the scientific spirit of their time. Philosophy took the existing faith and justified it to thought.

But latterly, for about a generation, the rapid advance of physical science, its thoroughly approved methods and its marvellous results, and the criticism applied to faith and to Scripture, have told to such an extent on the convictions of people, that a deep and widespread craving has arisen for trustworthy methods and for positive realities in the religious sphere itself—for fact rather than speculation, or at least prior to speculation. It can no longer be assumed, in a time of general education and activity of mind, that religion exists in the form of faith, and only needs to be elaborated by the instrument of philosophy. Those who have experienced the intellectual discipline afforded by the positive natural science of the day are trained to seek certainty, indubitable reality, in matters of faith as elsewhere; and often from the very motive of honesty they suspend their judgment, hesitate, or hang loose to all religion, till that craving is satisfied. Philosophical theology presupposes religion, and even a body of definite beliefs; but in the present age, according to a common experience, religious beliefs cannot be taken without question from tradition in the way that was formerly customary. They are gradually appropriated as they approve themselves to the critical, positive, practical spirit that now prevails.

To the new demand for concrete reality in the things of faith, the teaching of Ritschl and his followers has responded, a species of teaching which appears to be well adapted to an age in which there is a general interest in science and a lack of interest in metaphysical speculation. Only some of the leading aims of this newer movement can be here indicated, namely, such as are held in common by its representatives, and promise to yield results of value. The existence of the Christian Revelation as a historical fact, unique and unequalled in significance, is appealed to. Through the Church the life of religion is brought

near to the people of the present time, and the pure type of morality which the faith embodies is participated in more or less by all. Here, then, is a great positive reality and a ground of appeal to the modern mind. But, as in other practical matters, the appeal is not to the intellect alone. In the religious process, reason is neither silenced nor yet independently exercised; in the positive act of faith it is the *man* that is drawn to God.—As a matter of fact, it is the *Christian* religion, through its prevailing spirit and effects, that has acted on us, and which is acquired by each of the faithful in turn. It follows that *Natural Theology*, which does not take account of the distinctive gift of Christianity to the world, cannot exist in its pure form among us. This does not mean that nature has no religious message to convey to us, but that, consciously or unconsciously, we must now read nature in the light of that Christianity which permeates our thought and has to a great extent made us what we are.—The peculiar life of the spirit which is exhibited by Christianity is to be discerned in its fulness in the record of *Scripture*. The N.T. Books set before us this reality of faith as it existed in its perfect form, or, so to say, in its classical period. Hence the N.T., though it presents differences of teaching on the part of its writers, and therefore calls for criticism, nevertheless possesses authority which cannot be superseded.—But the record is an after-effect; spiritual life is primarily personal. The *Person of Christ* gives meaning to the books as to all the later history of the Church. On Him, on the positive Revelation He embodies, the seeker for God must found his faith as on a rock. He is the unifying centre for all Christian life and thought. In this life of faith spiritual and moral ends are contemplated as the most important, and thus one is prepared to believe in the possibility of Miracles. The evidence in each instance can be weighed by the spiritual man without that extreme aversion to the subject of the miraculous which the habit of contemplating scientific law alone is apt to engender.—Furthermore, knowledge of the most valuable kind is to be derived from the Christian Revelation. The doctrines of the faith are such that they can be proved in the practice of life, put to the test of *experience*. Once more, therefore, the quest for reality is responded to by adducing this principle of verification. It is, indeed, no new principle, since Luther had said (*Greater Catechism*) that



God is One from whom we expect all good, and Melancthon held that to know Christ is to know His benefits.

But if the new school, in virtue of its method, may justly be said to be in touch with positive science, and so to have at the present time 'a *Charisma* for Apologetics,' the corrective of the Idealistic philosophy that preceded it is required, to prevent the error of Agnosticism from creeping in at some stage, and to preserve intact the rights of reason in interpreting the facts of religion. To set up any external, impassable limit to the power of reason, even in its dealings with divine things, whether the limit is sought in Scripture, in the Person of Christ, in religious experience, or elsewhere, is an arbitrary and self-contradictory attempt, as philosophy has abundantly shown. In setting up any limit, thought *ipso facto* sees beyond it; the progress of thought cannot be arrested till it reaches the Infinite. But mutual recrimination on the part of the two schools of theology is uncalled for; each brings a valuable gift to swell the general store of science. On the one hand, the 'positive beliefs' supply the matter which is admittedly necessary and is not otherwise forthcoming in an age of science, the matter without which philosophy would be a mere manipulation of empty categories. If one cries down such beliefs as crude, there might be the rejoinder that physical science is likewise crude from the point of view of philosophy, but it supplies, nevertheless, a flood of knowledge and subdues the world. The whole field of religion and theology is freshened by the introduction of the modern or positive spirit, and by drawing anew from the perennial source in the Revelation in Christ; and, as a consequence, rich and abundant results have been achieved, a new interest is created, and abroad a new enthusiasm has been awakened, and there is much promise for the future.

On the other hand, while there are welcome effects, alike in regard to faith and practice, many new questions have been raised, and it is the part of reason or philosophy to answer them. The newer positivism, taken by itself, is but a torso—a department of knowledge existing along with other departments in one and the same mind. Reason in its higher sweep has the task of unifying this knowledge, of investigating the origin of knowledge, and combining the branches of it, both the sacred and the secular, in one consistent

whole. Further, it has to do justice to the vast range of religious truth, to relate the non-Christian systems to Christianity, to articulate the component parts of Christian doctrine, and to try to see that doctrine in its completeness, not merely in the fragmentary form which may suffice for the individual. Philosophy has to insist that in no direction shall the path of inquiry be foreclosed. Faith is entitled to claim its full heritage; and this can only be possessed when speculative thought, elaborating the material furnished by reason and revelation, seeks to realize, even in their infinity, the wisdom and goodness which are to be found in God.

(a) If a person has occupied himself with different sciences, he finds as a matter of course that the results, from the very fact that they have been ascertained, harmonize with each other: there is no urgent necessity to show the consistency of the whole. So, too, in the acquisition of a positive and practical faith, there is a reconciliation with previously existing knowledge at every step, as each article of faith is accepted. Yet it is needful in the latter case that the reconciliation, which may have been but instinctive, a reconciliation to feeling, should be made explicit to the reason, and that the whole fabric of knowledge, instead of resting on assumptions only, or on 'common sense,' which may mean only prejudice, should be based on an approved Theory of Knowledge. (b) As the Ethnic religions prepared for Christianity and led up to it, Christianity itself cannot be properly understood without looking behind it to that development. There has been an interesting discussion in the *Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirche*, 1898, pp. 1-96, between Troeltsch and Kaftan on the relation between Christianity and the other faiths. Troeltsch, who adopted the principle of Hegel's classical treatment of the process which culminated in the Absolute Religion, insists on the inherent connexion between Christianity and the antecedent religions, and on the necessity of basing our assent to Christianity on an exposition of the origins; while Kaftan points to the need of having a religious standard—which for us can only be Christianity—as one proceeds to interpret the pre-Christian history itself. According to Kaftan, one's understanding of the development depends on the faith which is brought to the investigation; our acknowledgment of elements of truth in

heathenism and our condemnation of its errors imply that we have concluded that there is truth in religion, and settled what the guiding truth is. Obviously, to the man of no faith the history of religion is the history of illusion. The result of the discussion therefore appears to be that the end—Christianity—apprehended by a sympathetic faith, gives a clue to the preceding process, while the subsequent elucidation of the stages of that process, by the means afforded by reason and history, adds meaning to Christianity, and makes its position as the perfect religion indubitable. Here as elsewhere faith is aided and completed by purely intellectual inquiry. (c) That Christian thought cannot be confined by any external limit,

such as the specific N.T. declarations regarding Christ, is admitted by Kaftan (*Dogmatik*, § 11), who, while accepting the Christian Revelation as final and normative for faith, yet acknowledges that the doctrines of Christianity lead up to 'problems' for the reason. They are problems which are held to be capable of solution, and accordingly there seems to be, with a difference of phrase, a valuable recognition of one main contention of philosophical theology: reason has a distinctive work of its own to do in settling questions that are raised by faith. And here the scope and power of reason are unlimited; there is admittedly no end to the tasks that are set for it.

## Pauline Anthropology and Christian Doctrine.

BY THE REV. A. S. LAIDLAW, M.A., B.D., HUNTLY.

### II.

#### The Grounding of Sin.

'Sin is not imputed when there is no law.'—Rom. v. 13.

IN a former paper I sought to show that the connexion in the mind of St. Paul between the Christian and the Adamic factors of his doctrine is by no means so intimate as is commonly supposed. The next question goes deeper. Leaving the point as to the importance which the apostle may have attached to the statements which he derived from the Mosaic writings in their bearing on his doctrine of Christ, we have now to inquire into the absolute validity of the dependence of the latter upon the former.

It is a prevalent idea in Scripture that sin is grounded by the prior existence of positive precepts, against which it is constituted by transgression. An analogous instance occurs in the Priestly narrative of the Flood, which does not recognize the distinction between clean and unclean animals, because the Priestly view of Israelite history regarded ceremonial distinctions as having proceeded from the Sinaitic legislation. For the same reason the reference to Noah's altar and sacrifice is omitted. Profane history abundantly illustrates this artificial mode of thought. The science of

history has been created by the modern idea of development. History written before it became influential was little better than annals. It lacked perspective. This is true especially of the history of institutions. *Nascitur non fit* is as true of institutions as of poets. But it was precisely this fact of growth or development that was missed. Institutions did not grow, they were made. Society came into existence when a mob of human units, tired of their individualism, came together and said, 'Go to, let us draw up a constitution,' and forthwith appointed a committee with powers.

The great legislator who is supposed to do this kind of thing out of hand is a familiar figure in history. It was Hermodorus of Ephesus who, so late as 451 B.C., is credited with the wisdom and experience that drew up the Twelve Tables of the Romans. Or, according to another story, these are a transfusion of the laws of Solon, which a deputation went from Rome to Athens to procure. It is a token of the acuteness of Gibbon that he criticises such tales like a modern evolutionist. He remarks: 'In the comparison of the Tables of



Solon with those of the Decemvirs, some casual resemblance may be found, and some rules which nature and reason have revealed to every society.'

We know that all civilizations rise by gradual growth out of savagery and barbarism. Law is the hardening of traditional usages; and as civilization improves it purges out the barbaric element. Golden ages are tolerably universal superstitions. The singularity of the Hebrew Golden Age was the deeply moral and religious character of their vanished ideal. They looked beyond the ground accursed and the fact of pain, and discerned that these had a moral significance. They were penal inflictions. They were the wages of sin. Very specially death was so regarded. 'In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' Expositors of a past day considered they had successfully avoided an obvious difficulty by understanding this of spiritual death. A sounder exegesis restores the simple interpretation of physical death, and looks to have the pressure relieved in some other way. We have learned to regard death as a natural process. Death reigned even farther back from the Law than Adam by many ages. When the theologian has been compelled to concede as much to the palæontologist, he immediately puts in the *caveat*, 'But man is an exception.' Professor Laidlaw does not object to admit that there is 'obviously a sense in which he (man) was created mortal. He was Adam, from the *adamah*, the ground. Dust was the material of his body. Organized matter has naturally in it the seeds of decay. That the body of the first man could not be immortal by its constitution is implied, if not expressed, in the narrative.'<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless he considers it equally plain that 'man was not made to die, he was created for incorruption.' The curse, 'Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return,' he regards as a 'prediction that in consequence of sin the law of organized matter should be allowed to have its way, even in the case of man.' Dr. Laidlaw does not argue for his conclusion. He contents himself with stating what he considers to be the sense of Scripture.

Professor Denney is not so cautious. He too adopts the 'exception' line, but he is prepared to say why man must be without the scope of the natural law of death. Man is not a 'merely natural being.' Therefore, it is asserted, the death of a human being is a perfectly different thing from the

death of one of the lower animals. The one is natural, the other unnatural, apparently. If one objects that surely physical death is the same for man and beasts, he retorts, 'There is nothing whatever in human experience which is merely physical; death is not merely physical, it is human.'<sup>2</sup> But has he really expressed anything by so saying? I think not. The fallacy which underlies his reason comes out in the following words: 'To the consciousness of man . . . it (death) is not the debt of nature, but the wages of sin.' It has a 'spiritual character.' Granted, willingly; but surely although death bears this meaning 'to the consciousness of man,' the *fact* of death remains just where it did. Its nature is quite unaffected; it has the same power over man and beast. Death may become dreadful to man *in view of sin*, but that is very far from proving that death among men depended historically and causally upon sin.

The demand to have sin artificially grounded strongly manifested itself in the controversy to which the late Professor Drummond's *Ascent of Man* gave rise. The criticism upon which most stress was laid is that the author does away with the Fall, and therefore, so it was feared, with sin. Now, it is ludicrous to suppose evolutionists to affirm that man is not fallen and therefore needs no redemption. The evolutionist would rather be disposed to say, 'He that is down need fear no fall.' None is further than he from asserting human innocence. None will use stronger language about human depravity. Obviously, what he denies is not that man is fallen, but that he was ever anything else. Evolutionist doctrine sets man's need of redemption in the very strongest light. Look at man to-day, trace his history, working back scientifically from the known towards the unknown. Is there not in all that course evil enough to satisfy the requirements of theology? 'Ah, yes, *evil*,' it will be said, 'but the question is about *sin*.' Very good. Those who make this criticism only succeed in showing that they are victims of the fallacy that evil is not sin, except it be grounded by the prior existence of positive precepts of which it is the transgression. 'Sin is not imputed when there is no law.'

It is a portentous state of mind that refuses to allow that man's history in all past ages has sufficient moral significance as sin and guilt for theological

<sup>1</sup> *Bible Doctrine of Man*, 1st ed. p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Theology*, p. 99.



purposes, unless it can be shown to have originated with our first progenitors in an act of transgression against a positive ordinance. It comes to this apparently, that all actual human wickedness is not enough to constitute man a sinner. It is but a make-weight, 'proceeding or flowing from' something which by itself grounds human guilt. In other words, take away Adam's Fall; then however bad men may be, still they cannot be properly be convicted of *sin*, because their first father did not by a definite transgression put sin on a valid legal basis. The evolutionist has no doubt at all about human corruption, and, if he be a Christian, as little about the sin and guilt of it. But it seems the theologian has only a *theological* reason for believing in human depravity, which depravity becomes immediately doubtful *theologically* if that reason is called in question. Facts are not enough. Man must not only be guilty, but guilty in a 'Pickwickian' sense, so to speak. The theological pyramid is made to stand on a very refined apex.

Sin is grounded, not by the transgression of Adam, but pre-eminently by the revelation of God's mind in Christ. We best realize sin and guilt, not by looking back to Eden, but, as Peter the disciple did, by looking to Jesus. In Christ our ideal and our actual relations to God came into view in their awful contrast. Human sin and depravity are best seen, not in what Adam did, but in what the Son

of man suffered at our hands. We crucified and slew the Holy One. It is the Spirit of Christ who convicts the world of sin.

Nothing is gained by grounding the natural alienation of the human heart from God upon Adam's Fall. That is rather to deny its naturalness and make it appear artificial. It is simpler to take the fact as it stands, as inevitable in view of man's actual history upon the earth. Should any interject, 'But what becomes then of human responsibility?' the query is inspired by the deceptive artificialism already dealt with. Man as a self-conscious being must condemn himself for not being all he ought to be. A categorical moral imperative exerts its irresistible pressure upon him. The knowledge of Christ is the light in which man's sin and guilt are manifested to him. Is it conceivable that any should feel no difficulty about responsibility, so long as it is supposed to have been sprung upon men by the transgression of Adam, and then be constrained to raise the question when a really adequate Christian basis is provided? I would point out that it was not imputed guilt that distressed the conscience of St. Paul and wrung from him the cry, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' He felt no difficulty about responsibility, but groaned under the pollution and bondage of personal and actual sin, and gave thanks to God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

A CONCISE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. BY THE REV. W. W. SKEAT, LITT.D. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. xv, 663. 5s. 6d.)

The first edition of Professor Skeat's Concise Dictionary was published in 1882. He has been working at it ever since and producing what might be called new editions, but it is only now that he has issued what is really entitled to that name. Every word has been reconsidered and rewritten. The new and forgotten words have been placed in their proper position. And, most useful of all the improvements, the words have been arranged in strict alphabetical order.

In some cases the rewriting is revolution. Thus the word 'sackbut' is no longer directly derived from the Spanish *sacabuche*, as if it got its name because, beyond all other wind instruments, it exhausted one's wind in blowing. It is now said to be a perversion of *sambuca*—the word which the Vulgate uses in Daniel. The Spanish word is only referred to now by way of illustration. There are still serious difficulties about the origin of 'sackbut' which Professor Skeat does not clear up. Why, for example, did the Geneva Bible (from which the Authorized Version copied the word) not use 'sambuke,' which was already in existence as an English word and is much nearer

the Vulgate? And why did they choose 'sack-but,' a wind instrument, when the instrument in Daniel is stringed?

There is an appendix even in the new edition which contains a few new words, such as 'kopje,' literally 'little head,' being a diminutive of the Dutch *kop* (a head); and 'sjambok,' which after all does not seem to have been original to the Cape Dutch but borrowed from the Malays.

The Ingersoll Lecturer at Harvard University for 1898 was Professor William James. Knowing that the subject of the Ingersoll Lecture must for all time coming be the immortality of man, Professor James began to think what each succeeding lecturer would do if all the lecturers who went before endeavoured to exhaust the subject. So, though he published his lecture under the exhaustive title of *Human Immortality* (Constable), he confined himself within the narrow limits of an answer to two objections.

The first objection to the immortality of man which Professor James has answered is this: Thought is a function of the brain; therefore when the brain ceases to work, thought ceases, or, in other words, man ceases to be. The other objection is that if the immortality of man is true, there must be such an enormous crowd of persons in the world to come, and many of them must be so unattractive, that immortality ceases to be an object of desire. The first objection Professor James has answered as a psychologist, the second as a man of modesty who holds that there is perhaps as useful a place in the world to come for Hottentots as for us.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM THE MODERN POINT OF VIEW. BY THE REV. L. W. BATTEN, PH.D. (New York: Gorham; London: Hadden. Crown 8vo, pp. 360.)

Dr. Batten is now Rector of St. Mark's Church, New York. Formerly he was Professor of the Old Testament Languages and Literature in the Philadelphia Divinity School. He is a contributor to the new *Dictionary of the Bible*. And here he writes about things he knows. His book is an exposition of the results of the higher criticism of the Old Testament. It is very frank, but never offensive. On the whole the impression he leaves is that the gains are immensely more than the losses, and that they are most in the highest regions of historical and ethical theology. The

book is not so much a storehouse of information, as it is an exposition of principles. It has already passed into its second edition.

THE CHURCH, THE CHURCHES, AND THE MYSTERIES. BY G. H. PEMBER, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 554. 7s. 6d.)

'The word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the only rule given to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him.' But Mr. Pember believes that the Churches have not been directed by that rule. They have made compromises with the world, even with the paganism that is in the world. And he believes that they have never done so more culpably than to-day, when 'our National Church is not merely commencing, but has almost accomplished, a retrograde movement from Bible light to mediæval darkness.' He has therefore written this book to bring back the Churches to the Bible. And he takes the right way of doing it. He explains what the teaching of the Bible is on all the great subjects on which the Churches have gone astray. These are (1) the Church and its Members; (2) Baptism; (3) the Lord's Supper; (4) the Gifts of Ministry; and (5) Divers Gifts of the Spirit. Then when he has stated what the teaching of the Bible is on all these subjects, and stated it with unmistakable emphasis, he traces the course of the Church's treasonable departure, and closes his book with an elaborate account of the relation between Catholicism and the Mysteries. Intense earnestness of conviction is expressed on every page. If Mr. Pember writes strongly it is because he feels keenly. And although, to our shame, it means a big book, there is an undoubted advantage in having the whole indictment set forth at once.

Mr. Tinling continues his 'Sermon Seed' Series (Hodder & Stoughton, 1s. 6d. each). The new volume contains more than a hundred sermons, condensed from popular authors, on texts in *Isaiah*. It also contains an index of subjects.

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF TRINITARIANISM. BY L. L. PAINE. (Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 381.)

This book was fully dealt with last month. It will now be almost enough to mention its publishers' name. It is probable that some of

our readers are already reading it. Well, they will find it as uncompromising a defence of Unitarianism as they ever read. Professor Paine does not like the expression Unitarian, it is true, he prefers to call himself a Theist. He does not so much mind calling his opponents Trinitarians. But he prefers to call them also (Dorner, for example) Pantheists. Our readers will often find themselves out of touch with Professor Paine, sometimes in matters of scholarship, sometimes in matters of taste. But they will never misunderstand his meaning. Although they may not be sure that Mr. Paine always places his opponents right, they will never be in doubt as to where he places them. They will wonder that with such a host of opponents he is so fearless in attacking them, and they will speculate as to what might become of Mr. Paine, if his opponents were inclined to turn upon him and give him what they get.

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THE CENTURY BIBLE: ST. JOHN. BY THE REV. J. A. M'Clymont, D.D. (*Jack*. Feap, pp. 352. 2s. net.)

Dr. M'Clymont appears to have caught the editor's idea as if he had been the editor. His edition of St. John is not only a delightful book to handle, as all the volumes will be, it is also a serviceable commentary for the preacher. What is wanted is something more than exegesis and less than homiletics, and Dr. M'Clymont has hit it.

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THE ETHICS OF JUDAISM. BY M. LAZARUS, PH.D. (Philadelphia: *Jewish Publication Society*. Part II. Crown 8vo, pp. 301.)

The English translation of Dr. Lazarus' great work is to be published in four parts. The first part has been noticed already. The present part contains sections 175 to 291, together with the long note on the development of the law by the Talmud. In commending the book to English-speaking Gentiles, let us mention two gifts which it has to give us. With all our knowledge of the Old Testament it constantly throws familiar passages into new light, and it enables us to see that Rabbinical sayings, which seemed puerile, have been the vehicle of real religious and ethical instruction. Here is an extreme instance of the latter: In Exodus (1<sup>5</sup>) the Rabbis noted that Jacob was said to have come down into Egypt, not with seventy souls, but with seventy *soul*, and the lesson was derived therefrom, that all men should be one soul, as God is One.

THE EVOLUTION OF IMMORTALITY. BY S. D. M'CONNELL, D.D., D.C.L. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 204. 5s.)

Why is it that so many books are publishing just now on Immortality? Why is it that any book is ever published on Immortality? 'For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also who sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.' It is because we do not all believe it. So some books have to be written by those who believe it, to commend the belief to others; and some have to be written by those who do not believe it, to commend some other consideration. Dr. M'Connell believes it. And he has written his book just to commend the belief to others. He has written it with the keenest sympathy and the kindest consideration for those who do not yet believe. He never drives or blames, he persuades and gently leads. A better book to put into an honest unbeliever's hands it will be very hard to find.

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THE FIRST INTERPRETERS OF JESUS. BY G. H. GILBERT, PH.D., D.D. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 443. 5s. net.)

It was mentioned in last month's EXPOSITORY TIMES that Professor Gilbert had resigned his chair of New Testament interpretation in the Chicago Theological Seminary. This book was the immediate cause of his resignation. Previous volumes had raised the question whether Professor Gilbert's view of the Person of Christ was in touch with those of his brethren. He was granted a year to think and write another book. He wrote this book. When they read it, his brethren had no more doubt that he was out of touch, and he resigned.

He is out of touch with most of us. He does not believe in the Divinity of Christ. He does not believe in any of the things which for want of a better name we call miraculous. And when he does not believe, he says so. But for us it is of less importance to know what Dr. Gilbert believes, than to know whether he has given us anything in this book.

Its title is carefully chosen—*The First Interpreters of Jesus*. The first interpreters of Jesus are the writers of the New Testament. But the New Testament as we have it contains elements which did not come from its original writers. These elements must be carefully weeded out. And more than that, we must see to it that we have not



only their words but their interpretation. We use their words, but we do not put their meaning into them. Whether we believe what the first interpreters believed about Jesus or not, let us see that we understand what they did believe. That we may see it Dr. Gilbert has written his book.

Its purpose therefore is clear and simple. How to accomplish its purpose is the difficulty. No man ever set himself a more difficult or delicate task. It demands scientific and imaginative gifts of the highest order. But it has this advantage. No one can say whether it has succeeded or not. To say so is to claim imaginative and scientific gifts of a still higher order. All we can say with certainty is that Dr. Gilbert has given himself to his task with great patience and courtesy; all we can say with modesty, that his view of the earliest interpretation of Jesus is not ours. No one need fear to read the book: no one will read it without profit.

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A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH: II. FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD I. By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., F.S.A. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. xiii, 351. 7s. 6d.)

The first and third volumes of this series have already been noticed. The second missed its order through the editor's illness. It comes now to fill a vacant place in many libraries, the two previously issued volumes having given the series a name. And it is well that its place is ready for it. For we question if it would have done as much for the volumes that have preceded it as they have done for it. No doubt the period is a particularly trying one for a historian of the Church in England. There are dramatic incidents enough, but there is a great waste of petty intrigue and resultless effort to pass over. The Dean of Winchester is full of facts, and he sets them forth clearly enough. But he never arrests the attention by any great event, not even by the death of Becket; nor does he ever enchain the interest and compel us to read on. In short, the other volumes were history and literature both; this volume is history, but it is not literature. It may be that our expectation was cast too high, that seeing what the servants had done we looked for the unattainable from the master. It may be so. We can only say that this volume has moved us to a more sober admiration than the others.

LESSONS FROM WORK. BY BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 461. 6s.)

A new book by the best man and greatest bishop of our day is surely an event to chronicle. It is true that a good man and a great bishop may be no writer, but Dr. Westcott is that also. And the book is just such a book as we would have from him now. It is the fruit of personal experience. It is more than scholarship, it is wisdom. It not only contains information, it gives advice. For the Bishop of Durham knows now that it is more to set a student on the road that leads to the mine of gold than to place the nuggets in his hand; it is more to possess the spirit of holiness than to keep the ten commandments. It is their suggestiveness that has always been the chief value of Dr. Westcott's books. This book is all suggestion. The subjects are less than their treatment. It is therefore of little value to say that they range from the Revised Version to the Queen's Jubilee—it is merely encouraging curiosity. Never mind what the subjects are, the man is in every one of them, and when Dr. Westcott gives us himself as he does here, it is of little moment what his subject is or even what he says about it. There is certainly no lack of mental strength, no lack of fitting expression. But the book is its spirit.

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Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published the second edition of a work on *The Five Great Offerings and their Law* (3s. 6d.), by Mrs. Synge, eldest daughter of the late Rev. E. B. Elliott, the author of *Horæ Apocalyptice*. Professor Moule commended the book and Dr. Elder Cumming wrote a preface to its first edition issued in 1892. It is the study of a portion of Leviticus, much after the manner of Dr. Andrew Bonar's Commentary. Type and antitype are brought into immediate and minute relation to one another. Mrs. Synge is deeply interested in the Levitical offerings, but they would be nothing to her whatever if they were not fulfilled in Christ.

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THE BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATOR: PROVERBS. BY THE REV. J. S. EXELL, M.A. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 702. 7s. 6d.)

Having finished the New Testament part of the 'Biblical Illustrator,' Mr. Exell is now steadily working his way through the Old Testament. As this is only the third volume, he has a long way

yet to go. But perseverance will accomplish it. And then we shall have in the 'Bible Illustrator' the most complete and the most accessible store of homiletical material ever offered to preachers since the world began.

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THE ROCK OF AGES. BY C. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A. (*Passmore & Alabaster*. Crown 8vo, pp. 292. 2s. 6d. net.)

It is but rarely that a volume of sermons lifts its head above the multitude. It must be because the average attainment of published sermons is now so high. This is a volume of sermons. It contains twenty-four sermons and twenty-three addresses to children. Give it time and it will make its way. In admirable loyalty to the grace of God, Mr. Horne leaves no sphere of life outside its inheritance, no innermost secret of man's life unjudged by its presence. To read those sermons is to experience in the same moment the joy that consummate art gives and the pain that self-revelation brings.

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THE CHURCH IN GREATER BRITAIN. BY G. R. WYNNE, D.D. (*Kegan Paul*. Crown 8vo, pp. 261. 5s. net.)

By 'the Church' Archdeacon Wynne means of course the Anglican Church. Under the title of 'Nonconformists' he frequently refers to the progress of other communions, including the Roman Catholic, and his reference is always sympathetic, sometimes generous. But his business is with the history of the Anglican Church in the Colonies, and he has found that subject more than enough for the seven lectures of the Donnellan course. Dr. Wynne has faith enough in his subject to be careful about his facts and quite frank in stating them. It was the only way to make his book worth reading. He does not think that either the past history or the present position of the Church in the Colonies is anything to be proud of, although there are many honourable and a few glorious things to record. Its present position is, on the whole, less comforting to look at than its past history, and the misery of it is that the Church is itself to blame. It is not suffering from persecution, it is suffering from want of money and want of men. He appeals for both. And his appeal is all the stronger that his book is not meant to be an appeal but a history.

THE TREND OF THE CENTURIES. BY THE REV. A. W. ARCHIBALD, D.D. (Boston: *The Pilgrim Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. 419. \$1.25.)

The sub-title of Dr. Archibald's book makes his meaning clear. He believes that God is no absentee God, sitting apart from the world and seeing it go. He believes that He has been in it from the beginning and made it go. So the sub-title of the book is 'The Historical Unfolding of the Divine Purpose.' After a chapter on 'The Whirling Wheels of Divine Providence,' Dr. Archibald plunges straight into 'The Gulf Stream of Messianic Prophecy'; the third chapter deals with 'The Heroic Jeremiah'; and thus he passes on through 'The Fulness of Time' and 'The Crusaders' to 'John Wesley' and 'The Triumphant Nineteenth Century.' It is a book to be read by the multitude. It bristles with literary references, but they are all intelligible, and this is the most intelligible of them all, that

I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process  
of the suns.

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THE ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. BY T. A. LACEY, M.A. (*Rivingtons*. Crown 8vo, xvi, 318. 5s. net.)

This is neither a manual of theology nor a manual of dogma. The author says so, and we are bound to believe him. If he had also said what it is, we should have believed him again, and been more grateful. Not that there is any difficulty in reading the book or in understanding it. But whether we should describe it as more fundamental than theology and dogma, which does not seem possible, or only less systematic, which does not seem true, or how otherwise we are to describe it, that is the difficulty. Perhaps the one thing clearly in the author's mind, and consistently carried out, is the determination to avoid the language of systematic theology. Perhaps there is also the determination not to construct a systematic treatise, but to let things come as they follow one another in his own mind. All this has given freshness and vitality to the book. It will find readers who would never look at a volume of systematic theology, and when it finds them, it will help them to think and give them something to think about.

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Mr. Elliot Stock has published an anonymous volume on the clauses of the Apostle's Creed



under the inadequate title of *The Victory that Overcometh* (crown 8vo, pp. 135, 3s. 6d.). Its purpose is to show us not how to repeat the Creed but how to practise it.

JESUS CHRIST TO-DAY. BY F. C. SPURR. (*Stockwell*. Crown 8vo, pp. 111. 1s. 6d.)

The motto of Mr. Spurr's book is 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' He is the same, he tells us, in His essential nature, the same in His action upon the life of man, the same in His demands for the love and service of man. As He is in the Gospels, so is He now. No criticism of the Gospels has touched Him. Very God of very God, He is able to save to the uttermost, even to-day, every one that comes to Him.

Other two volumes of 'The Baptist Pulpit' are ready, the one by the Rev. W. Carey Sage, M.A., B.D., the other by the Rev. James Owen. Mr. Sage has called his book modestly *Sermons preached in the Villages*. It reminds us at once of Dean Church's *Village Sermons*, and it does not suffer by the recollection. Mr. Owen's volume is called *The Renewal of Youth*, that being the title of its first sermon. Its distinctive marks are conscientious exposition and courageous exhortation (Stockwell, 2s. 6d. net, each).

When the Israelites left Egypt they carried with them the mummy of Joseph. In that fact Mr. C. E. P. Antram sees a figure for the time that now is. Through Mr. Stockwell he has published a book, and called it *The Man, the Mummy, and the Fiery Cloud* (2s.). The Man (Moses) represents the present living Church; the Mummy represents the dead creeds; and the Fiery Cloud is a symbol of the written word of God. Mr. Antram's complaint is that men and ministers have not only to carry a mummy with them as they journey through the wilderness of this world, but that they have to make it their leader, and follow it whithersoever it goeth.

AS THE CHINESE SEE US. BY T. G. SELBY. (*Fisher Unwin*. Crown 8vo, pp. 253. 6s.)

'English gentlemen perhaps do not lie, but to look at one bit of the question and ignore the body of facts at the centre of it, is like professing to feel the pulse in the silk plaits of the pigtail.'

So remarks Brigadier Nang on page 115. The sentence explains the origin of the book. Mr. Selby, an old Chinese missionary, seeks to make known the body of facts at the centre of the Chinese question. He chooses the dialogue as his literary device. He introduces many various Chinese personages and many different Englishmen—but only one of each in one chapter and on one topic. The dialogue of most interest is probably that on 'The Ethics of the East and West.' It does not reach to the very bottom of things, for no doubt below ethics is, or ought to be, religion. But inasmuch as the religion of China is one ethical code, it goes as deep as need be, and it makes some curious revelations. 'It is more humane,' says the consistent Chinaman, 'to put a female infant into the creek or on to the refuse heap, than to allow her to grow up into a "sea-shore girl" and become a mother of unfathered half-breeds.' The Chinese see some strange things in us.

### 'The Work of the Holy Spirit.'

To those who thought Calvinism was dead and had begun to dance on its grave, this book must have come with surprise. In Holland at anyrate Calvinism is not dead. Nor is it dead in America. For Dr. Warfield of Princeton has written an introduction to Dr. Kuyper's book, in which he accepts all Dr. Kuyper's theology, and thanks God for Dr. Kuyper. Escape may be sought in denying that this is Calvinism. Perhaps it is not. But it is certainly not less than Calvinism. So that if Kuyper-Calvinism is not dead, as it evidently is not, Calvinism must be very much alive.

The title of the book is *The Work of the Holy Spirit*. Our first thought is, How extensive the work of the Holy Spirit is. For this is a large book; it deals with forty-three different subjects in forty-three separate chapters, and every chapter is packed with matter. Nor will Dr. Kuyper allow that he has overstepped the limits of his subject. 'The scope of these discussions,' he says, 'does not include the redemptive work as a whole, which belongs to the triune God, but that of the Holy Spirit alone.' He is very severe upon those who do not distinguish the work of the Holy

<sup>1</sup> *The Work of the Holy Spirit*. By Abraham Kuyper, D.D., LL.D. Funk & Wagnalls. 8vo, pp. xxxix, 664.



Spirit from the work of the Father and of the Son. Even in prayer, he says, they use the Divine names indiscriminately; and although the Holy Spirit is called the Comforter, when they need comfort they go to the Father or to the Son. This is how he states the distinction which he discovers in the work of the three Persons of the Godhead: 'The power to *bring forth* proceeds from the Father; the power to *arrange* from the Son; the power to *perfect* from the Holy Spirit.' He finds the distinction in Ro 11<sup>38</sup> 'For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things.' Consequently the work of the Holy Spirit goes right through revelation, touching every doctrine that touches man, from the Creation to the Final Restitution. The work of the Holy Spirit has to do with every doctrine, though it has not everything to do with it.

The real meaning of so big a book on the work

of the Holy Spirit, then, is this. Dr. Kuyper attributes to the Holy Spirit all the things which other theologians attribute to man himself. 'Work out your own salvation, for it is God that worketh in you'—other theologians say, 'Here are two persons at work'; Dr. Kuyper says, 'No, there is but one.' If there were two, the word 'for' which is there would be meaningless. So the book contains immense sections on Faith, Love, Prayer, and the like, sections which practically exhaust those subjects. For 'the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man' is not his own doing, it is part of the work of the Holy Spirit.

Should the suspicion arise that so comprehensive a scheme of the work of the Holy Spirit makes human effort unreal and insincere, the answer is at hand. No scheme of theology has ever made its professors more earnest in working out their own salvation than this.

## St. Paul the Greek.

BY THE REV. JOHN KELMAN, JUN., M.A., EDINBURGH.

FROM very early times Greek ships had crept cautiously along the shores, and threaded their way out and in among the islands, of the Mediterranean Sea. The genius of the nation was catholic and adaptable, and they dotted the world with settlements of colonists and merchants. Alexander the Great, in his marvellous campaigns, had gathered these scattered centres into one empire, knit together by great lines of communication, and strengthened by new cities like Alexandria. The machinery of empire was perfect, and the Greek tongue became the language of the educated world everywhere—the language in which the gospel was to spread to the ends of the earth.

With the Roman conquest, evil days fell upon Greece, as also on Palestine. But the travelling and the culture went on. 'The torrent of Jewish emigration met the torrent of Greek immigration' in every part of Syria.

The Greek genius and spirit, which thus made its way through the world, was a very complex one. The perfectly expressive language, the mystery of writing, the reverence for antiquity, the belief in

the heaven-given inspiration of the older poets, all contributed to a very wonderful result. The civilization that resulted fostered a type of manhood marked by 'a high perfection of intellect and imagination; a restless activity of mind which found relief in disquisitions, and of body which found play in the games; a habit of indefatigable inquiry and of quick perception.' The ideals were self-elevation and self-culture. The characteristics, as they are finely epitomized by Professor Butcher, were: (1) A love of knowledge for its own sake, a passion for truth, and for seeing things as they really are, with no care for consequences. (2) A strong belief in conduct—such 'noble action' as might be becoming to 'clear thought.' (3) A mastery of Art, such as still sets its models for the world—Art also being loved for its own sake, and its chief excellences being the absence of exaggeration, the delicate spirit of choice, the unobtrusive propriety of diction. (4) A passionate demand and assertion of political freedom. These were those 'Gifts of Greece'—those 'fair humanities of paganism' which made her earn the name of 'The Holy Land of the Ideal.'

Of course all this is an ideal picture. As a matter of fact, the Ideals were swallowed up for the most part in commercial enterprises and extreme luxury of wealth. In the provinces, especially where she touched the Oriental barbarism, Grecian life became debauched and degenerate, sinking into the most unconcealed sensuality; while those Stoics who represented the highest ideals of the ancient days, grew hardened and bitter by opposition from the rest of men.

Here, then, lay waiting for Paul and for Christianity a second task that was indeed Titanic. Greece had been nearest the ideal all-round human life of any nation—in theory, at least, and intuition. She had just missed it, and was dying off into hopeless failure and corruption. To Paul it was given to revive that ideal, as never elsewhere has a dying spirit been revived; to conserve and reinvigorate the best life of ancient Greece. To establish on the earth a religion of liberty and knowledge; of beauty without fleshliness; of lofty morality without bitterness or scorn.

This appears the more interesting when we remember the attitude of Greece to foreign things, and especially to Jewish things. To the Greek, all that was not Greek was barbarian. The pride of Greece was scornful. It was met, in the Jews, with a scorn more vehement than its own, though not more absolute. The Pharisaic Jew had no appreciation for anything that had not the mark of Moses on it. For the rest, it was Gentile and accursed. 'Down with everything' was their attitude to the pagan world.

Yet Greek life poured itself, and carried its irresistible fascination with it, into Palestine. In Christ's time Galilee was full of Greek villas; and the Herods, native Idumean rulers, set themselves as this first object, to be as Grecian as they could. Again, while some Jews thus affected Greek culture, some of the incoming Greeks adopted the religion and the rites of the Jews. Thus, between the extremes of loyal Jews and loyal Greeks, you had two classes of what were called 'Hellenists'—one class being Jewish apostates, the other being Grecian proselytes.

That was the state of parties. But at such a time there are always many whose tastes and convictions lead them more or less beyond party boundaries. Every man in those days, who felt any revolt against the narrow bigotry of Judaism,

must have found himself more or less in sympathy with some part of the Greek life and spirit. And so there were many who remained loyal to their Jewish blood, and yet did not feel themselves constrained to curse the Grecian influence as an utterly unholy thing; who acknowledged that there was much in it that was not only healthy, but a good gift from God to man.

The Apostle Paul was very much in this position. His appearance in Athens is one of the most living bits of portraiture in the old or new literature. Professor Ramsay has laid us all under a great debt by his delightful exposition of it. We see him, with some time on his hands, wandering about the city of statues. His quick and clever spirit feels and catches the spirit of the place. While seeing the sights, he is making himself, in sympathetic imagination, an Athenian. 'He is the student of a younger university visiting an older one.' He adopts their custom, and talks in the Agora as foreign and native philosophers were talking. There is much to sympathize with, but the place is all spoiled for him by its innumerable statues and idol altars. He speaks, and speaks well. He takes for his text an altar he has seen with the inscription, 'To the Unknown God.' He pours out a great appreciation of the sunlit, fair, and kindly world, and the Good God above it, whose offspring (he reminds them), according to their own poet, we all are. Only, their religious monuments show that their piety has run off into excess. These countless idols are surely no fit way to worship the Father of All.

He had caught their interest before he began to speak, but not their sympathy nor their respect. The young life about the university was ever on the outlook for curious doctrines. 'Lads of parts' from the villages, and foreigners from the ends of the earth, who had discovered some truth, or devised some system, or imagined some dream or other, came to this centre to speak out what was in them. Athens was the centre of all who were ambitious to find fame and fortune by their wits. It was in this character that Paul appeared to these loungers. In the name they give him we hear the very college slang of to-day—*σπερμιολογος*—sparrow, seedpecker, 'picker up of learning's crumbs'—'what has this *Bounder* got to say?' So they hustled him along to the Council of wise men, who exercised a kind of censorship over the public education; and he made his



speech, in whose subtle blend of popular and scholarly elements we can perceive the nature of the audience—a narrower circle of the educated, and a wider fringe of the populace. The speech proceeded—clever, courteous, to the point. It touched Greek life in the most delicate and appreciative way. But the audience had heard all that before. There was nothing new in it. They had philosophers who had it all by heart. And the first new thing that came from Paul was that cunningly-led-up-to word of the resurrection of a certain dead Jew named Jesus. The impassive and unimpressed audience went away laughing. They had had enough.

Much has been made of the failure of this attempt upon Athens, and much stress has been laid on the fact that when he went to Corinth he did not repeat it, but spoke hard things of the wise, the disputers, and the learned, and ‘determined to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.’ Probably the explanation lies very largely in the fact that Corinth was the centre not of Greek learning but of commerce. Be that as it may, the chief interest of this scene lies not so much in its effect on Athens, as in its revelation of the mind of Paul. And to this we now turn.

In our former study, that of ‘Paul the Hebrew,’ we saw the Titanism of this man, when he took up three of the great central Hebrew facts—nationality, law, crime—and sent them forth into the world charged with new meaning and new power. He did this when they were to all appearance dying, and so saved them.

Here a still more Titanic thing awaited him, and in the speech at Athens we see him attempting it; and it is commonly supposed that here we see him failing in the attempt. The Jewish world was small in every way compared with the world of Greece. That huge carcase of old Greek civilization lay across the whole known world, poisoning it with its decay. Will it be possible for this man—for any man—to call that dead thing back to life again?—to preserve for the world, and to set free in it, any of those lofty ideals whose memory was now the most that remained of them?

Certainly it was a daring task, and especially daring for this disciple of the Rabbis. Some writers have imagined that Paul had an extensive acquaintance with Greek literature and culture.

Certainly his school—that of Gamaliel—was more broad-minded than the rest, and so would leave him more open to such influences than he would have been in most of the schools. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that he wrote provincial Greek and thought in Syriac; that the cast of his mind was essentially Hebrew, and that in all his writings there are but three quotations from Greek literature, namely: ‘We are all his offspring’; ‘The Cretans are all liars’; and ‘Evil communications corrupt good manners.’ These are certainly not promising. They are the sort of quotations that even a man who had never studied Greek books, but had only kept his ears open in the street, would be certain to become familiar with.

We cannot therefore build much on the idea that he had seriously studied the Hellenic culture of his time. But study is one thing and spirit is another. A culture affects the minds of men far more by its atmosphere, its delicate play of feeling, its subtle spiritual appeal to one’s tastes and inclinations. Of such influence we find abundant trace in Paul. Naturally, there was much in him to which that spirit must have appealed—many points in which he was in strong sympathy with it. His daring, his delight in strong and free argument, his brilliant spiritual intuition, his keen appreciation of all clever and able things, and of what was beautiful and true—all that made him open to this influence. He saw how Godlike the ideals of Greece had been, how powerful for God they ever must be, if they are kept alive and pure. He was far too wise a man not to utilize such a spirit; and he did utilize it. It was not so much that he borrowed from it directly, as that he allowed himself consciously or unconsciously to be influenced by it. Many of his leading positions fell into peculiarly striking harmony with it. And so, hardly realizing what he did, he revived in his Christian teaching much that was best and most appealing in that wonderful life that seemed to have fallen upon so hard a destiny. Let us consider four points in which this is specially manifest.

1. *He changed the emphasis of religion from cursing to blessing—from negative to positive.*—The Jewish law was for the most part negative ‘Thou shalt not!’ ‘Thou shalt not!’ True, there were wonderful glimpses of the grace and compassionate love of the Law-giver. Yet these were difficult



to catch and very difficult to live in. The Hebrew conscience was irritated and fearful, and its spirit was morbid. Whatsoever things were severe, whatsoever things of bad report, where there was any vice, where there was any blame, it thought on these things. It wrestled against them, it fell before their temptation and was forgiven, it anxiously felt its way forward into the future, on the outlook for new conflict.

The Greek spirit was all too much the other way. It had not nearly conscience enough. It saw around it a world of alluring beauty, full of the chances of pleasure and delight, and unhesitatingly it plunged in that fair world. True, as is ever the case, there was a sorrow in its heart—the world-sorrow that is the solemn undertone of all great thinking. And its character was that of mingled melancholy and lightness, as different as possible from the Hebrew mingling of hope and fear.

Now that mingled melancholy and lightness is one of the most marked peculiarities of Paul. But the lightness is the point to be emphasized here. 'Whatsoever things are lovely, pure, of good report, with virtue and praise in them'—these are the things we are to think about, he tells us.

But the thing that explains this is a great change that had come over the whole aspect of things for Paul when he passed from the negative law to the positive grace. The whole emphasis of religion had been on abstaining from things, on what one must *not* do or say. The whole emphasis of the gospel is on what great gift is ours—what we *have* in Jesus Christ. The main interest of the law was in what would be the result of disobedience, the main interest of the gospel is the joy and peace of believing. This produced a bright and sunny type of life which amazed and impressed the world. Men rejoiced, in the early Christian Church, 'with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' And the sad-eyed Greek world, which had believed itself to have the monopoly of joy, looked on wistfully, and learned how sad it was in comparison with this new spirit.

Was not this a great thing? And when this apostle sends his gospel of grace, 'the good news of the glory of the rejoicing God,' and his commands—'Rejoice evermore,' and 'Again I say rejoice'—when he sent these messages all through the world, calling forth a great gladness by every shore and through the faded heart of every city—

must there not have been many who felt that the old Greek spirit had found true voice at last? It was a Titanic thing to do, and this man did it.

2. *Liberty*.—If Paul was anything, he was an independent and irrepressible man. The Rabbinical schools were places of utter bondage, and when he broke loose, *he broke loose*. His whole writings ring with the shout of the emancipated. The Jewish law had become for Jewish men an irritating and unintelligent tyranny. It governed in the stupid fashion of a giant rather than with the dignity of a king. And it was further made irritating by the fact that so many officials were at the management of it. It was explained by the Rabbis into endless details, so that the obedient Jew was at the beck and call of a multitude of very stupid and pedantic men. One can feel yet the thrill of indignant revolt with which Paul broke away, shouting, 'Ye are bought with a price, be not the servants of men.' From petty proprieties, from galling detail, from microscopic rules, conventionalities, and customs, he and they were *free* in Jesus Christ. They held their heads erect and went through the world like the sons of kings—no matter who pulled at their garments or held up a solemn finger of reproof.

This revolt was entirely in keeping with the best Greek spirit. If Greece had stood for anything, it had been for freedom. Every man walked erect, and prided himself in being a law unto himself. But her liberty, like her joy, had turned to bitterness. It had lacked dignity in its best days, for she always suspected her generals of the desire to tyrannize, and committed her most shameful acts of ingratitude and oppression because she felt her liberty insecure. And, finally, she had come under the heel of Rome, and lost her political liberty utterly and finally. So that the old spirit, which still kept her sons erect and proud, was but a pathetic and almost sarcastic thing—the memory of a lost greatness—the shadow of a name.

When Paul changed men's ideals from that of slaves of duty to those of sons of God—when he understood Christ in this sense—he did a stupendous thing for Greece. He set the whole world and the future race of men on that dignified level of self-respect and independence, which she had seen afar off, and, trying to establish by politics, had lost for ever. In her ideals of liberty she had a truth from God for the world more

clearly seen than any other nation. Here, it found the world at last.

Paul's idea of liberty is the liberty of the sons of God. No longer subject to mere detailed precepts of obedience, men were learning to live in the spirit of a new life. The witness of that spirit within them gave them power to discern for themselves between good and evil; it gave them courage and independence to receive the good and appreciate it, from whatever quarter it might come to them. Their love for God, and their sense that He loved them, summed up the whole law for them, and was its fulfilling. They had received, not the spirit of bondage, again to fear, but the spirit of power and of love, and of a sane and balanced mind. No sentence could more perfectly express the ideals of Greece concerning liberty of spirit.

3. *Flesh*.—Here Greek thought was at a deadlock. The flesh was the temptation of the Greek. The appreciation of the beauty and pleasantness of flesh was a truth which had run into an extreme danger in some of the Epicurean teaching. In certain quarters it had led to frightful excesses and sunk all morality in depths of shameless crime. In revolt against this stood Stoicism, now in its modernized Alexandrian form. Not unnaturally, the revolt was bitter and scornful, and so the other extreme view was adopted, that matter was inherently evil, and that flesh was in its very nature indissolubly connected with sin.

These two extremes confronting each other had brought about the deadlock. In every way it was a pitiable and helpless condition from the point of view of morals. Epicureanism was the handmaid of vice, and Stoicism was no match for temptation. It was this situation which Paul faced. He brought to it not so much a formulated theory as a strong and vivid personality, reasonable and human. His doctrine of the flesh is not argued out, but lived out and experienced. At times his tone is strong and bitter, like that of the Stoics. He speaks of the flesh as 'this dead body,' emphasizes its corruption, and even says that in it 'dwelleth no good thing.' Yet, at other times, he calls the bodies of believers Temples of the Holy Ghost, and prays that their bodies, as well as their souls and spirits, may be sanctified.

Thus he found a *via media*, and it was one which led somewhither, out of the impossible situation of Greek thought. Stated in general

terms, it is that the flesh in itself is good though dangerous. It is a hindrance, but not an enemy, to holiness. It is 'an accidental and temporary means of bondage,' wherein, for a time, we may be said to be 'sold under sin,' though it is capable of redemption for noblest ends. His technical use of the word 'flesh' may be defined as 'body, in so far as, under present conditions, it tends toward sin.'

This view is seen in special clearness in his doctrine of death and the Hereafter. The Greek doctrine was that of annihilation, or, at brightest, that of man's survival as pure spirit. Paul insists that the body also is capable of new life, and that it will be delivered from its bondage of corruption. The Greek hopefulness had been dimmed and saddened by death; Paul, abolishing death in this thorough fashion, rehabilitates it.

#### 4. *The Ideal Manhood and the Indwelling Christ*.

—As has been already quoted, Greece has well been named 'The Holy Land of the Ideal.' In her Art and in her Literature she, more than any nation, seemed to have realized the Ideal. Yet her best thinkers were dissatisfied with earth even at its loftiest, and believed, with Plato, that the Ideals dwell in heaven.

Paul found ideal manhood, not on the one hand in sculptured marble nor in the great writings of philosophers or poets, nor yet, on the other hand, discovered at an infinite distance from all human achievement, in the inaccessible heavens. He found it in the life of One who had lived and died and was alive for evermore—the very image of God in Humanity. To 'grow up into Him' was the ideal life for all men,—and it was a life possible for all men. He substituted trust in Him for faith in the sense of intellectual conviction; and in this way he made the Ideal practicable through love. In this ideal life, Christian men were aware of a divine indwelling in themselves. Sometimes this indwelling is spoken of as Christ's, sometimes as the Holy Spirit's, indwelling. It is not introduced by Paul for dogmatic ends, or in a dogmatic way, as a matter of fine distinctions and hard and fast definitions. It means, in his use of it, to be utterly at one with Christ, and so through Him to reach ideal manhood. And this, with Paul, is a thing attainable. He speaks without hesitation of himself as a spiritual man, and appeals for confirmation to his own character and conduct. Not that he professes fully to have attained and to be already perfect. But he does profess to have



found the secret of the ideal life in Christ, and to have found it a possible and realizable life, and no mere fair vision.

Yea, through life, death, through sorrow and through sinning

He shall suffice me, for He hath sufficed.

Christ is the end, for Christ was the beginning,

Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.

In this Christ-Ideal there was one element which was 'foolishness to the Greeks.' That element was the Cross. We have seen how he changed the meaning of the Cross to the Hebrews. To the Greeks he declared it 'the wisdom and power of God.' In this declaration he was not contradicting the Greek thought but perfecting it. It was precisely this element that it needed, and

for want of which it was perishing. The Greek view of life is so far true, and its truth is a rich and glorious truth. But it needs shading, and it needs stiffening. It had indeed the shading of poetic melancholy, and the stiffening of the Stoic philosophy. But these were not enough; and the Cross which Paul gloried in was the perfect supplement to its half-truth. In that Cross there was the conscience of sin, a moral dynamic of faith and love, a permanent strengthening of the spirit of man for righteousness by the Holy Spirit of God, strong, subtle, and effective. It is this background of Hebraism which Hellenism ever needs to make its power lasting and its brightness safe. To Paul, Hellenism, no less than Hebraism, owes a great debt.

## What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

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### VI.

#### The Gospel of John.

\*18<sup>1</sup>.—'over the brook of Kedron, [to] *the mountain* [or field], a place where there was a garden,' etc.

\*18<sup>3</sup>.—'But Judah, the betrayer, brought with him a band, and *some of the chief priests and Pharisees, and officers, and a crowd of people* carrying lanterns and lamps, *and he came thither.*' 'Weapons' are not mentioned.

\*18<sup>5</sup>.—'which betrayed him,' is omitted. It has already occurred in v.<sup>2</sup>. It is exactly the kind of touch which might be put in by a later scribe.

\*18<sup>10</sup>.—'Then Simon Cepha drew a sword,' instead of 'Simon Peter therefore having a sword drew it.'

18<sup>12</sup>.—'and the chiliarch,' instead of 'the chief captain' (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, Bezae, the Peshitta, and the Coptic).

\*18<sup>12</sup>.—'seized Jesus and,' is omitted. It is implied in the statement that they bound Him.

After v.<sup>13</sup> comes v.<sup>24</sup>, and this is one of the crowning excellences of this Antiochene codex. I had observed, when preparing my translation<sup>1</sup> for

the press in 1894 and 1896, that the arrangement of verses in this chapter was far superior to any that I had hitherto seen, because it gives us the story of our Lord's examination before Caiaphas, and then of Peter's denial, as two separate narratives, instead of being pieced into each other in the way with which we are familiar. The sequence is vv.<sup>13, 24, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31</sup>. After this three leaves are unfortunately lost.

It was left to Dr. Blass of Halle to discern and to say that the occurrence of v.<sup>24</sup>, that is, of the statement, 'But Hannan sent him bound unto Caiapha the high priest,' betwixt v.<sup>13</sup> and v.<sup>14</sup> removes a discrepancy between the Gospel of St. John and the Synoptics; because it makes St. John agree with the other evangelists in stating that our Lord's trial took place in the house of Caiaphas instead of in that of Annas, as has been hitherto supposed. The attempt to explain away this apparent discrepancy gave rise to various ingenious hypotheses on the part of writers in the *Sunday School Chronicle* for 14th May 1899, when the International Lesson was taken from Jn 18<sup>15-27</sup>.

It never occurred to any of them that a far

<sup>1</sup> The complete edition of this translation is published by Messrs. C. J. Clay & Sons, of the Cambridge University Press.



simpler explanation had already been found, the displacement of v.<sup>24</sup>.

In editing the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary I have detected a slight corroboration of this in Codex A, the so-called *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* of the Vatican Library (Lesson 150). Here v.<sup>24</sup> occurs in two places, once after v.<sup>13</sup> and once after v.<sup>23</sup>, as if the scribe had been uncertain as to its right location, or as if a tradition about its true place had been known to the original translators.

Dr. Blass, in his *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 59, says about this section of chap. 18, vv.<sup>12-28</sup>, 'This is the narrative of a real author; the other one is that of blundering scribes.'

My powers of judgment on these difficult subjects are a very long way behind those of Dr. Blass. I have neither the learning, the experience, nor the critical acumen which give so much weight to his opinions. So it is with the greatest diffidence that I would suggest the possible occurrence of similar phenomena in the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and in the narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper, as given in Lk 22<sup>14-23</sup>.

But, it may be asked, how is it possible for such displacements to occur? Nothing, I regret to say, is simpler to the minds of those who have tried to read very ancient Greek manuscripts of the Bible. These are written in narrow columns, after the fashion of what was on the papyrus strips; two, three, or even four columns being on each page. If a scribe, through inadvertence or interruption, happened to omit a phrase, he would write it in either on the margin or in the space betwixt two of the columns, with a suitable mark in the text to indicate where it ought to be. Another man copied that page, perhaps two years, perhaps two centuries afterwards, and reincorporated the marginal addition into the text. But he failed to understand his predecessor's reference mark; and so he wrote it in the wrong column. If this occurred in a very early copy, it would, of course, affect many subsequent ones.

I shall, however, for convenience' sake, follow the usual text in my list of variants.

\*18<sup>24</sup> and 1<sup>4</sup> are really one. 'But Hannan sent him bound unto Caiapha the high priest, he which gave counsel to the Jews,' etc.

Dr. Blass has lately called attention to a marginal note on v.<sup>24</sup> in Luther's German translation

of the Bible. 'Dieser Vers solte gleich auff den 14 Vers folgen.' *This verse ought to follow immediately after v.<sup>14</sup>*. Another marginal note to v.<sup>14</sup> says, 'Hier sollt stehen der Vers: Und Hannes u.s.w. (v.<sup>24</sup>). Ist von dem Schreiber versetzt in Umwerfen des Blatts, wie oft geschieht.' 'Here the verse: And Annas, etc. (v.<sup>24</sup>), ought to stand. It has been misplaced by the scribe when turning the page.'

This instance of penetration on the part of the Reformer does not lessen our appreciation of his peculiar fitness for the work which God gave him to do.

\*18<sup>15</sup>.—'But Simon Cepha and one of the disciples, he was known to the high priest, because of this he went with Jesus into the palace.' A word seems to have been dropped out of this verse. Or perhaps it was only a single letter, and we ought to read 'they went,' instead of 'he went.'

\*18<sup>17</sup>.—'When the handmaid of the door-keeper saw Simon, she said unto him,' etc. It is reasonable, with our knowledge of Eastern customs, to believe that the door-keeper of the high priest's house was a man. While the daughter or the slave-girl of such a one might linger about the place, during the small hours of the night, properly veiled, and listen to the conversation of the men who were guarding their prisoner, it requires a considerable effort of imagination to conceive that the responsible duties of a porter or janitor were fulfilled by a woman.

18<sup>18</sup>.—'Now there were standing there servants and the officers, and they had laid for themselves a fire in the court to warm themselves; because it was freezing,' (with the Peshitta). Jerusalem stands on very high ground, and at Easter time the nights are there often bitterly cold.

\*18<sup>19</sup>.—'Now the high priest asked Jesus about his disciples, *who they were*, and about his doctrine, *what it was*.'

18<sup>22</sup>.—'When he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus *on his cheek*, and said unto him' (with the Peshitta, and almost with the Old Latin Codd. Vercellensis and Monacensis.)

\*18<sup>28</sup>.—'Jesus said unto him, I have spoken well; why smitest thou me?'

\*18<sup>27</sup>.—'And again Simon denied, *I know him not*,' etc.

\*18<sup>28</sup>.—'And when it dawned, they led Jesus from

Caïapha, and brought him to the hall of judgment, *to deliver him to the governor*; but they went not into the judgment hall,<sup>1</sup> that they should not be defiled whilst they were eating the *unleavened bread*.'

18<sup>82</sup> to 19<sup>89</sup> are on three lost leaves.

\*19<sup>41</sup>.—'where he was crucified,' is omitted.

\*19<sup>42</sup>.—'And *hastily, suddenly*, they laid him in the new sepulchre, which was nigh at hand, *because the sabbath was dawning*.'

\*20<sup>1</sup>.—And at night, as the first day of the week was dawning, while it was yet dark in the early morning, came Mary the Magdalene to the sepulchre,' etc. Here we are reminded that the uncouth expressions of the Greek and Latin manuscripts, Τῇ δὲ μῇ τῶν σαββάτων, and 'una autem sabbati,' are the literal rendering of a well-known Syriac idiom, *had beshaba*. This has excited the suspicion that some Aramaic narrative, either written or oral, lies behind the Greek of this Gospel. And in this connexion we may observe that the curious Greek of Rev 1<sup>8</sup> is rendered by perfectly grammatical Syriac.

20<sup>6</sup>. 7.—'But Simon, when he arrived, went in and saw the linen clothes, and the napkin that was rolled up together, and placed apart.' This is more concise than the usual reading; but it is not so explicit.

20<sup>8</sup>.—'and *they* saw, and believed' (with B or C of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary).

\*20<sup>8</sup>.—'which came first to the tomb,' is omitted.

\*20<sup>10</sup>.—'But when the disciples saw these things, they went their way.' The 'ad se' of some Old Latin MSS, and the πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, πρὸς αὐτοὺς, or πρὸς αὐτοὺς of the Greek text seems to be a literal translation of a common Syriac idiom meaning simply 'went away.'

<sup>1</sup> Or 'prætorium.'

20<sup>11</sup>.—'stooped and,' is omitted (with Codex Bezae and the Coptic).

20<sup>12</sup>.—'And saw there two angels in white garments, sitting one at the *pillows of the place* in which Jesus had been lying, and one at the feet.' The word which I have translated 'pillows' is in the Peshitta also. It occurs only in the plural, and is used elsewhere chiefly for the Latin *cervical*, and for the 'bolster' arranged by Michal in 1 S 19<sup>13, 16</sup>.

20<sup>16</sup>.—'And she *understood him*, and answered, saying unto him, Rabbuli.<sup>2</sup> *And she ran towards him that she might touch him*.' This latter interpolation is found also in the Ferrar group of Greek MSS, and in the Palestinian Syriac. It is more easy to imagine why it should be there, than why, once being there, it should have been omitted.

20<sup>17</sup>.—'my Father' (with Codd. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, some Old Latin MSS, the Peshitta, and the Coptic).

20<sup>18</sup>.—'that she had seen our Lord, and the things he had revealed to her she told unto them' (almost with Codex Bezae).

\*20<sup>19</sup>.—'When therefore it was evening,' is omitted. Owing to the difference between our own computation and that of the Jews, we are sometimes at a loss as to the precise time of day at which an event took place. Presumably our Lord's appearance to His assembled disciples was before sunset, else it would have been on the second day of the week.

\*20<sup>25</sup>.—'Our Lord *is come*, and we have seen him.'

\*20<sup>26</sup>.—'And after eight days, *on the next first [day] of the week*.'

\*20<sup>27</sup>.—'but believing,' is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'My Master.'

## Suffering with Christ.

BY THE VENERABLE JOHN W. DIGGLE, M.A., ARCHDEACON OF WESTMORLAND, AND  
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'If so be that we suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified together.'—Rom. viii. 17.

SUFFERING in itself, and apart from its restraining, purifying, sweetening effects, is an evil and not a good. There does not appear to have been any suffering in the world before there was sin. Suffering was ordained partly as a penalty, and partly as a purification for sin. As a penalty, it is the punitive indignation of righteousness against iniquity; vindicating the majesty of goodness and restraining the tempted from the commission of wrong. As a purification, its purpose is to cleanse and deepen and beautify man's inward life.

But the effect of suffering entirely depends on the temper with which it is borne. The same fire which melts wax bakes clay. The oft-convicted felon is rarely made better by his frequent imprisonments. The plagues of Egypt hardened Pharaoh's heart. The afflictions of Job inclined his wife to curse God. The helot is not ennobled by being downtrodden. Great sufferings, while they lead some to a deeper trust in God's Providence, lead others to the infidelity of despair. The pains and miseries which commonly follow licentious indulgence by no means always foster a spirit of penitent contrition. The witness of history testifies conclusively that the terrors of an earthquake incite men sometimes indeed to prayer, but sometimes also to blasphemy. Torments do not convert the heart of a demon into that of an angel. The effects of suffering correspond with the spirit of the sufferer.

Even when those effects are beneficent, the sufferer's spirit is not necessarily, and in an especial sense, Christian. Outside the pale of Christianity there have been many brave and noble sufferers, whose sufferings have developed in them rich and beautiful fruits of sympathy, purity, loftiness and refinement of mind, gentleness and tenderness of heart. And yet these sufferers have not been, at all events consciously, partakers of the sufferings of Christ.

What, then, is meant by suffering with Christ; suffering, that is, not in the ordinary sense, but

in the special manner entitling us to claim a reverent fellowship with His sufferings?

1. Christ's sufferings were, in every instance, wrongful sufferings. None of them followed as a consequence of His own errors or faults. He did no sin; suffering, therefore, never came to Him in the way of personal penalty. For others' sins He suffered. He suffered also for His own truth and righteousness. This is the first distinctive note of the sufferings of Christ. They were the result of the evil done by others and of the good done by Himself.

2. Christ's sufferings were not only wrongful, they were altogether willing sufferings: sufferings freely undertaken and rejoicingly endured. No necessity, save the compulsion of love, obliged our blessed Lord to enter the condition of a human sufferer. Of His own will He took our nature, that in that nature He might suffer for our sins. Suffering did not come to Him; He went to it. He might have avoided His Cross; but He took it up. At any moment of His anguish He might have prayed to His Father, and His Father would presently have sent twelve legions of angels to His rescue.<sup>1</sup> But He neither saved Himself nor prayed the Father to save Him from suffering. He was willingly born that He might willingly suffer; and He willingly suffered that He might mightily save.

All suffering *with* Christ has this voluntariness as its proper and peculiar characteristic. To be partakers of His sufferings we must be partakers of His willingness to suffer. No unwilling suffering is Christian suffering. Any good woman, or brave man, whether a Christian or not, will endure the ills to which flesh is heir—ills from which there is no escape—with patience and fortitude, without murmuring and cheerfully. But the Christian does more than this. He does not merely bear the cross which necessity lays upon his shoulders; he does not simply accept his fate with the courage of a noble pagan; he does even

<sup>1</sup> Mt 26<sup>53</sup>.



more than practise the Old Testament grace of resignation; he gladly embraces the opportunity of suffering, not accepting deliverance<sup>1</sup>; he joyfully enters into the spirit of His Master's saying, 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and *take up his cross*, and follow Me.'<sup>2</sup>

3. But 'to suffer as a Christian'<sup>3</sup> is more even than this: more than wrongful suffering willingly endured. It is suffering for the sake of others; and particularly for those who mock us, and despise us and do us wrong. The instincts of natural affection, the nobility of great aims in great causes, often oblige men and women, with a grand compulsion, to suffer even willingly. What mother will not willingly suffer any pangs for the fruit of her womb? What patriot will not willingly die for his fatherland? Every noble cause has had its martyrs, every glorious battle its heroes. Pagans could triumphantly sing, '*Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.*'<sup>4</sup> Inflamed by noble impulse, many have willingly died to save their friends. But this is not the suffering and the dying of the Lord Jesus. He loved them who did *not* love Him; He suffered for those who mocked Him; it was while we were enemies that He died for us.<sup>5</sup> This is the third peculiar characteristic of the sufferings of Christ; He suffered for His enemies; for those who misrepresented and spat upon and hated Him. And to suffer as a Christian is, in imitation of our Lord, to have our sufferings inspired with His wondrous spirit, beautified with His self-deleting sacrifice.

4. But to suffer with Christ is much more than an imitation; it is a fellowship. The early Christians did not consider themselves copyists, but partakers, of their Saviour's sufferings. They suffered less like Him than with Him. Like Him, indeed, no merely human being can possibly suffer; because His sufferings were the divine atonement for sin. But with Him every genuine Christian desires to suffer. And this the Christian does, not only by remembering Christ's sufferings in contrite sympathy—weeping at the recollection of the sorrows with which the Saviour was afflicted, and hating the sins which were the cause of those sorrows—but by actual fellowship in the sufferings themselves.

It is impossible to understand what the New

Testament means by 'suffering with Christ,' unless we clearly grasp the mystical oneness of the Christian with Christ. The apostles and early Christians fully realized this union. To them Christianity meant being one with Christ; having Christ formed in them; not only living as Christ lived, thinking as He thought, speaking and doing as He spake and did, suffering and dying as He suffered and died, but living, thinking, suffering, dying together with Him, and finally rising again and being glorified together with Him eternally. Their foundation verity was, Thou in us and we in Thee. Everything they believed and wrought had this object in view—to unite them with, and make them conformable to, their living Lord. Baptism was to them incorporation with Christ; the laying on of hands a fresh infusion of His Spirit; the breaking of bread the actual communication of Him by faith; prayer and praise their channel of adoring access to the Father by reason of their oneness with Him. Their preaching was altogether personal, and founded on the fact of this union. They did not preach about Christ, they preached Him Himself; Himself as part of themselves, and themselves as incorporated in Him.

Thus to the early Christians the living, loving Christ was nearer and dearer than an example and pattern. They were more than mere followers and imitators of Him. He was their Head, they His members; He their Bridegroom, they His bride; He the Vine, they the branches; He the Root, they the fruit; He the Firstborn, they the brethren. As the Father was in Christ, so (they felt) the Christ was in the Christian. This had been their Lord's valedictory prayer, just before His great Agony: 'I pray, O Father that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us; I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me.'<sup>6</sup> This, and nothing less, was Christianity to the early Christians; incorporation, unity, identity with Christ; Christ in them, their Sacrifice and Hope; they in Christ, His redeemed and risen members.

It is impossible, I repeat, to understand the gospel without first learning this fundamental

<sup>1</sup> He II<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Mt 16<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> I P 4<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Horace's *Odes*, iii. 2. <sup>5</sup> Ro 5<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Jn 17<sup>21-23</sup>.

truth, this primary fact, of the indwelling of Christ in Christians and the indwelling of Christians in Christ. All such expressions as 'crucified with Christ,'<sup>1</sup> 'dead in Christ,'<sup>2</sup> 'buried with Christ,'<sup>3</sup> 'risen with Christ,'<sup>4</sup> are utterly meaningless unless we first lay hold of the truth of the unity of Christ and the Christian, the identity of the Christian with Christ. We in Him and He in us; *that* is the heart and essence of the gospel. When once we have grasped this foundation-verity, everything else easily follows and becomes quite clear. The Incarnation is then seen to be the entering of God into the nature of man, and Redemption the bearing and blotting out of man's sins by the obedience unto death of the Son of God, who is also Son of man. It is the fact of this unity which gives reality to the Cross. The Sacrifice of the Cross is no fictitious imputation of our sins to Him and of His righteousness to us. No; by reason of our identity with Him and His unity with us, He became sin for us, though He knew no sin; and we become, notwithstanding our sinfulness, accepted and righteous in Him. This therefore is the name whereby He shall be called, the Son of man our Sin, and the Son of God our Righteousness.

It is also, and only, by means of this key—namely, the truth of the mystical incorporation of the Christian with Christ—that we can fully open the New Testament teaching in reference to Christian suffering; for it is by virtue of this incorporation that when Christ suffered His disciples suffered in Him, and when they suffer He suffers in them. Because He and they are one, therefore His sufferings are their sufferings and their sufferings are His sufferings. It was their realization of this fellowship with Christ which made the early Christians rejoice in suffering. They were more than content, they were glad to suffer. They gloried in it. Suffering was an additional seal of sonship; a new pledge in tears and blood of their union with their afflicted and ascended Lord. Suffering with Christ on earth was to them an earnest that in heaven they would be glorified together with Him. They constantly said among themselves: 'If we be dead with Christ, we shall also live with Him: if we suffer, we shall also reign with Him: if we deny Him, He will also deny us.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gal 2<sup>20</sup>.<sup>2</sup> 2 Ti 2<sup>11</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Col 2<sup>12</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Col 3<sup>1</sup>.<sup>5</sup> 2 Ti 2<sup>11-12</sup>.

This fact of union with Christ also explains what St. Paul means by the remarkable expression, 'Filling up that which is behind in the afflictions of Christ.'<sup>6</sup> St. Paul felt that he, being part of Christ, was a fellow-worker and fellow-sufferer with Him. It is a wonderful thought that, both in doing and suffering, Christ permits His disciples to 'fill up' and complete His work. In a very true and glorious sense Christ's work is absolutely finished. But in a sense equally true and grand He has been graciously pleased to permit His disciples to carry on His work for the salvation of mankind. For this cause His Church exists; to witness and work and suffer for Him. When we work we are workers together with Him: and when we suffer our sufferings are His sufferings. The Eucharist has been described as the extension of the Incarnation; with at least equal truth may Christian sufferings and Christian afflictions be regarded as an extension of the afflictions and sufferings of Christ. We are so identified with Him, He so actually abides in us and we in Him, that His Cross is our Cross, our trials and sorrows His sorrows and trials: we suffered in Him almost two thousand years ago and His sufferings are being completed and filled up by us to-day.

To suffer, then, with Christ is not only to suffer wrongfully for righteousness' sake, to suffer willingly on behalf of those who oppose themselves and are our enemies; it is also, in a very real sense, to be partakers of His sufferings as the body partakes of the sufferings of the head, as joint-heirs have fellowship in whatever betides them both.

And if we are faithful we need not fear but that the privilege and the exceeding joy of thus suffering with Christ will be granted us. Now that Christianity is established in our land and is the professional creed even of the comfortable unbeliever, we shall not indeed be called upon to endure the physical sufferings, the stripes and imprisonments, the cruelties and deaths, endured by apostles and early Christians. Yet sufferings are none the less real and keen because they are not physical, outward in the flesh; but mental, inward in the spirit. The reproach of being narrow and dogmatic is not easy for the liberal and enlightened to bear. To seem to affect spiritual superiority, even when burdened with

<sup>6</sup> Col 1<sup>24</sup>.



the conviction of sinfulness, is a real cross to humble minds and sensitive souls. To feel that we are misunderstood, even when doing our best for Christ's sake, how hard it is! To be enthusiastic among cynics; to believe in goodness in spite of sneers and failures; to look sad when others laugh at profane and wanton jests; to refuse to go where others go and do as others do, not in condemnation of them but in loyalty to Christ; to deny ourselves the intellectual delight of a brilliant book, because its tendency is to carnalize love and undermine the sanctity of marriage and belittle the grandeur and desecrate the pieties of human life,—none of these things are easy or pleasant. To live with Christ in a Christless home, to be religious among the irreligious, to deny ourselves in order to give alms to God, to read our Bibles and say our prayers and attend our worship and observe the Eucharistic rite, in the midst of worldly temptations and worldly surroundings, to be bold for Christ although timid in ourselves; and to do all this without affectation, in the singleness of devotion, is sometimes an agony, and always means suffering.

Yet in thus patiently, gently, quietly, unostentatiously suffering, we have, indeed, a great reward. Often we proclaim Christ more effectually by suffering, than working, for Him. As reflected lights our sufferings fill up the magnetic glory of His redemptive passion. By suffering, too, we are ourselves stablished, strengthened, settled in

Christ.<sup>1</sup> When the sufferings of Christ abound in us, then the consolations of Christ abound by us.<sup>2</sup> The fellowship of His sufferings arms us with His mind.<sup>3</sup> As He Himself was made perfect through sufferings, so by suffering with Him we, in turn, are gradually led upward towards His perfection.<sup>4</sup> As we bear about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, the life also of Jesus is made manifest in our body.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, let us remember that if we are one with Christ in suffering we shall also be one with Him in glory. But the suffering comes first; the glory follows. Good Friday is before Easter Day, the Cross before the Crown. We must know the fellowship of His sufferings, and be conformable to His death, before we can know the power of His resurrection. Every suffering of the Christian, even unavoidable disappointment, bereavement, affliction, loss, is a suffering with Christ; because the Christian is always one with Christ. But wrongful, willing sufferings, sufferings for truth and righteousness' sake,—sufferings for those who love us not and thank us not,—are, in an especial sense, Christian sufferings. And when all the sufferings of all the saints have completely filled up the afflictions of Christ, then His glory shall appear. And if so be we now are suffering with Him, we shall then with Him be glorified together.

<sup>1</sup> 1 P 5<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Co 1<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 1 P 4<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> He 2<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Co 4<sup>10</sup>.

## Contributions and Comments.

### John viii. 57 in the Codex Vaticanus.

It is quite evident that my esteemed friend Dr. Nestle has not examined the same facsimile of the Codex Vaticanus as I have done, for in the volume published in 1868 by the Congregation 'De Propaganda Fide' in Rome, the  $\omega$  of  $\epsilon\omega\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  has not been changed to  $\omega$ . I grant that Dr. Nestle may be right in his contention that the blank space after this word may be merely there on purpose to divide it off from the following paragraph; and he certainly makes a point in his suggestion that there is no  $\nu$ ; the reading in Codex Sinaiticus being  $\epsilon\omega\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$ . But this is a case where the whole truth cannot be learnt from the best of facsimiles;

and I have therefore accepted the kind offer of a Cambridge friend<sup>1</sup> to have an investigation made of the passage in the manuscript itself. Yet it seems to me that even if there be no scratch on the vellum of the Vaticanus after this word, the corroboration of the Greek Sinaiticus to the Syriac

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above, I have received the following communication to my friend from Dr. Ehrle, the learned head of the Vatican Library. I fear your readers will say that it confirms Dr. Nestle's view rather than mine:—'In the Codex Vaticanus at Jn 8<sup>57</sup> (1) there is not the slightest sign of an erasure, not the slightest indication to show that a letter has been altered; (2) the space left blank after the  $\epsilon\omega\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  is the space left usually between the verses; (3) hence nothing can be said than that B has originally  $\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ , and that afterwards an  $\alpha$  has been put over the  $\epsilon$ .'



Sinaiticus is very remarkable, and is in no wise shaken. It is also remarkable that some one should have found it necessary to change an  $\epsilon$  into an  $\alpha$  in Codex B in that very word, so as to give us the more common, though hardly the better, reading. I would also observe that the end of v.<sup>57</sup> is not quite the place where we should expect one of the long paragraphs of the Vaticanus to end.

AGNES S. LEWIS.

Cambridge.

## The Opening Verses of the Book of Ezekiel.

I HAVE read with much interest Professor König's article in the May number, in which he puts forward another view in opposition to the one I proposed regarding the opening verses of Ezekiel. Like everything from Dr. König's pen, the article is full of matter and very trustworthy in its data. I am unable, however, to follow my esteemed colleague in most of his conclusions; in fact the opposite of these appear to me to result in many instances from the materials he adduces. So far from his having convinced me of the truth of his theory, his discussion has only confirmed me more than ever in my own opinion. Rightly or wrongly, the reader may judge. I will keep to the five points raised by Dr. König, without, however, feeling myself obliged to notice every particular remark of his.

1. From the circumstance that the book opens with ירה I drew no inferences in my article, but pointed out, on the other hand (p. 426), that the opening of the book, if once the title from v.<sup>3</sup> is prefixed, exactly resembles in this matter the opening of the Book of Jeremiah. But Dr. König's statement that ירה 'was used as a favourite commencement of their narratives by Hebrew writers' finds in Est 1<sup>1</sup> an insufficient and in any case a very late witness. He might have added 1 Mac 1<sup>1</sup>. The words בְּשָׁלִשִׁים שָׁנָה וְגו' (cf. Is 61) without any title before them would be more complete and satisfactory than the same preceded by ירה. Still this is a matter of little moment. My assumption that the stricter definition לְחַיִּי ('of my life') has fallen out after שָׁנָה is objected to by Dr. König on the ground: (a) that it is inexplicable how it was just this indispensable part of the text that went amissing. But unfortunately mutilations

of the text trouble themselves little about our needs; were it otherwise, many problems, at least as difficult as the present one, would have been spared us. (b) Dr. König's second main objection simply proves that he has not read my article with sufficient care. He cannot believe that the prophet's birthday 'was so well known that the reader could reckon from that day to the fourth month.' Nor can I believe it either. He thinks the reader 'must have inferred from the mention of the month and the day, that a *known* method of reckoning the months was in view.' That is my opinion too when I ask, 'Does the particular [read rather "does each"] year of any man's life include more than *one* fifth day of the fourth month—reckoned of course according to the calendar year?' The prophet means, no doubt, 'on the fifth of *Tammuz*'; if, then, it is the thirtieth year of his life that is in view, the day will be *that* fifth Tammuz which falls in his thirtieth year. Dr. König, in assailing an absurd view, creates in the mind of readers the impression that it is my view, whereas I have supported my theory by references to currently employed eras. Kings do not always begin to reign upon the first day of the first month, nor have we any reason to assume that King Jehoiachin was carried captive exactly at the close of the year and yet such events are made the basis of a reckoning of time. And although in such instances the reader might be more reasonably expected to know the day and month of the occurrence than in the case of Ezekiel's birthday, yet even there one does not understand the *fourth month* to mean the fourth from the day of Jehoiachin's exile, or the like, but the fourth month of the calendar year. How, then, can Dr. König tilt thus at windmills?

2. Dr. König himself discovers the starting-point for the *thirtieth year* in the year of Nabopalassar's accession to the throne of Babylon (625 B.C.). 'The prophet, who lived in Babylon, could assume that this era was familiar to his readers.' Perhaps so, if it was familiar to the Babylonians themselves. But where are the proofs of this? The fourth volume of Eb. Schrader's *Keilinschr. Bibliothek* contains about 100 dated documents belonging to the New Babylonian Empire; but, apart from the three which belong to Nabopalassar's own reign, not one is dated from the commencement of that reign; on the contrary, each one has for its date the regnal

year of the contemporary king. Professor Jensen, in reply to an inquiry by me, corroborates this by stating that he is acquainted with no instance of dating by the era assumed by Dr. König. The latter supports his theory by Neh 1<sup>1</sup>, 'And it came to pass in the month Chislev of the year 20,' where, he goes on to say, 'the narrator assumes it to be known that he reckons the years from the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes 1. (465-424).' From this it might be inferred at most that Ezekiel could trust his readers, if no further explanation was given, to reckon by the official era, namely, the regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar, but not by one arbitrarily arrived at. But we are not entitled to go so far in our conclusions with regard either to Nehemiah or to Ezekiel. Neh 1<sup>1</sup> belongs, on the one hand, together with the Book of Ezra, to the work of the Chronicler. If we look at the passage from this point of view, the meaning of the date in question is certified by its nearest predecessor, Ezr 7<sup>7</sup> (cf. v.<sup>1</sup>), 'in the seventh year of king Artaxerxes'; the era is *not* silently assumed. On the other hand, Neh 1<sup>1</sup> belongs originally to the Memoirs of Nehemiah. Now we know from 2<sup>1</sup> 13<sup>6</sup> what is Nehemiah's fashion of dating; like everybody else he puts down the name of the reigning king. The omission of this in 1<sup>1</sup> is quite isolated, and either it is due to a textual loss, or the verse has been torn from a context in the Memoirs where an exact date, *with* the name of the king, immediately preceded. Neh 1<sup>1</sup> is thus quite unsuitable to prove Dr. König's contention that Ezekiel could have begun his book with a date reckoned by an unnamed era. But the case is far worse than this. For, after all, the era that Dr. König, like everybody else, seeks in Neh 1<sup>1</sup> is Nehemiah's usual era, as we find it likewise in 2<sup>1</sup> 13<sup>6</sup>. Ezekiel, too, has his era by which he dates *everywhere*, whether *with* (1<sup>2</sup> 33<sup>21</sup> 40<sup>1</sup>) or *without* (8<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>1</sup> 24<sup>1</sup> 26<sup>1</sup> 29<sup>1,17</sup> 30<sup>20</sup> 31<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>1,17</sup>) express mention of it—namely, that of the carrying captive of Jehoiachin, or 'of our captivity.' Is it to be supposed that, alongside of this, he would have employed on one occasion, and that the first one, quite a different era? And are we to be told that, while in the case of his usual era, calculated by the fortunes of his nation, he several times supplies the stricter definition, he has omitted this, in the case of the foreign heathen era, as self-evident, as 'an objective fixed point'? This is the very climax of the incredible. On the

other hand, once we assume that a different era from Ezekiel's usual one is employed in 1<sup>1</sup>, we must hold to what I said (*l.c.* p. 39b): *that the text is incomplete, for after the בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה we necessarily look for an explanation of the supposed divergent era.* But this is not all. Dr. König asks, 'Again, was it not natural that the first date in Ezekiel's book should correspond with the publicly recognized [?; see above] system of reckoning? In this way the personal [?] dates in the other parts of the book (8<sup>1</sup>, etc.) were connected with an objective fixed point.' Dr. König himself seeks to fix this point, in maintaining that the year 599 and not 597 was the year of Jehoiachin's being carried captive, so that the fifth year of the captivity (v.<sup>2</sup>) would coincide with the thirtieth (595) of the alleged Nabopalassar era. But what have we to do with v.<sup>2</sup>, which, according to § 4 of Dr. König's article, is a later addition and not from the hand of Ezekiel? We are, then, to count upon the reader knowing, *without any specific information*, that in 1<sup>1</sup> it is the Nabopalassar era that is in view, and in 8<sup>1</sup>, *equally without any specific information*, that it is the era of the captivity of Jehoiachin! I suspect Dr. König's demands on the reader are of too ideal a character. If the explanation in v.<sup>2</sup> ('which was the fifth year,' etc.) is spurious, there *must* have been in 8<sup>1</sup> a clear, unmistakable definition of the *sixth* year. But also conversely, if it is genuine, and if the *thirtieth* year in 1<sup>1</sup> is expressed in terms of an officially employed era, then the unexplained dates in 8<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>1</sup>, etc., must be understood in accordance with the era in 1<sup>1</sup>, the use of which Ezekiel would in that case have made possible by his explanation in 1<sup>2</sup>. In other words, they should have read not the *sixth* or the *seventh*, but the *thirty-first* or the *thirty-second* year. Such would be the only sound logical procedure. Herein we have a strong indirect proof that in 1<sup>1</sup> we have to do, not with an era, but with a personal date, which is straightway stated also in terms of the currently understood era.

3. The statement that v.<sup>1</sup> has the characteristics of Ezekiel's style does not concern me. But the other statement that v.<sup>2f</sup> 'deviate from Ezekiel's usual mode of expression' has no evidence adduced for it by Dr. König except the use of the 3rd person instead of the 1st in v.<sup>3</sup> [read so for 'v.<sup>1</sup>']. But this argument does not apply to v.<sup>2</sup>, which can be readily attached to its catchword



in v.<sup>1</sup>, nor to v.<sup>3</sup> if we are right in seeing in it the title of the book.

4. As Dr. König merely gives it as his own impression that v.<sup>2f</sup>. are a later addition, without adducing any grounds for it or dealing with my arguments against this view, I may pass at once to—

5. But here again Dr. König simply denies that the title is contained in v.<sup>3</sup>, without offering grounds for his opinion. Or, are we to take it as a counter-argument that 'it would be quite incomprehensible why this title was moved out of its place?' The reasoning is quite the same as he employs in § 1 against my proposal to insert לְהַיִּי. I shall be quite content if no more valid arguments can be brought forward against my views. But the question may be put to Dr. König whether *his* view that v.<sup>2f</sup>. are an addition is conceivable. I miss any attempt on his part to explain the origin of this addition, whereas I have taken pains to give reasons for my views. Still Dr. König appears to offer *one* reason for declining to take the title from v.<sup>3</sup>. He considers 'detailed titles' in general as suspicious, and looks upon them as secondary additions. It is remarkable that in support of this he gives only a selection of titles containing חוֹזֵן, חוֹזֵן, מִשָּׁא, etc., and passes over in complete silence what was certainly the oldest form of title for the Prophetical books, דָּבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֵלֶּי (Hosea, Joel, Micah, Zephaniah), or דְּבָרִי יִרְמְיָהוּ (Jeremiah, similarly Amos), with which I dealt on p. 42, and with which, upon the ground of the terms of v.<sup>3</sup>, I connected Ezekiel. Does he consider these titles also to be secondary, would he remove them also, so as to leave, as primary, 'the simple superscription יְהוֹקָאֵל ('Ezekiel'),' etc.? It really looks in the particular instance before us as if the יְהוֹקָאֵל, which in MSS and printed editions stands at the top of the book, separate from the text and marked, by the absence of vowel points, as not belonging to it, were meant to be considered by Dr. König as part of the text. If this is correct, the superscriptions of the other books, בְּרֵאשִׁית, שׁוֹפְטִים, מְשָׁלִי, אֵיכָה, etc., may claim the same right to be regarded as part of the text. In the case of the Prophetical books, we must even accord to these superscriptions the priority over the titles which meet us at the beginning of the text, and which are so sceptically regarded by Dr. König. I fear that few scholars will consent to follow him here. It may be that I have misunderstood him. But if he does not see

in the יְהוֹקָאֵל that stands over our texts the title he requires, he ought to have expressly stated that he would insert a יְהוֹקָאֵל before יְהוָה in v.<sup>1</sup>, and he ought to have shown *that*, and—in view of his challenge to others—*how* it has been lost. He cannot assume that it has simply been moved up higher as a 'superscription,' for the opening words of the five fifths of the Law, as well as those of Proverbs, Lamentations, and Canticles, have not been struck out of the text, although they are also placed as a superscription over the books.

Finally, I would express my best thanks to my colleague, Professor König, for the detailed criticism to which he has subjected my article, and for having thus afforded me the opportunity to set some points in a still clearer light. I would fain hope that our discussion may not be quite without profit.

K. BUDDE.

Marburg i. H.

### The Song of the Three Holy Children in Greek Bibles.

As an 'astonishing' example of the suppression of apocryphal books, W. H. Daubney (*The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church*, London, 1900, p. 11), adduces a work in two volumes published in 1844 in London, 'The LXX version of the O.T. according to the Vatican text, translated into English by Sir L. C. L. Brenton, Bart.,' the translator never once mentioning the existence of such books in the Vatican text.

The present writer is not so much astonished about this; for this translator followed merely one of those Protestant, especially English, editions of the *Greek* text which did the same, though purporting on the title to give the text 'juxta exemplar Vaticanum.' There are such editions since that of Leusden (Amstelodami, 1683). Bagsters alone published two different editions of that sort, a third was printed repeatedly in London and Glasgow (Tegg). In the article 'Septuagint' (in the forthcoming fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible*) they are marked with a cross 'as a warning against them. But to-day I came upon a fact which is much more astonishing.

In the critical disquisition of a Roman Catholic scholar on the Greek additions to Daniel (Susannah, the Song, Bel and Dragon), published quite recently in the *Biblische Studien*, vi., Freiburg, 1901, I read that in the Codex Vaticanus the Song stands



without inscription or subscription after Dn 3<sup>23</sup>, while in the Codex Alexandrinus it does *not stand in the context of Dn 3*, but formed the ninth and tenth of the canticles at the end of the Psalter.

Startled by this statement about the Codex Alexandrinus, utterly false in its first part, I made further inquiries, and found that also in Grabe's edition of 1707-1720 the Song had been *silently suppressed* between Dn 3<sup>23</sup> and <sup>24</sup>, as in the above-mentioned reprints of the Vatican text. How far Grabe personally is responsible for this is not certain, as the volume containing the prophets appeared eight years after his death. But what is more astonishing, this *mutilated Daniel* has been *repeated without any remark* in the Greek Bible published 'under the patronage (δι' ευλογίας) of the most holy Synod of all Russians' at Moscow, 1821, and again in the Septuagint, published in four volumes, 'through order and help (εὐδοκίᾳ μὲν καὶ συνεργείᾳ) of the holy Synod of the Kingdom of Greece at the expense of the English S.P.C.K., that it might be gratuitously divided among the holy clergy' (Athens, 1843-50, 4 vols.). Both state on the title that they follow the Codex Alexandrinus as closely as possible.

Thus it happened that a biblical piece, which ought to stand twice in every good edition of the O.T. in Greek,—as it does now in that of Swete,—

is totally missing in its original place in the two Greek Bibles published with the official sanction of the chief branches of the Eastern Church, a piece of which the greatest preacher of that Church, Chrysostom, said, that it was sung all over the world and will be sung to all generations (πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ᾄδομένην καὶ ἀσθησομένην δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς).<sup>1</sup> And thus originated the belief that it did not stand in the Codex Alexandrinus in its proper place.

It is well that the religious life of a community does not depend alone upon the quality and quantity of the Bibles spread among its members.

For the origin of that Moscow Bible, which was the basis of that of Athens, see E. Henderson, *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia*, London, 1826, p. 54, as quoted by Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, i. p. 5 ff.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

<sup>1</sup> It is therefore no wonder that zealous members of the Greek Church, like C. Oikonomos in his great work on the Septuagint, opposed this interference of English Protestantism, or that the editor of the *Revue Biblique* in a recent article on the teaching of the Russian Church and the canon of the O.T., uttered the hope that Protestant teaching would not as yet reign completely in a Church so much attached to ancient tradition (*Revue Biblique*, November 1900, 267 ff.); cf. THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, July, p. 453.

## Entre Nous.

JUST before going to press we have received from Messrs. T. & T. Clark the most welcome gift of the season. It is a new MAP OF PALESTINE, edited by Professor George Adam Smith, and prepared for the press by Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. We can only mention it now. But we are greatly struck with its beauty of workmanship. That it will supersede all maps in existence there can be no doubt. Professor Smith and Mr. Bartholomew have evidently given immense care to its production. The copy before us is folded in a size corresponding to a volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and bound to match. It costs 10s. 6d. There is also a wall map at 15s. An elaborate index, containing the names of ancient, mediæval, and modern places in Palestine, is bound upon the inside of the cover, and is sent separately with the wall map.

The reviews of Professor George Adam Smith's

*Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, and of Mr. Moffatt's *Historical New Testament*, have been very numerous and very unprofitable. Neither book can be reviewed within the space that any editor could afford. The one for the Old Testament and the other for the New, they cover the whole extent of the last fifty years' study of the Bible. And therefore, while they suggest innumerable points for protest or acceptance,—a legitimate method of handling them, and adopted with conspicuous ability by the editor of the *British Weekly*,—no reviewer should attempt more with the books, as a whole, than either to encourage his readers to study them with care, or warn them to have nothing to do with them.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

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## Notes of Recent Exposition.

No sooner is the history of Egypt written than it has to be begun again. The next historian must note that the campaign of Seti I. in Palestine was more extensive than has hitherto been supposed. Professor G. A. Smith, in his recent journey through the Hauran, discovered an inscription which proves that it extended beyond the Jordan. The inscription is contained on a block of basalt now built into the courtyard wall of a house at Tell esh-Shihâb. Besides the cartouche of Seti, it contains a representation of the king in the act of offering a libation to the god Amen, the goddess Hut standing behind.

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The American Revision Committee has finished its work on the whole Bible, and it is expected that 'The American Standard Edition of the Revised Bible,' as it is to be called, will be published before the end of August. Professor Howard Osgood, one of the Old Testament Company, sends a foretaste of its contents to the *Sunday School Times* of the 27th July.

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When the Revised Version of 1881 and 1885 was under progress, an American Committee co-operated with the English Revisers, and sent their suggestions from time to time. Some of their suggestions were adopted, some were not. Those that were not adopted were printed in the introduction to the Old and New Testament

respectively. But the American Committee naturally wished to see all their suggestions introduced into the body of the Revision. They have obtained their wish by preparing this Revised Version of their own. And it may be said in a word that this makes the greatest, and almost all the difference, between the English Revised Version and the American.

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Professor Howard Osgood makes claim for two improvements specially. The one is the rejection of obsolete English words or words in obsolete uses. The Revised Version retained a large number of 'these dark and twisted words.' Dr. Osgood says that the American Revision has greatly reduced their number 'though it has not been able to get them all out.' One of these words is 'corn.' In England 'corn' means grain of all kinds—wheat, oats, barley, and the like. But in America it means Indian corn, and that alone. Therefore 'corn' departs from the American Revision.

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The other improvement is the softening of expressions that sound harsh or repulsive to modern ears. An example will be found in Hab 3<sup>16</sup>, where 'I heard, and my belly trembled' of the English Revision appears in the American as 'I heard, and my body trembled.'

These improvements may not seem momentous. They may not even seem to be improvements. But the lay reader—the reader whose mind is less familiar with the antique diction of the Authorized Version—will undoubtedly find the American the easiest to understand of all the translations of the Bible in English. And there are greater differences than these. Occasionally there occurs a new translation. Sometimes it is a return to the Authorized rendering. In Ps 116<sup>11</sup> the familiar translation, ‘I said in my haste, All men are liars,’ is restored, in preference to the Revised rendering, ‘All men are a lie.’

The copyright of the American Standard Revision of the Bible belongs to Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons. One form only will be issued at first, a ‘longprimer’ type, with references. It will be sold at prices ranging from \$1.50 to \$9.

Professor Sanday preached the Anniversary Sermon of the English Church Union on Thursday the 20th day of June, and the *Church Times* published it on the following day. Professor Sanday is not a member of the English Church Union. More than once he told his hearers that he stood before them as a stranger. He was there by invitation of the President. ‘It is good for us,’ he said, ‘to look at ourselves from time to time as we are seen from without.’ The English Church Union was seen by him from without. He wished to let them look at themselves for a little as he saw them.

He chose his text from Ac 11<sup>26</sup>, ‘The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.’ Some one has called it a characteristic text. It is so. It means more to Dr. Sanday than it does to most of us. He sees more in it. ‘What a throng of crowding associations,’ he says, ‘gathers around these words. Christians—it is a name which now fills the world. We hope that it will fill the world yet more victoriously. We hope that it will gain yet deeper and stronger dominion over the souls

of men. Here we are taken back to its first slender beginnings.’

And even in these its first slender beginnings the word has a story. It was not a name which the Christians gave themselves. Their names were more intimate—the Brethren, the Disciples, the Saints, the Elect. Nor is it a name which could have been first given by the Jews, for it implied a claim to which the Jews could give no sort of recognition. They protested to Pilate and said, ‘Write not the King of the Jews, but that he said, I am the King of the Jews.’ So must they have protested against the name given to the followers of Jesus first in Antioch, and said, ‘Call them not Christians, but call them Nazarenes.’ Nor does Dr. Sanday believe that it was the rough populace of Antioch that coined this name. Their nickname would have been of a different kind. In the earliest use of the word there is no doubt a shade of contempt, but it is cultured contempt, and it is not rudely expressed in the form of the word itself.

Who then first called the disciples Christians? The form of the word tells us that they were persons who spoke Latin. They were familiar with the *Pompeiani*, or followers of Pompey; the *Cæsariani*, or followers of Cæsar; the *Herodiani*, or partisans of the Herodian dynasty. So the *Christiani* were followers of the Christ, followers of Him who claimed to be king of the Jews.

Now Antioch was the centre of the Roman government of the East. There the *legatus* of Syria held his court. Vassal kings or princes like Agrippa II. (the first person whom we hear making use of the name) would constantly be coming and going. Clerks and officials were in steady employment in carrying on the machinery of government. These governmental circles were early brought into contact with Christianity. There is the evidence of Manaen, the foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, and of Theophilus the patron of St. Luke. There is also the striking fact that at a



very early date many books, both of the Old Testament and of the New, were translated at once into Latin and into Syriac. Dr. Sanday has reason to believe that these two versions were made in near proximity to one another, and that the Latin translators had special acquaintance with the details of Roman provincial administration. Where were these translations more likely to be made than at Antioch? And who were more likely to coin this convenient and non-committal title than just the clerks and government officials who surrounded the legate there?

So the title 'Christian' is of deep interest to Dr. Sanday in its origin. But it is not for the interest of its origin that he brings it before the members of the English Church Union. For him and for them it has a deeper interest than that.

Coinced by pagans, first used by persons who merely wanted a short and convenient label for the followers of a new superstition, the name Christian has been accepted by these followers themselves. From that day till this it has been most often on the lips of the world, and most widely welcomed by the Church. Of all the names ever invented, it is the most inclusive and the most uniting. That is why Dr. Sanday chose it.

He would like to have chosen 'Churchmen.' That also is a good name. 'It is for us,' says Dr. Sanday, 'one of the most sacred and beloved of names.' And it is about the Church, it is to the members of the English Church Union, it is to them as Churchmen, that he came to speak. But he could not choose the title 'Churchmen.' For it is not always a uniting name. There are those whom it repels. It comes to them as a militant name. It comes with a claim behind it. And that claim excludes as well as includes. He could not use the name of Churchmen because it has not been applied, as it ought to have been applied, to all those who have been baptized into the name of Christ. The mission of the English Church Union, as Dr. Sanday conceives it, and as

its very name implies, is a mission for unity. But the name of Churchmen does not make for unity always, and Dr. Sanday cannot use it.

The mission of the English Church Union, as Dr. Sanday conceives it, is a mission on behalf of unity. Christendom is divided. The Church of Christ is broken in pieces. It is the mission of the English Church Union to draw the separate parts together again. Dr. Sanday recognizes that mission. He calls it, as he well may, a grand mission. He acknowledges the frankness with which the English Church Union holds out the right hand of fellowship to other Churches, the loving care its members exercise 'not to suffer the breach which divides us from them to be made wider by any act of ours.'

But he has somewhat against them for all that. No man ever uttered censure less censoriously. Is it uttered at all? It is there, but we cannot find the words which carried it. We may therefore be somewhat rough and emphatic, but we are not wholly mistaken in saying that Dr. Sanday censures the English Church Union for dividing even while it seeks to unite. Going back to the time when the great Churches had not yet separated from the common stock, it seeks to recall these Churches to their earliest unity; but there are Churches that are nearer, with whom the breach is narrower, the separation more recent; and Dr. Sanday seems to say that the English Church Union is not so careful 'that the breach which divides us from *them* be not made wider by any act of ours.'

The *Union Magazine* for August, which is edited by Professor Orr and Professor Denney, contains a note on 'The Wells of Beersheba.' In the *Encyclopædia Biblica* the hope is expressed that nobody will go to Beersheba looking for the seven wells from which the place was formerly believed to have taken its name. But the editors of the *Union Magazine* point out that Professor

G. L. Robinson has gone to Beersheba looking for seven wells, and has found them. That he has found them is admitted, they point out, even by Professor Lucien Gautier of Geneva, their reference being to his letter in the July number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. They close their note with the words, 'Thus curiously Genesis comes out once more right end up.'

It does not appear, however, that Professor Gautier admits the inference drawn by the editors of the *Union Magazine*. He has contributed a note on the subject to the July number of the *Biblical World*. He admits the existence of seven wells. He knew of their discovery before he read Professor Robinson's article. For a French lady, Madame Sargentou-Galichon, had visited Beersheba in April 1900, just one month before Professor Robinson, and had sent him an account of the wells then opened, or at least discovered. But that does not prove, he says, that the name Beersheba means 'Seven Wells.' According to Professor Robinson there are 'at least' seven wells at Beersheba. It is by no means impossible that others may be found.

Moreover Beersheba means 'Well of Seven,' which is not quite the same as 'Seven Wells.' Professor Stade, it is true, holds that it is the same, and explains that the placing of the numeral after the substantive is the survival in Hebrew of a Canaanitish idiom. But Professor Gautier can find no proof that the idiom had ever anything to do with the Canaanites. Such as it is, it is good sound Hebrew. It occurs elsewhere in the Bible. In every case of its occurrence, however, the noun is in the plural. Here it is in the singular, and that makes all the difference. As it stands, the word means 'Well of Seven,' and not 'Seven Wells.' Professor Gautier does not know what 'Well of Seven' refers to. He thinks that the reference had got lost long ago; that then it was popularly taken to be the same as 'Seven Wells';

and when that was done it would be easy to increase the number of the wells to fit the popular etymology.

Professor Sanday, as we have seen, believes that the name of 'Christian' was coined by officials of the Roman government in Antioch. He reminds us also that its first recorded use in history is by a Roman official. Let us look for a moment at the baffling sentence in which King Agrippa uses the word.

When the apostle made his bold assault on the conscience of the king, Agrippa answered, 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian.' At least so the Revised Version translates his words (ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι). But who can believe that the king expressed himself so clumsily?

Professor Potwin does not believe it. In his little book, *Here and There in the Greek New Testament* (Allenson), he turns to the Greek words and considers them. He wonders if the phrase 'make me a Christian' (Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι) may not be a Latin idiom turned into Greek. In Latin it is very common to say *agere* so and so, that is, *act the part of* such a one. In Tacitus, for example, Thrasea is said *agere senatorem*, to act the senator; and Pliny says, 'I still am acting the part of householder'—*patrem familie hactenus ago*; and there are many more examples to be found in Latin of the apostolic days. Is it possible then that Agrippa spoke in Latin, and that St. Luke, translating him, adopted his Latin idiom?

If that is possible, then it is also possible that the words (ἐν ὀλίγῳ), which are so clumsily translated in the Revised Version, 'with but little persuasion,' may also be a Latin idiom. There are similar, if not identical, phrases in good literary Latin; and even in English we have retained the traditional phrases *in toto*, *in extenso*, and the like.

What then would be the translation of Agrippa's baffling sentence? It would be: 'In some degree thou art persuading me to act the part of (that is, to declare myself) a Christian.' And St. Paul's answer catches up the words: 'I would to God that both in some degree and in a great degree not only thou, but also all that hear me this day might become such as I am, except these bonds.'

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We appear to be on the eve of a serious decay of the faith. The evidence is of sundry kinds, and comes from divers quarters. One item is as unmistakable as it is unexpected. It is the recently awakened interest in the site of Calvary.

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It does not seem that the true site of Calvary will ever be found. Dr. Schick is 'convinced that the Lord has so ruled it that there should always be some uncertainty respecting it.' But that does not prevent the controversy regarding it from breaking forth again at any time. And it has been observed that as the controversy breaks forth anew, faith declines. Or, as Canon Gell puts it conversely, 'As true faith in the Divine Person of the Lord Jesus ebbs and flows, the ebb has always been marked by an almost feverish desire to find the exact spot where the greatest crime man ever committed was perpetrated, and the greatest deliverance man ever experienced was accomplished.'

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In confirmation of Canon Gell's observation is the curious fact that on no subject of controversy do the disputants on either side use stronger language of one another. In an article on the subject published on the 25th of July, we find within five and thirty lines the following expressions: 'reckless dogmatism,' 'verbose and violent diatribe,' 'violent attacks,' 'incompetence to discuss such questions,' 'audacious statement,' 'credulous dogmatisms,' 'reckless violence,' 'groundless statements,' 'as mistaken as it is offensive.' Such language cannot be necessary to the subject, it cannot be natural to the men who discuss it.

It must be due to the strange historical fact observed by Canon Gell, that interest in the site of Calvary is coincident with decay of the faith.

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The newly awakened interest in the place where our Lord was crucified and laid in the grave is due to a proposal to purchase *Gordon's Sepulchre*. This is the name now given to a rounded knoll which (at least in photographs) has something of the appearance of a skull. There was a time when it was called *Conder's Tomb*. But that distinguished archæologist, although he believes that it is the true sepulchre, has declined to be prematurely buried in it. And when General Gordon, who unfortunately was not an archæologist, declared that he also believed this to be the true sepulchre, a hero-worshipping English public at once gave it the name of Gordon's tomb or sepulchre.

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The proposal has been widely circulated. It has thoroughly alarmed the supporters of the traditional site. To Canon MacColl, in particular, it seems a monstrous thing 'that two thousand pounds should already have been given for a plot of ground which is intrinsically not worth twenty, and that they are now asking for three thousand more to keep this site in order, and give a salary of seventy pounds a year to a caretaker.' So Canon MacColl has denounced the project on every hand, he has answered his opponents in every journal, and to the *Quarterly Statement* for July of the Palestine Exploration Fund he has written a warmly worded and elaborate defence of the traditional site.

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The traditional site has at present fewer advocates perhaps than it ever had. Canon MacColl arrays them on his opening pages, but they are not impressive. The *Speaker's Commentary* is out of date—some of it never was in date. The *People's Bible History*, even with the 'introduction by the Right Honourable Wm. Ewart Gladstone, M.P.,' is a popular American book which never claimed independent authority in matters of this



kind. The other books and men are ancient, and even antiquated. The only witness of first-class authority whom Canon MacColl produces is the genial and venerable Dr. Baurath Schick.

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The lack of authority does not prove that the site is wrong. It may prejudice one a little against the site at the outset, and it would have been better for his case if Canon MacColl had passed his authorities by. It would have been better also if he had omitted to speak of 'the elaborate guess-work and slipshod reasoning of Dr. Robinson,' as well as of 'the fantastic paradox of Mr. Fergusson.' The important matter, however, is that he himself recognizes the lack of authority, and really rests his case upon argument and illustration.

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His one strong argument is that the tradition of what is called the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre is continuous from our Lord's day until now. He will not admit that the early Christians cared for none of these things. He will not admit that in their conscious possession of a living Lord they allowed the marks of a dead Redeemer to be obliterated. He holds that even when Titus destroyed Jerusalem, the Christians were allowed to return to the city almost immediately. And he thinks that the first spot they would visit would be the place where the Lord had lain. Even after the subsequent rebellion of the Jews and the more complete demolition of the city, the identity of this sacred spot he believes was still preserved. In order to disgust the Jews for ever with the city, the Romans built a temple to Jupiter on the place where the temple of Jehovah had stood, and erected a temple and statue to Venus over 'the place of a skull.' This temple to Venus remained over Golgotha till it was removed by order of Constantine, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre erected in its place. Thus Canon MacColl concludes that the site of the Holy Sepulchre has never been lost, for this conspicuous heathen temple was always there to be pointed to, and

there was always a Christian community in Jerusalem to point to it.

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There is another article in the same number of the *Quarterly Statement* on the same subject. It is by Canon Gell of Worcester. Canon Gell does not believe in the traditional site. What Canon MacColl describes as the 'elaborate guess-work and slipshod reasoning of Dr. Robinson' he calls 'Dr. Robinson's fatal objections,' and he says that they are still unanswered. He has no belief in the continuity of the tradition. He thinks that the Emperor Constantine or his mother Helena were as likely to 'arrange' a site to suit their fancy as to search for the true one. They would easily 'arrange' that a place which ought to have been outside the city wall should be within it. In short, they were worshippers and not archæologists, and he does not believe that they were particular about the site at all.

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But if Canon Gell does not believe in the traditional site, neither does he believe in 'Gordon's Sepulchre.' Canon MacColl says that he himself 'walked over and round the skull hill several times, and saw no more resemblance to a skull than is to be seen in any number of mounds in a rocky country.' He has, however, seen pictures and photographs considerably touched up so as to give some likeness to a skull. Canon Gell has as little faith in the skull hill as Canon MacColl. It is not its appearance, however, that troubles him; it is its position. He believes that in the time of Pilate it stood in the very middle of a thickly populated suburb of Jerusalem. And it is to him incredible that the terribly disgraceful, and even obscene, punishment of the cross could have taken place in the very heart of a populous and respectable district.

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But Canon Gell has a conclusive argument against Gordon's tomb. If the traditional site is within the ancient city wall, so is this. And whatever else we are sure about, we are sure

that the crucifixion took place 'outside the camp,' that is, outside the bounds of the city as it stood. Whereupon Canon Gell, seeking for a third site, finds it away in the north. He believes that the Holy Sepulchre is none other than the well-known 'Tombs of the Kings.'

There is not a scrap of evidence to go by. The very name has no meaning now. 'The tomb,' says Canon Gell, 'is now called the *Tombs of the Kings*, probably because there is no evidence that any king was ever buried in it.' But there are thirteen statements in the Gospels that have to be satisfied, and this is the only locality and the only tomb that seems to him to satisfy them. One of these statements is that in order to look into the tomb the disciples had to stoop down. It appears to be a serious objection to the Gordon tomb that it takes a man of six feet high to look into it, even when mounted on the rubbish that lies at the foot of the wall. If the rubbish is removed, Canon MacColl would reckon that the sill of the window must be quite ten feet from the ground. He asked Dr. Schick, as they stood together beneath it, how St. John could have 'stooped down' to look in at that window; to which Dr. Schick replied, 'How indeed, unless he brought a ladder with him?' But Canon Gell's 'Tomb of the Kings' exactly fulfils this condition. He tried it, and found that a person near the entrance, or in the vestibule, must stoop to see into the tomb-chamber.

Another difficult condition is that one who 'sits over against' the sepulchre must be able to behold how the body is laid. Canon Gell's tomb satisfies that condition also. Sending his servant to lie down in the tomb, he himself ascended the plateau and looked. At first he saw nothing within. Then he called to his servant to take off his dark blue embroidered jacket. 'As soon as he did so, and lay in his white shirt, I could distinctly see how the body was laid.'

It is some years since Canon Gell made his discovery. He was quite sure of it then. He is not so sure of it now. It is hard to say whether this is a feature that speaks for his discovery or against it. Believers in the traditional site are perfectly sure they are right. 'I can never forget,' says Canon Gell, 'how on one occasion I climbed to the top of the canopy that covers the traditional tomb, and lay there for an hour or more unobserved; gazing down through the open work I saw group after group of frowsy pilgrims from the farthest corners of Russia, pressing as near as they could get to the tomb slab to pour out their sorrows, while streaming tears poured down brown cheeks, not of women only but of hardy men, whose passionate devotion shamed my cold heart, because they believed, *what I knew was a fable*, their dear Lord and mine had been buried in that tiny marble cabinet, which monks persuaded Constantine and Helena had been the sepulchre of Christ.'

Believers in the Gordon tomb are equally sure that they are right. 'I was so convinced,' says Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, 'that this was indeed the place where the Lord lay, that if an angel had suddenly appeared I should not have been at all surprised, but should have turned to him with eager confidence and exclaimed, "That is where my Lord's body rested from Friday to the the first day of the week, was it not?" I could not resist the desire to place my poor body on the very spot on which the Sacred Body once rested. For a space I lay there flat on my back.'

Thus the believers in the rival sites are equally confident. Yet they cannot both be right, and they may both be wrong. Canon Gell is not so confident. His very uncertainty becomes an argument in his favour. For Dr. Schick may be right that 'the Lord has so ruled it that there should always be some uncertainty respecting the place of His burial.' Then Canon Gell would be nearest to the mind of Christ.

## Bishop Westcott.

BY THE REV. EDWARD R. BERNARD, M.A., CANON OF SALISBURY.

THERE is an impertinence in any endeavour to estimate the character and work of such a man as Bishop Westcott. Still the attempt must be made, and will be made by many. It is difficult for those who have felt his power and influence with them in almost all their work, to realize that there are others to whom he was not closely known, who need to have set before them what he was, and will long continue to be, to all students of theology, and to a great body of English-speaking Christians.

We may divide those who have been influenced by him into two classes—those who have known him only through his writings, and those who have known the man.

### I.

There can be little doubt that his *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* has been the most widely read of all his works. Its readers have not only learned to understand St. John, but have also felt the personality of the commentator. The affinity between the Johannine type of doctrine and Dr. Westcott's mind is so obvious that it hardly needs notice, but it was this affinity which enabled him to accomplish his work, not only on the Gospel, but also on the Epistles of St. John. One is almost tempted to say that what Augustine did for St. Paul in his generation, Bishop Westcott has done for St. John in ours.

His *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* may be less widely known, but is of no less value. To mention only two points—the sympathy with which he enters into the position of those addressed, and the thoroughness with which he deals with the problem of O.T. quotations in the Epistle, remove a mass of difficulties. It is no disparagement to the different genius of Bishop Lightfoot to say that the theological and philosophical interest of important passages which one finds absolutely unnoticed in his commentaries, always call out from Bishop Westcott some pregnant sentence or at least some enlightening references,

No attempt will be made here to estimate the Bishop's textual labours and their result, as the present object is rather to consider his influence through his writings on the mass of educated Christian people.

Of his lesser works none is more characteristic than *Social Aspects of Christianity*, with its appreciations of the Franciscan Order, and of the Society of Friends—a body, it may be added, which always had a special attraction for the author. They have had no warmer panegyrist. *The Gospel of Life* contrasts with the work last mentioned as belonging to a more abstract region of thought and being nearer in character to the difficult early work, *The Gospel of the Resurrection*. It is perhaps not too much to say that familiarity with Origen, especially with the *De Principiis* and *Contra Celsum*, will be found to help very much to an understanding of both the books named, and indeed to a general understanding of their author's mind. But difficult though it be, *The Gospel of Life* is an apologetic of the truest and best kind. No one who has read it can forget the clearness with which it shows at the outset that the so-called difficulties of Christianity are really the inherent problems of the world in which we find ourselves, and that so far from making the difficulties, it is Christianity which suggests the most enlightening answers to them. Again, the chapter in the same book on the other great religions of the world evinces the sympathy with which he approached them, and shows the character of his ardent zeal for missionary work, and the convictions which underlay it.

It is impossible here to mention and characterize his various shorter works, but this may be said of them all, that they have been found to appeal to men of all shades of opinion, Anglicans and Nonconformists, High Churchmen and Low Churchmen. His influence has been, and will be, a unifying influence. To him the Church was as real and precious a conception as it was to Liddon. The English Church was dear to him, and no man has better understood and expounded its historical position and its special vocation.



But it was dear as the representative for him of the Universal Church, the blessed company of all faithful people, including all that confess the name of Christ under whatever appellation and however divided. It is said that his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians* has been left almost, if not quite, ready for publication. If this be so, we may yet learn more fully his thoughts on a question of the highest importance.

## II.

It remains to speak of what his influence has been on those who knew him in person as well as through his writings. It is true that his character, bearing, and manner in conversation corresponded with the impression given by his written teaching to an unusual degree. But there were certain features which came out more fully in intercourse and helped to interpret what was read. Humility, seriousness, decision, enthusiasm were the graces which most distinctly struck those who approached him. And to have seen and felt them in personal intercourse enabled one more distinctly to recognize them in his work. As seen in him they tended to impress themselves on those around him. For it must always be remembered that he was never merely an intellectual teacher. The moral element was always present, and every intellectual process had for him a moral side.

Special stress must be laid on *decision* as an element of his character. To represent his mind as vague and indefinite is entirely to misapprehend it. Where he was sure, he was vehemently sure. But in dealing with doctrine he was possessed by a sense of the evils which have come in the past from the 'logical development of accepted statements.' 'The Dogmatist,' he says, 'accepts formulæ as equivalent to complete truths,' and 'draws logical conclusions from imperfect premises.' And he adds, 'We do not look upon the heavenly truths themselves, but on a reflection of them' (*Lessons from Work*, p. 137).

But to return to his personal influence. It will never be known how much of the good work of our day, social, ministerial, and literary, has owed

its beginning to direct impulses from him. But one feature of his service in this way must be noticed. In his last sermon at Cambridge he deplores having lost the help of sympathy, because he had been unwilling to claim sacrifices from others. This may have been so to some extent, but certainly not on the whole. He did claim work, if not sacrifices, very largely, and when the work was done he was chary of praise. It was not by the common cheap method of flattery and personal thanks that he led men on to do what he saw they were capable of. You did your best and had to be content with that.

He was never, even in Cambridge days, a recluse in the sense of being out of touch with modern life, its ways and thoughts. Little as he mixed with it, he seemed thoroughly to understand it, and to see as few others its dangers from confessed or unconscious materialism. An illustration of this may be found in his 'Spiritual Ministry of Art' (*Lessons from Work*, pp. 441-451). The same address illustrates another characteristic—his confident hopefulness about aims which in the ordinary mind only provoke satire. The task of 'bringing back the sense of the beautiful, the sense of the divine, which art develops, to toilers in the field, in the mines, in the workshops,' seems to many a useless attempt. But the fact that he believed it possible will keep the ideal before us. 'The world,' he says, 'is ruled by great ideals; the soul responds to them.' This was why he hated satire and satirical men, because satire is the world's way of taking the life out of ideals.

But perhaps the most marked characteristic of all was extraordinary width of view. There was an amazing power of looking up, but no less of looking round. As one reads his more difficult writings the strain is first to dissolve into fuller expression the brief enigmatic sentences, then to see the logical connexion which links them together, but more than all to share and maintain the wide panoramic view of human life and thought, past and present, which seemed ever to be open around him, telling upon his estimate of every person and action, of every principle and endeavour.

## Recent Foreign Theology.

### 'The Gospel of Truth.'<sup>1</sup>

IN reading this work one is reminded of the story about a publican who, wanting to catch the eye of the passer-by, hung his signboard upside down, a device which an Irishman met by crossing the road and standing on his head, so as to be in a proper position for reading it. A similar mental process must be attempted by the reader, if he is to appreciate the author's argument. Everything appears here reversed, and it requires some effort on the reader's part to see the world as it seems to be to the eyes of the author, who, it must be confessed, spares himself no pains, and his readers no labour, to bring them to his own view. This volume consists of 752 closely printed pages, and another is promised. Yet who will dare to say, 'Wherefore this waste?' if the problem of John's Gospel has at last found its certain and complete solution, as the writer confidently believes? He has constructed his argument in the method familiar to the readers of *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. We are kept in suspense till page 368 is reached before, to use language of sufficient dignity for the occasion, 'the cat is let out of the bag.' It would be unkind to the readers, even of this review, to make any premature disclosures, and so to deprive them of the pleasure of getting to the goal along the course which the author has marked out.

In his Introduction the explanation is given, that the author has undertaken this task, although a philosopher and not a theologian by vocation, because the Gospel of John is as much, if not more, a philosophical work, as appears from its affinities with the opinions of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. It expresses essential Christianity, which is practically identical with the true philosophy, or *Personalism*. As in the present day the theology of the Churches is a perversion of the Christian truth, which must be sought for among philosophers, like the author, so in the early days of the Church, the truth dwelt not in the tents of Shem, but of

Ham, not among the Fathers of blessed memory, but among the heretics of accursed name. In passing, it may be remarked that the evident antagonism of the author to the Churches, as they now are, explains his attitude to the past history of the Church. The first part of the book discusses *the evidence for the Gospel*. The ecclesiastical testimony is dismissed as false, and the writers of the Church are charged with fraud and falsehood. The true testimony to the origin is found in the assumed fact that the Gospel first appears among the Gnostic heretics, in the writings of Basilides and Valentinian. The alleged Johannine letters are dealt with as an orthodox counterblast to the heretical Gospel. The conclusion of this part of the argument is, that we must look for the author of the Gospel among the Gnostics.

In the second part the author of the Gospel is diligently searched for with all a detective's keenness, and, so at least the writer of this book thinks, is at last dragged into the light of the day out of the hiding-place, unguessed for so many generations. After discussing the author's description of himself as the disciple whom Jesus loved, the writer at great length deals with the caricature of the Apostle Paul as Simon Magus, and seeks to distinguish this from the description of Simon of Gitta, the Father of Christian Gnosticism, although the two persons have been confused in the traditions of the Church. In order to show Gnosticism in the much more favourable light in which he sees it, he gives a very full exposition of Simon's *The Great Proclamation*, as preserved in Hippolytus. The significance of the Ignatian letters for our knowledge of the characteristics of Gnosticism is recognized, and this father is most unfavourably regarded. Antioch is held to be the home of Gnosticism. A leading disciple of Simon there was Menander, and his disciples in turn were Basilides and Saturnilos. All the Gnostic teachers of any note were authors. It is incredible that Menander alone wrote nothing. The ecclesiastical writers who seek to refute his teaching must have learned his views from some writing. They had a good reason for withholding the title of his book, since it was being accepted in orthodox circles. Here, on the one hand, is this author seeking to recover

<sup>1</sup> *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit, Neue Loesung der Johanneischen Frage.* Von Johannes Kreyenbuehl, Doctor der Philosophie. Erster Band. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1900.



this book ; there, on the other hand, is a book, first heard of among the Gnostics, the Gospel of John, seeking to be restored to its author. The long separation is at an end ; the cruel wrong inflicted by the Church is righted ; the writer solemnly pronounces his judgment : ' Menander of Antioch is the author of the Fourth Gospel, the Gospel of Truth.'

The problem of the authorship having been so simply and securely solved, the writer can now easily settle the minor question of the purpose of the Gospel. Briefly, the Gospel is Menander's *apologia pro vita et doctrina sua*, in the form of an allegorical life of Jesus. The Logos of the Prologue is not conceived as a person, or identified with the person of Jesus, but is simply an expression for the immanence of God in all things, which finds a perfect personal manifestation in Jesus. The Prologue is thus in no sense the key to the Gospel. The world-view of the Gospel may be characterised as that of Christian Mysticism, and to the exposition of this the last part of the volume is devoted. The conceptions dealt with are the Son of man, the Son and Sent of God, eternal life, and the Paraclete. Although the author of the Gospel describes himself as the beloved disciple, on account of his consciousness of possessing the Spirit of the Master in fuller measure than his companions, yet in his mystical identification of himself with his Master, this does not satisfy him, and he ventures to present his controversy with his enemies in the Church in the form of discussions of Jesus Himself with the Jews, and his teaching of his own disciples as Jesus' discourse in the Upper Room. Even in the 'high priestly prayer' of the seventeenth chapter, it is the Gnostic teacher who is to be regarded as praying. Although there are not lacking allusions to the historical Jesus as the first both in time and rank of the Children of God, yet it is Menander himself who is called Son of God and Son of man. John the Baptist, Mary the mother of Jesus, and Nicodemus represent historical Judaism, as a preparation for, yet as superseded in, Christianity. The Jews represent the orthodox Church. Its ordinances are referred to in the feasts of the Jews. Against the Church's Eucharist the sixth chapter is directed. The brethren of Jesus are the author's own relatives. The forty-six years of the building of the Temple, and the fifty years of the Jews' sneering question, both are clear indications of his age at the time of

writing. This master-key of allegory can be made to fit into any lock. All these conclusions the writer of the book finds confirmed in the ecclesiastical polemic against the author of the Gospel. His work is not yet done. The second volume will deal with the Gospel as a controversial writing, with its local colour, its date of composition, its early history, and 'its significance for the development of Christian humanity.'

The writer possesses wide learning and keen judgment. He is original, and not merely eccentric. He has philosophical grasp, and even theological insight. He writes in a sincere and reverent spirit, although he is unduly confident about his own opinions, and contemptuous of the views of others. He shows his worst manners in dealing with the Church writers. He writes clearly and forcibly, and in some passages he shows considerable rhetorical power ; but on the other hand he is too diffuse, and allows himself too many digressions and repetitions. There are long philosophical disquisitions, sometimes excellent in themselves, which are out of place in the volume. If all irrelevant matter were omitted, it might be possible for the writer to give his solution of the problem in one volume of smaller size. The bulk of the book itself will hinder many, before whom the writer might in a smaller book plead his case, from giving him the necessary attention. While his purpose will command the sympathy of few readers, yet there is much in the book deserving consideration, as fresh light is thrown on many questions raised by the Gospel. The discussion of the Prologue, for instance, is distinctly valuable. Of the ideas of the Gospel he often gives a very suggestive and appreciative exposition. While there can be no doubt that the Christian Church generally has been too ready to accept the testimony of the orthodox Fathers to the authorship of the Gospel, without that careful sifting of their evidence which their notoriously uncritical methods demand, yet this writer's account of the conspiracy of falsehood regarding this Gospel in the Church is incredible. Irenæus and Ignatius may have been 'sorry saints,' but they can hardly have been the hardened knaves he makes them out. Although it is very probable that Gnosticism was not so foolish and wicked as it appeared to the ecclesiastical opponents, possessed by the controversial spirit, yet the writer's own account of the teaching of Simon of Gitta does justify the conclusion that



it would have been a misfortune for the world had Christianity in the Gnostic form triumphed over the Christianity of the Church, how ever imperfect that was. The writer is trying to support a very heavy bridge on a very thin thread, when he argues that because Menander must have written something, the Gospel must be his work. What he calls 'the decision' is the Achilles' heel of the whole argument. Lastly, a writer capable of forming so lofty Christian ideas, and cherishing so fine Christian sentiments, as are found in the Fourth Gospel, would have been incapable of such shocking irreverence as to use Jesus as his mouthpiece. That he should have assumed the guise of Jesus disputing with the Jews may not seem so wildly incredible, but that Jesus' talk with His disciples, and His prayer to His Father, are merely a disguise assumed by the author passes belief. If the author did not purpose a fraud, why this gratuitous irreverence? This new solution of the problem must be pronounced, as not only inadequate, but even as impossible. This philosopher's help promises no furtherance to theologians in their labours, even as Gnosticism did not advance the interests of Christianity.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

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### The New 'Herzog.'<sup>1</sup>

THE subject of the first article in the ninth volume of the Hauck-Herzog *Realencyklopädie* is

#### JESUS CHRIST.

The writer is Dr. Zöckler, the distinguished Professor of Theology at the University of Greifswald. Copious bibliographies prove that the veteran author is familiar with the most recent literature on the subject, even with discussions in the *Expositor* and THE EXPOSITORY TIMES as well as in American journals. Dr. Sanday's masterly article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is referred to in terms of high appreciation. Dr. Zöckler's conclusions are in the main conservative, for he is careful to distinguish between facts and fancies in modern criticism; he is, however, no obscurantist, nor is he afraid to say that our present knowledge is

insufficient for the solution of many problems. He states with fairness the opinions he rejects, and expresses with conspicuous moderation his own views, which, it must be remembered, are the mature judgment of a theologian, who in 1865 published two lectures entitled respectively, 'The Criticism of the Gospels' and 'The Scripture Portrait of Jesus Christ.' The Protestants of Germany will find wise guidance on this great theme in their standard work of reference. A brief statement of Dr. Zöckler's methods and results may also remind readers of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* that Professor Schmiedel's conjectures do not represent the main trend of recent German thought, his speculations being opposed alike to the teaching of such representatives of the modern school as Harnack and Loofs, and to the teaching of such representatives of the orthodox school as Zöckler and his colleague, Dr. Hermann Cremer, to whom Dr. Hauck has entrusted the important subject of 'Inspiration.'

After a generous recognition of the services rendered to biblical study by the critics who have emphasized the peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel, as well as by those who have distinguished the Synoptic Gospels one from the other, Dr. Zöckler proceeds to show the necessity for dwelling with equal emphasis upon the fact that there is a gospel common to all the four evangelists (εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον), notwithstanding their individual characteristics as historians and theologians. The theory that a collection of *Logia* was the original nucleus of St. Matthew's Gospel is held to be quite compatible with the view that Matthew himself made use of the Aramaic *Logia* when writing his Gospel in Greek. Without denying the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, it is possible to discriminate between actual historic details of our Lord's works, as remembered by the beloved disciple, and the form in which, with the impress of his own individuality, he reproduced the discourses of Jesus. It is also important to compare the Gospels with the Epistles, for such study brings to light parallels to the evangelists' narratives, and confirms their authority and authenticity.

Attempts to harmonize the genealogies of Jesus in Mt 1 and Lk 3 are described as mere hypotheses. A comparison of these New Testament genealogies with those found in 1 Ch 1-9 and in Gn 5 and 11 reveals in all a certain carelessness in construction; there is also occasional sacrificing of accuracy and

<sup>1</sup> *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Dritte Auflage. Bd. ix, 'Jesus Christus'—'Kanon Muratori,' Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

completeness to symbolism; Matthew, *e.g.*, gives three times 14 links between Abraham and Christ, Luke seven times, 11 links between Christ and Adam. The belief of the early Christians in the Davidic descent of Jesus was not based on genealogical tables (Mt 15<sup>22</sup> 21<sup>30</sup>, Ro 1<sup>3</sup>, He 7<sup>14</sup>). The narratives in Mt 2 cannot be explained away as inventions of the evangelist who fabricated the incidents in order that his narrative might correspond with prophecies; this is impossible, for with one exception—'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob' (Nu 24<sup>17</sup>)—a Messianic interpretation was not given to those passages in pre-Christian times. The facts of the Lord's childhood may have suggested this interpretation to Matthew, but not *vice versa*. Beyschlag holds that the sources of the evangelists' narratives were not early traditions generally current amongst the disciples of Christ, but private reminiscences which were already becoming untrustworthy and mythical, but this supposition is justly dismissed as 'subjective and precarious.' The historicity of such incidents as Luke relates of Simeon and Anna, and of the boy Jesus can be called in question 'only by the most arbitrary hyper-criticism.'

A similar judgment is passed upon the theory which limits the ministry of Jesus to a single year. If true, it would accord well with such conceptions of the person of the Saviour as those which recognize in Him only what is human, and with such conceptions of His public work as those which liken it to a fire of straw rapidly flaming up and as rapidly dying down. It is not, however, on dogmatic but on historical grounds that the theory is condemned, for it is shown to be inconsistent not only with the Johannine record, but also with such passages in the Synoptic Gospels as Mt 23<sup>37</sup>, Lk 13<sup>34</sup>, and with the testimony of Peter (Ac 10<sup>38</sup>).

To follow in detail Dr. Zöckler's suggestive treatment of the various events in our Lord's life is impracticable, but a summary may be given of the latter part of his discussion of the Resurrection narratives; in this section of his article there is an admirable blending of his characteristic qualities of candour and caution. The theory which denies the reality of Christ's death, and the various forms of the hypothesis of a visionary appearance of Jesus are first examined and pronounced insufficient to account for the experience of the early disciples. Mention is then made of the difficulties which attend every attempt to combine in chronological

order the different narratives of the course of events between the Resurrection and the Ascension of our Lord. The first difficulty arises from the loss of the original ending of St. Mark's Gospel, for Mk 16<sup>9, 20</sup> must be regarded as a compilation of later origin and of secondary value. The second difficulty is the seeming discrepancy between the account (Mt 28 and Jn 21) of the appearances of the Risen Lord to His disciples in Galilee, and the record of the appearances in Jerusalem (Lk 24 and Jn 20). The third difficulty is that Jn 20<sup>17</sup> and Lk 24<sup>51</sup> seem to place our Lord's Ascension into heaven on the evening of the day of His Resurrection, whereas in Ac 1<sup>3</sup> an interval of forty days is mentioned.

Our Lord's words to Mary Magdalene, 'I ascend unto My Father' (Jn 20<sup>17</sup>), Luke's statement that Jesus 'vanished' out of the sight of the travellers to Emmaus (Lk 24<sup>31</sup>), the language of Paul (Eph 4<sup>10</sup>), and of Peter (1 P 3<sup>22</sup>) incline Dr. Zöckler to regard with favour the suggestion of a repeated return of the glorified Lord to His Father's house. In reverent thought on the nature of our Lord's risen body some theologians<sup>1</sup> have found a different solution of the undoubted difficulties on which Dr. Zöckler dwells; he is, however, careful to state explicitly that neither acceptance of the theory of a passing to and fro between heaven and earth on the part of the Risen Saviour, nor a symbolic interpretation of the number 'forty' in Ac 1<sup>3</sup> necessitates the surrender of the historic trustworthiness of Luke's witness to the *fact* of the Ascension of Christ. 'Without the fact of a later solemn farewell of the Risen Lord to His disciples, as it is described in detail in the periscope to Luke's Gospel and more briefly in Mk 16<sup>16, 20</sup>, two things are inexplicable: the course of events after the morning of the Resurrection, and the experience and actions of the apostles both before and after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.'

Reference is made to the uncertainty of the witness of post-apostolic writers on the question in dispute. In the *Epistle of Barnabas* 15<sup>9</sup> there is clear evidence, and in the *Apology of Aristides*, c. 2, there is possible though not decisive evidence of the existence of a tradition that our

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Canon Gore's words (*The Body of Christ*, p. 127): 'The risen body of Christ was spiritual . . . not because it was less than before material, but because in it matter was wholly and finally subjected to spirit.'



Lord ascended into heaven immediately after His Resurrection. On the other hand, an interval of eighteen months is mentioned in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, c. 11, and in *Irenaeus*, i. 3<sup>2</sup> 30<sup>14</sup>; whilst the book *Pistis Sophia* stretches the period to eleven years. Dr. Zöckler is of opinion that absolute certainty on this detail of chronology is not to be attained; 'the confession of a *non liquet* must be made more than once as we study the closing section of the Gospel narrative.' But those who hold to the trustworthiness of the narrative in Acts will find confirmation of their belief as they note the instructive parallels quoted of double accounts of the same event by the same author, as, e.g., Josephus, who closes Book 17 of his history with a brief description of the sending of Quirinius to Syria and Palestine, whilst he begins Book 18 with a much longer and more detailed account of the same event.

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### 'The Beginnings of our Religion.'<sup>1</sup>

PROFESSOR WERNLE wishes it to be understood that this is not a manual of New Testament Theology. His sole aim is to give his readers a clear conception of the nature of the gospel, and of the great changes it underwent down to the origin of Catholicism. He takes account of thoughts and movements only as they stand related to the Gospel of Jesus, and hopes thereby to disentangle the Gospel from Theology. He proceeds very methodically. After an introductory chapter on 'Presuppositions,' he treats first of 'The Origin of the Religion,' under the headings, I. *Jesus* (1. His vocation; 2. His promise; 3. His demand; 4. Jesus the Redeemer); II. *The Primitive Community* (1. The leaders; 2. The origin of the Church; 3. The oldest theology; 4. The parties and their issue); III. *Paul* (1. His apostolic self-consciousness; 2. Jesus among the Gentiles; 3. The Pauline theology: (a) the theology of redemption, (b) the anti-Jewish apologetic, (c) the Pauline Gnosis; 4. The piety of the Churches and of Paul himself); IV. *The Apocalypse* (1. The

prophet; 2. The promise; 3. The demand; 4. Lay-theology). In the second main division, 'The Development of the Church,' he discusses, I. *The Origin of Church Government* (1. The decay of the apostles and prophets; 2. The formation of episcopacy; 3. The formation of the office of teacher; 4. The order of saints); II. *The Development of the Church's Theology*: A. *Christianity and Judaism* (1. Jewish faith; 2. The Law and Jewish ethics; 3. The Jewish Church and its institutions); B. *Christianity and Hellenism* (1. The heathen state; 2. The heathen religion; 3. Greek philosophy); C. *Catholicism and Gnosticism* (1. The source of Gnosticism; 2. The conflict with Gnosticism and its consequences); III. *Piety in the Post-apostolic Age* (1. Christian hope; 2. Christian life; 3. Redemption).

This bare summary of contents gives little idea of the wealth of material in this volume. Almost every section will reward careful study; on most points connected with the origin and early history of Christianity fresh light is thrown. Not that every judgment pronounced by Wernle is by any means just, or that he has always apprehended the whole truth. Though manifestly a genuine lover of truth, he is not without his prepossessions and antipathies. But even where most defective, there is much to be learned from his clear statement of the truth as discerned by him. Those who, after studying his volume, still differ from him on some questions of great importance, will feel that they have received a considerable impulse from him, and that he has helped them to a clearer understanding of the gospel.

DAVID EATON.

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### König's 'Hebräisch und Semitisch.'<sup>2</sup>

THIS is one of the most important publications that have appeared in the department of Semitic studies. It deals with a subject on which Professor König has very special claims to be heard, and we need scarcely say that it is marked by that thoroughness and minute accuracy which we have all learned to associate with the name of the author of the *Lehrgebäude* and similar monumental works. At least since the year 1889, when the Oriental

<sup>1</sup> *Die Anfänge unserer Religion.* Von Lic. Paul Wernle, a.o. Professor an der Universität, Basel. Tübingen und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1901. Pages xii, 410. Price M.7.

<sup>2</sup> *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der semit. Sprachen, etc.* Von Ed. König, Bonn. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1901. Price M.4.



Congress met at Stockholm, Dr. König has had in view a work of the kind before us, in which the chief aim is to fix the true order of succession of the Semitic languages, and in particular to assign to Hebrew its proper place in that succession.

The book opens with a very careful discussion of the problem of the origin of speech, which is followed by an examination of the laws of development which in general mark the history of a language, and which find illustration in the Semitic languages, modern and ancient. In this way the relative antiquity of the old Semitic languages and the historical place of the Hebrew language are discovered. These positive results are strengthened by a course of negative investigations: Some of these will be of special interest to readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, because they deal very fully with the numerous notes contributed to these pages by Dr. Hommel. The latter will no longer be able to repeat his complaint that these communications of his have been ignored by scholars, and we are sure that he will find nothing to take exception to in the tone of Dr. König, who always writes in a calm objective spirit, and with no other aim than to arrive at the truth.

To discover what Dr. König's solution of the problem he sets himself is, we must refer readers to the book itself, which will be universally admitted to be worthy of its subject and of its author.

### Miscellaneous.

OF all the issues of the series *Der alte Orient* (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 6opf. each), none has surpassed in interest and importance Heft 3 of the present year, *Biblische und Babylonische Urgeschichte*, by Zimmern. Those who have not the means or the leisure to study elaborate works like those of Gunkel, will find in this little book a bird's-eye view of the whole subject. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the discussion of the relation of the biblical to the Babylonian narratives, and of the date when the latter probably became known to the Hebrews.

Dr. Kraetzschmar has done well to publish his lecture *Prophet und Seher im alten Israel* (Tübingen and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, price 75pf.). Such points as the origin of prophecy in Israel, the derivation and meaning of the word נָבִיא, and the

relation of the 'prophet' to the 'seer' are treated in an interesting and instructive fashion, and the writer is very successful in exhibiting the pædagogic function of prophecy till 'the fulness of the times.'

Other two Hefte of the *Christliche Welt* have come into our hands. The first, No. 47 (Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr, price 55pf.), is a very suggestive brochure by Professor Deissmann of Heidelberg, entitled *Theologie und Kirche*, which we would warmly commend to the attention of all who are anxious to see the right relation established between theology and the Church in our own and in other lands. No. 48 (price 90pf.) will also reward careful study. Its author is Pastor Sulze of Dresden, and it deals with the question, *Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung der Person und des Wirkens Jesu zu beendigen?*

The former *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie* has commenced a new series with a new name (*Monatsschrift für die kirchliche Praxis*), a new editor (Professor Baumgarten of Kiel), and a new publisher (J. C. B. Mohr). It is published monthly (annual subscription 6 marks; single numbers, 75pf. each). As both the old and the new title show, the main aim of this periodical is *practical*. Its contents are likely to be of immense service to the working clergy in Germany, and amongst ourselves we trust the periodical will also find a warm welcome. For instance, we could well wish that Pfarrer Niebergall's article on Church discipline in the February number were read and pondered throughout the various branches of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

Messrs. Schwetschke & Sohn (Berlin), who have now brought to a close the gigantic publication of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, are about to publish the works of Zwingli, which are now out of print in the edition of Schuler & Schulthess. The editors, whose names will at once command confidence, are to be Egli of Zürich and Finsler of Basel. The work will probably extend to 120 issues at a cost (to subscribers) of M.2.40 each. To begin with, 3 or 4 issues per annum are contemplated, but the rate of publication will probably be afterwards accelerated. We have no doubt that this great enterprise will receive the support it deserves.

[Since writing the above, we learn, to our great regret, that there is a danger of the above project being abandoned, owing to lack of subscribers. At least 300 are wanted, and as yet only 220 (of these only 4 British!) have been obtained. Surely this state of matters needs only to be known in order to be remedied. Our own country alone ought to be able to fill the gap. Future generations of church historians will assuredly not be sparing in their reproaches if there is not found sufficient spirit amongst us to prevent the wreck of such an enterprise.]

All students of early Christian literature will accord a very hearty welcome to Dr. E. Preuschen for the work he has just published, *Antilegomena: Die Reste der ausserkanon. Evangelien und urchristl. Ueberlieferungen* (Giessen: J. Ricker, price M.3). It contains, without commentary, the text of all that has come down to us of early Christian gospel literature: fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel of Peter, the fragments of Papias, the *Logia Jesu*, and other relics of Christian antiquity (some 21 in all). Dr. Preuschen follows up the original texts by a German translation, which will be not the least highly prized part of his work. The book ought to be, and we have no doubt will soon be, in the hands of every N.T. student.

The same author has also made a valuable contribution to a somewhat obscure department of theological study in his *Die Apokryphen Gnostischen Adamschriften* (Ricker, price M.2.50). After a preliminary discussion of the Armenian text, Dr. Preuschen gives its translation, and then devotes the rest of his book to a discussion of various subjects. Especially valuable, and sure to receive careful study, is his examination of all the evidence relating to the sect of the Sethites.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

J. A. SELBIE.

### ‘A Jacobite Introduction to the Psalter.’<sup>1</sup>

THERE must be a fair number of the subscribers to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES who also read the *Z.A.T.W.*

<sup>1</sup> Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter in Verbindung mit zwei Homilien aus dem grossen Psalmencommentar des Daniel von Ṣalaḥ, zum ersten Male

They are not likely to have forgotten the fascinating articles which were written by Baethgen for that periodical on *Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary on the Psalter* and on *Seventeen Maccabean Psalms, according to Th. of Mopsuestia*. The interest aroused by those articles would alone ensure a welcome for Diettrich's monograph, which is published as one of the supplements to the *Z.A.T.W.* Diettrich has been led to produce it by two considerations; first, the prominent position assigned to the Psalter in the teaching and liturgy of the Syriac Churches, and, second, the lack amongst us of any adequate acquaintance with the manner in which Syrian Christians have handled the special topic here discussed.

There is an excellent preface. Then come, on opposite pages, the Syriac text and a German translation of what may be called an Introduction to the Psalter, followed by the Syriac and German of homilies on Psalms 1 and 2 by the great Jacobite exegete, David of Ṣalaḥ, who flourished about the year 700. The editor has supplied good footnotes, both linguistic and literary. The Syriac text is mainly that of a single MS., the property of Dr. Harris, written in the year 1754. The original from which it is derived was the work of an unknown Monophysite author, whose date lies somewhere between the tenth and twelfth centuries. It was probably intended for students, lay and clerical, in the higher schools, all of whom were required to read the Psalter in the first or second year of their curriculum. ‘The Book of Psalms,’ chap. 3, says, ‘must be read before the books of the Old and New Testaments, and before all other books.’ ‘No man should be ordained deacon until he has sung Psalms.’ And Diettrich reminds us that this insistence on a knowledge of the Psalter was carried still further, the 79th Canon of the Arabic recension of the Acts of the Council of Nicæa requiring diligent study of this subject by would-be deaconesses: ‘Ut habeant aliquem magistrum perspicacem et probum, qui eas doceat legere scripturas donec probe erudiantur in eis, praesertim in Psalmorum ministerio.’ A very large portion of our Introduction is borrowed from Hippolytus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and other fathers, but the appropriation is intelligently done. The subjects treated of are: Contents of  
herausgegeben, übersetzt u. bearbeitet von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1901.



the Psalter, Origin, Writers, Idea, Inspiration, Redactors, Reasons for its Liturgical Use in Church, Points connected with Interpretation, and Employment in Divine Service.

A brief survey will show that it was worth editing. As in other early writings, so here, things are clearly seen in the Psalter which a modern exegete does not so readily find. The distinction is not grasped between a direct prediction of an event and a passage capable of being applied to it. In the discussion of the Contents of the Psalter we are told that the Book of Psalms contains distinct prophecies of the Incarnation, Passion, Descent to Hades, Resurrection, Ascension, etc. David of Şalah's homily on the 2nd Psalm illustrates this. It merely mentions what was believed to be the historic occasion of the Psalm, and is then wholly taken up with an exposition of it as teaching the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, His Kingdom, and His Second Advent. 'St. Cyril,' the Introduction tells us, 'says that the Book of Psalms is useful because it imparts simple and clear instruction in the mysteries of the Incarnation, the Miracles of the Lord, the indignities He suffered at the hands of the Jews, His Cross, His Shame and Mockery, the Descent into Hell, the Deliverance of the Spirits there, the Resurrection from the Dead, the Ascension, etc.' There is quite a prolix discussion of the figures of speech used in the Book of Psalms. At first sight one is surprised at its having been thought necessary to point out that some of them were figures. But we remember the extraordinary conceptions of biblical and theological language which are met with amongst intelligent English people, and conclude that our author knew his public. His theory of Inspiration is a purely mechanical one: 'The power of the Holy Ghost spake in his [David's] soul, and seized his tongue and moved it as the learned man and writer uses his pen.' The problem of the order in which the Psalms are placed is solved by the assumption that Ezra or one of the prophets discovered groups of 'poems at various times and arranged them according to the dates at which they were found. The author of the Introduction himself uses the Peshiṭta Version, but declares that the LXX is the best of all translations, because the New Testament writers quote from it. He gives a very clear exhibition of the beliefs entertained in the Syrian Church respecting the

modes in which the various Greek translations of the O.T. came into existence. His account of the difference between what were thought to be the two main classes of poems in the Psalter is unsatisfactory: the *mazmûrâ* (מִזְמוֹר), we are told, is a song accompanied by a musical instrument; the *tešbuṭa* (שְׁבַח), an unaccompanied song. But if the critical faculty does not come out strongly in these definitions, the Jacobite writer appreciated the value of sacred song. 'Pleasant sounds and delightful melodies are united to the Psalms in order that when men sing them, God's commandments and ordinances may, through the attractiveness of the singing, enter into their souls to their salvation and help, as when wise physicians mix honey and medicine together. . . . And so it is that when a man is mad with anger, as soon as he begins to sing the Psalms, he becomes gentle and yielding.' Church musicians will be glad to find that there is unimpeachable authority for the antiphonal chanting of the *cantoris* and *decani* sides! 'Socrates says in the last part of his Ecclesiastical History that Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was third after Peter, and associated with the apostles, saw, in a vision, angels praising the Holy Trinity. And they were standing as a type of the two choirs. And, according to the vision which he saw, he established a tradition in the Church of Antioch and arranged the two choirs in it to sing Psalms. And all the Churches have adopted from that Church the practice of singing in two choirs.' David's own arrangements for the musical rendering of his poems are boldly described in a passage borrowed from Hippolytus. It is asserted that to each of the four singers, Asaph, Ethan, Jeduthun, and Heman, the king assigned 72 musicians: 'In this there lay a prophecy that at the end of the ages all tongues of the earth shall glorify and praise God. For at the beginning of the ages, when the Tower of Babel was built, 72 tongues lusted after what was evil. Therefore did God confound them and scatter them on the whole earth to the four quarters of the heaven. But at the end of the ages, since God the Word became flesh, it has come to pass that all these 72 tongues glorify and praise God. On this account he appointed the 72 tongues to each of these four singers . . . of the children of Shem 25, of the children of Ham 32, of the children of Japhet 15.'

Enough has been said to invite attention to



a piece of work which was worth doing and has been well done. The theological student may not find much fresh matter in this treatise. But he is here brought into close contact with an important branch of the Eastern Church. Almost without making an effort, he is made to see, to feel, how that Church looked on and felt towards subjects in which we also are deeply interested.

And if this does not alter our views, it is a good thing that we should realize theirs and the life that beat beneath them. A word of praise is due to the clear and beautiful printing of the Syriac. Would anything 'be gained if, at the same time, we grumbled at the wretched stitching? Costly books ought not to come to pieces in our hands.

Winchcombe.

J. TAYLOR.

## Biblical Laughter.

BY THE REV. DAVID SMITH, M.A., TULLIALLAN.

It is a remarkable fact that man is the only animal that either laughs or weeps; and the explanation which certain philosophers have given of it is that he is the only one capable of comparing things as they are and things as they ought to be. It is the incongruity between what is and what ought to be that moves either to laughter or to tears.

And herein, it may be remarked, lies the secret of the intimate relationship which one observes between those two emotions apparently so contrary. It is a deep saying of the wise man of ancient Israel that 'even in laughter the heart is sorrowful' (Pr 14<sup>13</sup>); and some one in our own day has said that 'the roots of laughter lie close to the spring of tears.' How much pathos is blended with true humour! Dickens, Barrie, and 'Ian Maclaren' are masters of the art of moving mirth, and what a power they possess of touching the heart and bringing tears to the eyes! What a humorist Tom Hood was! Yet he wrote some of the most pathetic pieces in the English language, and his life was full of pain and sorrow—a protracted death and a ceaseless struggle with adversity. He once proposed as a suitable inscription for his own tombstone: '*Here lies one who spat more blood and made more puns than any other man.*' So interwoven are joy and sorrow in the web of our mysterious human life. There is no true laughter which has not tears in it.

And the explanation of this apparent incongruity is that laughter and tears spring from the self-same source—the perception of the difference between what is and what ought to be. Sometimes the difference seems mournful, and then one weeps; sometimes ludicrous, and then one laughs; but so

blended are mirth and pathos in human things that nothing is ever wholly comic nor yet wholly tragic. 'Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful'; 'the roots of laughter lie close to the spring of tears.'

It is remarkable that the Bible never speaks of *the laughter of mirthful gaiety*. The word *smile* does not once occur on its pages. There is indeed no lack of sarcasm, of caustic and biting satire, in the Holy Scriptures. How scathing the prophets could be in their denunciation of hypocrisy and folly! And St. Paul was almost as richly endowed with this perilous gift as Elijah or Isaiah. But where, at least in the Old Testament, do we see the least gleam of playful humour? The Hebrews never jested, unlike the vivacious and nimble-witted Greeks, who sparkled with pleasantry and rippled with merriment. Nor is the explanation far to seek. The Hebrews were too serious to be humorous. They took life in grim earnest. They realized the proximity and solemnity of the unseen world, and lived continually as under the shadow of eternity. This world was to their minds but the outer court of the Temple of the Most High, and they moved about with a sense of awe as one would in a great cathedral. 'This world,' said R. Jacob, 'is like a vestibule before the world to come: prepare thyself in the vestibule that thou mayest enter into the festival-chamber.' It was indeed a noble spirit, yet it was somewhat false. For we are not here like worshippers, but rather, if we be the people of God, like children in the great Father's sight, His 'sons without rebuke'; and it is meet that we should rejoice in the works of His hands and in the glorious liberty which is

our birthright. It is a poor sort of reverence to tremble like bondsmen in the presence of Him who made us and loves us and is daily loading us with benefits.

There are four kinds of laughter in the Holy Scriptures.

1. *The Laughter of Incredulity*, as when Sarah laughed at the promise which she deemed impossible. 'And the Lord said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, *Shall I of a surety have a child, which am old?* Is anything too hard for the Lord?' It was the same incredulous laughter that greeted our Lord's remonstrance in the house of Jairus: 'Why make ye this ado, and weep? The damsel is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn.'

Of course this is an evil kind of laughter. It is the mockery of an unbelieving heart, and it betrays a sinful temper which we are all prone to and should resist to the uttermost—the disposition to set limits to the power of God and estimate the future, not by faith, but by sight and by our own notions of what is reasonable and likely. Let us never laugh this laughter. Incredulity is a godless temper. Despondency is no fitting mood for those who have been redeemed with the precious Blood of Christ and are His in life and in death, in this world and to all eternity. It is no pious delusion, but the most reasonable faith we can cherish, that, if we be God's believing people, He will make all things work together for our good and show us great and mighty things which we know not as yet. 'Oh how great is Thy goodness, which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee; which Thou hast wrought for them that trust in Thee before the sons of men!'

2. *The Laughter of Folly*.—On the laughter of fools, as on all their works and ways, the Bible is very severe. 'As the crackling of thorns under a pot,' says the wise man, 'so is the laughter of the fool' (Ec 7<sup>6</sup>). And it is written by another of the wise men of Israel: 'A fool lifteth up his voice with laughter; but a clever man will scarce smile quietly' (Sir 21<sup>20</sup>); and again: 'A man's attire, and grinning laughter, and gait, show what he is' (Sir 19<sup>30</sup>).

Here, then, is one mark by which the laughter of the fool may be recognized—its *loudness*. It is

what the poet has called 'the loud laugh that speaks the vacant mind.' A hearty laugh is an honest thing, but a boisterous guffaw is—notwithstanding Carlyle and his Teufelsdröckh—a sure evidence of vulgarity and folly. A gentleman is never boisterous; and, if this be true of a gentleman, it is tenfold truer of a lady. A gentle carriage is surely the chief of womanly charms. A woman whose face is kind, whose voice is soft, and whose movements are quiet, is like rest and healing and fragrance.

Again, the fool may be known, not only by the boisterousness of his mirth, but by *the sort of things he makes merry over*. He is great at profane jesting, that base and pitiful kind of wit which jokes on sacred subjects. Such jesting is wholly reprehensible, and it is the fool's peculiar province. It is so easy that even a fool may attain unto it, and indeed no one but a fool would attempt it. It wants no cleverness. Why is it that the most inane jest on sacred subjects is sure to raise a laugh? It is because of the obvious incongruity between the sacred text and the use it is put to. It is the cheapest sort of witticism in the world; and when one hears a man indulging in it, one may write him down as a fool without the least hesitation.

This cheap and easy sort of jesting is deplorably common, and the pity is that it is so mischievous. It degrades the Bible and robs it of its sacred efficacy. It is told of a sculptor that he once laboured on a block of marble till he had carved it into the likeness of a Greek god. It was a masterpiece, and he surveyed it with just pride. In his absence a silly wag got into the studio, and, thinking to be funny, put a slouch hat on the head of the statue and gave it a moustachios with a burned cork. The sculptor returned and, to his indignation and disgust, beheld his god transformed into a leering rake. Cursing the fool, he undid his idiotic handiwork; but his pride in the statue was gone. Whenever he looked at it, he seemed to see in it that silly disguise, its godlike smile transformed into a maudlin simper. And is it not thus that it fares with the Bible when fools lay their profaning hands upon it? There are passages which have been ruined for the sacred use of spiritual edification. The fool has handled them, and, whenever one reads them, some inane witticism obtrudes itself. Let us resolutely refrain from this manner of jesting and stoutly set our



faces against it. It is reckoned a crime to poison the wells from which men drink; and surely it is a still greater crime to pollute with pernicious folly the sacred fountains of spiritual life.

3. *The Laughter of Exultation.*—One example of this is Isaiah's defiance of Sennacherib, when that heathen warrior came in his strength and pride against the Holy City, never dreaming of the discomfiture which awaited him. But the prophet foresaw it, and, as though her deliverance had already come to pass, he depicts the exultation of Jerusalem over her prostrate foe: 'The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee' (2 K 19<sup>21</sup>).

This laughter of exultation is nothing less than sublime. It is the secure confidence of those who know that God is on their side, and who face adversity with the grand assurance that He who is with them is more than all that can be against them. If we be God's believing people, it is in this spirit that we should confront life—ay, and death, and the great hereafter. Such was the spirit of the Shepherd-psalmist when he said:

Yea, though I walk in the Valley of the Shadow of Death,

I will fear no evil; for Thou [shalt be] with me,  
Thy club and Thy staff—they shall comfort me;

and of the apostle when he said: 'In all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

It is related of Julius Cæsar that in the course of one of his eastern campaigns he had occasion to cross a perilous strait. A sudden storm arose, and it seemed as though the frail craft must perish. The pilot was for turning back, but, with that confidence in his destiny which never failed him and brought him safe through a thousand perils, the hero exclaimed: 'On, good sir! Be bold, and fear nothing. You have Cæsar and Cæsar's fortune on board' (Plut. *Cæs.* 38, § 3). And, if we have Christ on board, are we not safe in the roughest storm? With Christ

on board we may laugh at the winds and the waves and set them at defiance.

4. *The Laughter of Scorn.*—It is not too much to say that one of the strongest evidences of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures is their *reverent audacity*. The Bible employs language about God which no other book in the world would venture upon, language which would be sheer blasphemy on the lips of any save one who 'spoke as he was moved by the Holy Ghost.' It actually speaks of 'the laughter of God'; and, wherever the laughter of God is mentioned, it is this laughter of scorn.

Now according to the Holy Scriptures there are two things that rouse the scorn of God and move Him to laughter. One is *the impotent hostility of petty man, when he vaunts the strength of his puny arm and swaggers in the face of Heaven*. A striking instance is the Psalmist's picture of the kings of the earth rebelling against Jehovah and His Anointed, and taking counsel together to break their bands asunder and cast away their cords (Ps 2). And how is their impotent vapouring regarded by the Almighty?

He that is enthroned in the heavens laugheth;  
Adonai mocketh at them.

And this is no mere poet's fancy. If one may say it without irreverence, history is nothing else than a prolonged exhibition of the scorn of God for human pride and of the contempt which he pours upon it, enduring it for a season and then, when it has played its fantastic tricks long enough, sweeping it away with the breath of His nostrils. Three hundred years ago the king of Spain equipped a huge fleet and despatched it against England, to chastise that heretical land and bring her once more under the papal yoke. 'The said Spanish Fleet,' says the ancient chronicler, 'being the best furnished with Men, Munition, and all manner of Provision, of any that ever the Ocean saw, and call'd by the arrogant Name of *Invincible*, consisted of 130 Ships: in which were 19290 Soldiers, 8350 Mariners, 2080 Galley-Slaves, and 2630 great Ordnance.' On it came 'with lofty Turrets, like Castles, in Front like a Half-Moon, the Wings thereof spreading out about the Length of Seven Miles, sailing very slowly, though with full Sails, the Winds being as it were tired with carrying them, and the Ocean groaning under the Weight



of 'em.' Trusting in their strength the Spaniards reckoned on victory; but there were two factors of which they had taken no account: one, the valour of the English seamen who met them with their little fleet; and the other, and by far the greater, the scorn of Him who sate in the heavens. He blew upon them, and they were scattered; He sent forth a mighty wind into the sea and drove them along the Channel and up into the cold North Sea. Some of the proud galleons were wrecked on the shores they had come to conquer, and of all that vast Armada only fifty-three achieved the perilous passage through the Pentland Firth and got home to Spain, with but a poor remnant of broken and dispirited men to tell how He that is enthroned in the heavens had laughed and mocked at them.

How solemn, how awful is the other occasion of the laughter of God! It is *the tardy repentance, the despairing cry, of those who have trampled on His love and disregarded His importunities, and have awakened to their peril at last—too late!* Listen to these terrible words—terrible on the lips of that angel-presence which the Hebrews called Divine Wisdom, but surely, on the lips of Him who was the Divine Wisdom incarnate, the most terrible that were ever written:

Because I have called, and ye refused;  
I have stretched out My hand, and no man regarded;  
But ye have set at nought all My counsel,  
And would none of My reproof:  
I also will laugh in the day of your calamity;  
I will mock when your fear cometh;  
When your fear cometh as desolation,  
And your calamity cometh on as a whirlwind;  
When distress and anguish cometh upon you' (Pr 1<sup>24-27</sup>).

Do we marvel at this and think it incredible that He who hath loved us with a love unutterable, and who for desire of us died on Calvary of a

broken heart, should ever turn against us and reject us with scorn and derision? Then let us question our own hearts and hearken to their verdict.\* How does it fare with that human love which God has planted in our breasts, and which is the holiest thing and the likeliest Him on earth, when it is slighted and abused? It clings long and patiently endures; yet its endurance has a limit, and there comes a moment when the baffled heart owns defeat, and its love is turned, not to hatred, but—which is worse, being wholly irremediable—to contempt. And so it is with the love of God. What does the apostle mean when he speaks of the 'quenching of the Holy Spirit'? He means the abusing of the love of God till it turns away in utter weariness and contempt from the obdurate soul, leaving it to its own devices never more to be assailed with gracious importunities. And what is the worst horror of the Day of Judgment? It is not the wrath of God; it is His contempt:

I also will laugh in the day of your calamity;  
I will mock when your fear cometh.

Side by side with that Old Testament warning set these solemn words, unspeakably awful when one considers that they are written in the blessed Evangel: 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me and of My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man also shall be ashamed of him, when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels' (Mk 8<sup>38</sup>). It is that word '*ashamed*' that makes one shudder. One could harden one's heart against the wrath of God; one could endure to be swept away from His presence by the tempest of His fiery indignation; but the thought of the Gentle Jesus averting His face for very shame and leaving one there a scorn to angels and to men—oh that is too awful!

# What Have We gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest?

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## VII.

### The Gospel of John.

\*21<sup>1</sup>.—‘at the *lake* of Tiberias,’ etc.

21<sup>2</sup>.—‘called Didymus,’ is omitted. It is superfluous in a Syriac text. Yet it is found in the Peshitta and the Palestinian Syriac.

\*21<sup>2</sup>.—‘and Nathanael, he who was of *Catana* in Galilee’ (with the Peshitta). One Palestinian Syriac text has *Canatha*.

\*21<sup>4</sup>.—‘Jesus stood on the shore of the *lake*.’

\*21<sup>6</sup>.—‘And when they had cast as *he had said* unto them, they sought to pull the net into the ship, and they could not for the weight of many fishes which it held.’

\*21<sup>7</sup>.—‘he took his coat, and girt it about his loins, and cast himself into the lake and was swimming, and came, for they were not far from the land.’

21<sup>8</sup>.—‘for they were not far from the land, but about two hundred cubits off,’ is omitted, the first part of it being in v.<sup>7</sup>

21<sup>8</sup>.—‘full of fishes,’ is omitted.

\*21<sup>9</sup>.—‘they found before Jesus live coals of fire.’

21<sup>13</sup>.—‘And Jesus took the bread and the fish, and blessed them (literally, “blessed upon them”), and gave to them.’ The same expressions used in Mt 26<sup>26</sup>.

It cannot therefore have been anything peculiar to the bread and wine of the Lord’s Supper.

21<sup>15</sup>.—‘more than these,’ is omitted (with some Old Latin MSS).

21<sup>15</sup>.—‘thou knowest that I love thee,’ is omitted (with the Old Latin Codex Vercellensis).

It occurs in this text only in v.<sup>17</sup>.

\*21<sup>16</sup>.—‘Thou Simon, son of Jona, lovest thou me much?’

\*21<sup>17</sup>.—‘Simon was grieved because three times Jesus spake thus unto him.’ ‘Lovest thou me?’ is here omitted. There is less repetition in this narrative than in that of the Revised Version, yet nothing is lost; the story gains somewhat in dignity; and there is the same gradation in

‘Feed my lambs; feed my sheep; feed my flock.’

\*21<sup>18</sup>.—‘and shall drive thee whither thou wouldest not.’

\*21<sup>22</sup>.—‘Follow thou me now.’

\*21<sup>23</sup>.—‘what is that to thee?’ is omitted (with Codex Sinaiticus, the Old Latin Codex Vercellensis, and the oldest form of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary).

\*21<sup>25</sup>.—‘And Jesus did many other things, which if they were written one by one, the world would not suffice for them,’—twenty-one words as against thirty-five of the Revised Version.

‘Here endeth the Gospel of the *Mepharreshe* four books. Glory to God and to His Christ, and to His Holy Spirit. Let every one who reads and hears and keeps and does [it] pray for the sinner who wrote [it]. May God in His tender mercy forgive him his sins in both worlds. Amen and Amen.’

The word *Mepharreshe* is a link between those two specimens of the Old Syriac versions, the Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest and the Curetonian. In the latter it is prefixed to the Gospel of St. Matthew alone; here it is evidently applied to all four. The word may be rendered either as ‘separate’ or as ‘translated.’ The first meaning is in this case the more likely one, seeing that Tatian’s *Diatessarōn* was entitled the *Mehallette*, or ‘mixed.’ This, however, in no way affects our estimate concerning the age of the text, for the epithet might well be added by a fourth century copyist.

Another peculiarity of the Sinai text is the use of the word ‘*Maran*,’ ‘our Lord,’ instead of ‘Jesus,’ in a large portion of it. It occurs from Mt 8<sup>3</sup> to 11<sup>1</sup> and from Jn 1<sup>38</sup> to 6<sup>5</sup>.

This is supposed to be due to the reverent affection for the Saviour entertained by the translator.

Since I deciphered the dim lines which contain

the first half of the final colophon (belonging to the upper script), from my photographs, on Good Friday 1900—lines containing the names of the district and of the monastery where this text of the Gospels was covered over in the eighth century with the 'Select Narratives of Holy Women,' the district Antioch—the monastery Beth Mari-Qanūn, and since Mr. Burkitt added thereto the name of the village Ma'arrath Meşrin, from the late Professor Bensly's copy of a previous very clear colophon, every probability that this ancient text was produced at Mount Sinai has for ever vanished. True, it may have been brought to an Antiochene monastery from Egypt, from Mesopotamia, or from elsewhere, but old vellum was not likely to be a profitable export from the Arabian desert; and it would be passing strange if the finished palimpsest was really returned to the very monastery whence its half-written pages had been carried at some period before the eighth century. No, the earliest Syriac versions was likely to be copied only where there was a native Syrian Church, and a seat of Syriac learning, such as was found at Antioch on the Orontes, or at Edessa. Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, in the fifth century, issued a decree that a copy of the Separate Gospels should be read in every church instead of Tatian's *Diatessarōn*. This copy was probably the Peshiṭta, perhaps as revised by himself,<sup>1</sup> for had it been the Old Syriac, surely more than two specimens of it would come down to the present day. The multiplication of copies of the Peshiṭta probably caused those of the Old Syriac to become obsolete, and fit only for the use of men like John the Stylite. The *Diatessarōn* was perhaps written at Edessa, and there the Peshiṭta was revised. Now the Tales of Holy Women, which overlie the Gospels of our palimpsest, were certainly written near Antioch, and the last of them, Cyprian and Justa, has a distinctly Antiochene flavour, for there (as a reviewer in the *Scotsman* lately observed) its demon boasts of having 'shaken the whole city, and overturned walls,' alluding, doubtless, to the terrible earth-

quakes with which Antioch was visited in the first two centuries of our era. I may perhaps be mistaken, but I do not find it difficult to imagine that as the Peshiṭta was highly appreciated in Edessa, so the Old Syriac version may have been cherished in the older seat of Aramaic learning, in the town where the disciples were first called Christians.

To sum up, we have seen that several important narratives, such as Lk 22, Jn 17, and Jn 18 are better arranged and more concise than they are in any other text extant; that several variants, such as those in Mt 18<sup>17</sup>, Mk 16<sup>8</sup>, Lk 1<sup>63, 64</sup> 7<sup>29</sup> 23<sup>15</sup>, Jn 8<sup>57</sup> 16<sup>29, 30</sup>, whether corroborated or not by other ancient manuscripts, bear within themselves a witness to their own truthfulness; that the chief agreement is with the so-called Western texts; but that there are many variants which belong only to the palimpsest. These, however, bring into stronger relief the immense majority of passages in which its text is in close agreement with that of our Revised Version.

Tischendorf has pointed out that variants and even corruptions of the text are in themselves a strong proof that the Gospels were written in the first century; because there is not one of these which cannot be traced back to the second century; and the pure text is naturally older than its corruptions. The great aim of textual critics in the present day is to ascertain what that pure text is.

A still more difficult question presents itself. Why has God not protected the transmission of these sacred books? Why has He allowed variants to exist? The answer may be that His work is not mechanical, like ours. And is it not possible that we have ourselves confounded the idea of inspiration with that of dictation? The latter would have meant the production of a text whose every letter might have been worshipped; the former means that God put into the hearts of chosen men the desire to write what they knew for a certainty about His dealings with them, but that He left them at perfect liberty both to express and to transmit His meaning in their own way.

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. William Wright on 'Syriac Literature' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 825.



## At the Literary Table.

### THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF MISSIONS BEFORE CAREY. BY L. C. BARNES. (Chicago: *Christian Culture Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. 521, with Maps and Illustrations.)

Fascinating as the story of Missionary enterprise is to those who know it, there is no department of human activity less interesting to the world in general. And the reason is that the writers of Missionary books have rarely addressed themselves to the world in general. Some have written as if their book were a letter home, an interminable letter home, and as if the diary of every day's experiences were of world-wide significance. Others have deliberately excluded the unregenerate world, and have written their books in a language which only the few in fervent sympathy could comprehend. There are exceptions, Livingstone the most conspicuous. But even Livingstone was an exception because he could not help it rather than because he intended it. He was simply too great to be absorbed by any family circle, or any religious community.

There are signs that the historians of Christian Missions are beginning to entertain a larger and bolder conception of their business. This book is such a sign. It is deliberately written for the common people, and in their language. It takes for granted neither knowledge of Missions nor interest in them. Its portraits and pictures are of great persons and memorable incidents. It makes no apology for its own story. It claims the right to compete for the popular ear with the most secular and frivolous book in existence. Its subject is human, and it deals with it humanly. Therefore it will run a race with the missionaries in the extension of the kingdom of God. As they make converts abroad, it will make converts at home. The writer has never lost sight of his purpose. Deliberately casting away all matters of local or temporary importance, he has written a book that deserves to be learned by heart.

Mr. Frank Ballard has made a remarkable hit with his book, *The Miracles of Unbelief* (T. & T. Clark, 8vo, second edition, 6s.). We call it a hit, because the truth is that with every volume of

Apologetics in these days it is either a hit or a miss. In other departments of knowledge a well-written treatise will always find acceptance. But in Apologetics the writer must be keenly sensitive to the movement of religious thought, and he must touch the matters that are uppermost for the moment.

But Mr. Ballard's method has done more for his book than even his choice of subject. The time had come for carrying the war into the enemy's country. For a long time we have been told that the blot in the Gospel histories is their miracles. 'Well,' says Mr. Ballard, 'cut them out and see where you are;' and he shows that you are then face to face with greater miracles than ever. We have also been told for a long time that miracles are incredible, and do not occur. Mr. Ballard shows that there is no department of life or study without its miracles, and that they do occur every day. It is the old-fashioned method of the two-horned dilemma with a new and most effective application. Mr. Ballard has revised his book and made some additions to it. It will gather momentum as it goes. We prophesy for it now a very wide circulation and a very great blessing. Whether it passes into permanent literature or not, it will do excellent service in its day.

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COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. BY CAMDEN M. COBERN, D.D. (*Eaton & Mains*. Crown 8vo, pp. 415.)

He is a bold man who undertakes to write a commentary on the whole of the Old Testament after all that has been done upon it in these days. But that is not the limit of Dr. Cobern's audacity. He has undertaken his commentary and has already written his comments on Ezekiel and Daniel 'under the pressure of pastoral duty in two of the largest and most important charges in American Methodism.' But it is the man that has most to do who is always ready for more. This commentary on Ezekiel and Daniel is a work of good sound scholarship; and even in its references to archæology up to date. One amusing slip we have noticed. Archibald Duff is more

than once called Alexander Duff. To think of Alexander Duff writing the book called *Old Testament Theology*!

**LIFE TRIUMPHANT: A STUDY OF THE NATURE, ORIGIN, AND DESTINY OF MAN.** BY JOHN E. READ. (Philadelphia: *Holman*. Royal 8vo, pp. 505. \$2.)

So great a subject as the nature, origin, and destiny of man demands a great book, and Mr. Read has written it. It is a popular book; it is not a theological treatise. If it had been a theological treatise, its title would have been 'The Christian Doctrine of Immortality,' and theologians would have known what to expect in it. But it is written for the people, and the people are much more interested in man than in immortality, so that the title is well chosen. Is there anything that the people are *more* interested in than the nature and destiny of man? Get them into contact with this book; tell them that it is a plain orthodox account of Scripture teaching and human hope, regarding the great issues of life and death, and they will take to it. They will listen to the man's serious words concerning death and judgment and heaven and hell, and will show you that the loud agnostic is mistaken when he says that these things have lost their terror and their attraction in our day.

Messrs. Macmillan have added to their charming 'Eversley' Series the *Letters of Matthew Arnold* in two volumes (10s.). There is to be no formal biography. He made his friends promise that before he died. So this is the only memorial we shall ever lay our hands upon, and we cannot be too grateful to the publishers for letting us have it in that edition which more than all other editions satisfies our sense of the artistic in book-making. The letters have already been noticed in these pages and the first impression recorded—the impression of unsatisfied thirst, and how they bring the eternal note of sadness in. Time and occasional re-reading has softened that first impression, and the man who seemed at first to crave our pity for the emptiness of his life, has come to fill some blanks in our own thinking and even some voids in our own heart.

Messrs. Longmans have published a cheap edition of a popular book by the Dean of Canterbury—*The Bible, its Meaning and Suprem-*

*acy* (8vo, pp. 350, 6s. net). This is an excellent service. For Dean Farrar possesses the ear of the people, and few men have it more in their power to give instruction in the newer methods of biblical interpretation without in the least shaking the great foundation truths of the gospel.

**BIBLE READINGS ON THE INNER LIFE.** BY MRS. PENN-Lewis. (*Marshall Bros.* Crown 8vo, pp. 104. 2s. 6d.)

This book is packed with results of long-continued and affectionate Bible study. There is much less fancy work in it than we usually find in books of the kind. The texts and topics are allowed to make their own impression, the author's hand being seen only in their arrangement. As a storehouse of topics for evangelical addresses it is of exceeding value.

*The Way of the Cross*, by Mr. J. Gregory Mantle, has reached a third edition (*Marshall Bros.*, rs. net). This is not at all surprising; for, amid all the indifference to Theology with which this generation is charged, there is a very keen and spreading interest in what is known as Christian Perfection.

**HISTORY OF THE CHURCH TO 325 A.D.** BY THE REV. H. N. BATE, M.A. (*Rivingtons*. 12mo, pp. 140. 1s. net.)

The desire to know something about everything, and that before we leave school, is growing. It may not be a commendable desire. But publishers have nothing to do with that. They have only to produce the books that meet it. Messrs Rivingtons meet it with their 'Oxford Church Text-Books.' This is the latest volume. It contains a great deal of information, and yet it finds room for a little reflection. The pupil is evidently expected to think a little, while memorizing a great deal. Only a man with a thorough mastery of the subject could do it all within the space. Mr. Bate has succeeded beyond belief. He has produced one of the best volumes of the series.

**HEBREW ILLUMINATED BIBLES.** BY M. GASTER (*Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*. 4to. 10s. net.)

In this handsome volume Dr. Gaster has published facsimiles of two Hebrew MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, known as Codices Or. Gaster, Nos. 150 and 151; and reproduced three beautiful plates of illuminations from those MSS. He has



also published a Samaritan Scroll of the Law of the eleventh century, known as Codex Or. Gaster, No. 350, together with specimens from the Geniza in Cairo. The description of these MSS. and fragments is highly entertaining reading, so many and wonderful are the vicissitudes they have come through. It is altogether a volume which its possessor as well as its author will always be proud of.

THE LABYRINTH OF THE WORLD. BY JOHN AMOS KOMENSKY. EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY COUNT LÜTZOW. (*Sonnenschein*. Crown 8vo, pp. 347. 6s.)

Count Lützow has determined, though not without misgiving, to offer the English-speaking world a translation of the greatest work of his great countryman. Not without misgiving, for the English-speaking world has hitherto shown little interest in the literature of Bohemia, and 'the very name of my country has been known to English readers only in connexion with associations that are both incongruous and absurd.' Nevertheless, Count Lützow has done well, both in undertaking to translate the book and in translating it so happily. The introduction, which is Count Lützow's own, is an excellent brief biography, both literary and personal, of him whom Englishmen know, if they know him at all, by the name of Comenius. The book itself is a pilgrimage through the wilderness of this world, and although it will never compete with Bunyan's immortal work, it inevitably recalls many passages in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The lovers of that book, and especially its teachers, should by no means miss the opportunity now offered them in comparing the conceptions of those two men, who lived so near in time, who used the same literary device, and who expressed so memorably the highest aspirations of the most serious men of their day.

THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE. (*Fisher Unwin*. Crown 8vo, pp. 435. 7s. 6d.)

'The Heart of the Empire' is a good title, but the sub-title gives more information. The sub-title is 'Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England: With an Essay on Imperialism.' The essay on Imperialism has been written by Mr. G. P. Gooch. It occupies ninety well-packed pages. Clearly there are not only Imperialists and Little Englanders, but also many parties of Imperialists. In short, this essay compels one to ask

why Liberals always look at their own extremities. Between the extreme Imperialist and the extreme Little Englander there is a considerable distance, but the whole way is inhabited by persons or by parties, and why do not Liberals fix their eyes upon the place where the two run into one another,—the place where the strength of Liberalism lies? In any case, let all Liberals and all politicians read this essay by Mr. Gooch. The other problems are: (1) Realities at Home, by Mr. C. F. G. Masterman; (2) The Housing Problem, by Mr. F. W. Lawrence; (3) The Children of the Town, by Mr. R. A. Bray; (4) Temperance Reform, by Mr. Noel Buxton and Mr. Walter Hoare; (5) Distribution of Industry, by Mr. P. W. Wilson; (6) Some Aspects of the Problem of Charity, by Mr. A. C. Pigou; (7) The Church and the People, by Mr. F. W. Head; and (8) The Past and Future, by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan.

The first paper brings one at once into touch with life. Mr. Masterman knows his problem intimately, and speaks out about it courageously. We might even say he speaks out heroically, for it is heroism that acknowledges defeat, where one is so intensely interested as Mr. Masterman is in the success of the University Settlements. The University Settlements have not succeeded. Twenty years ago the promoters of the Settlement movement looked forward with hopefulness to a time when bodies of educated men and women should be found residing in every mean street in our great cities, animated only with a passionate desire to give of that which they have in plenty to those who needed, keen and eager in the service of man, which was the highest service of God. But Mr. Masterman realizes now that the call has failed. The Universities and the cultured classes as a whole have ceased to care about the matter. Every Settlement cries out for men, and men are not forthcoming. What is the remedy now? Mr. Masterman believes that the Settlements must fall back upon the machinery of the Churches. They have blessed the Churches. They have broadened their whole conception of the possibility of Christian effort. 'When every Church is not only a place of Sunday worship, but also in its multifarious activities and offer of service a real Settlement, then the admirers of the Settlements can well reconcile themselves to see their own particular scheme merged in a wider ideal.' Let this taste of the first article suffice for the whole book. Its



literary merit matches its momentous topics. Together they lift the book clean above the average volume of essays.

THE RELIGION OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS. By F. J. GOULD. (*Watts*. 12mo, pp. 143. 2s. 6d.).

The Religion of the First Christians, if this account is true, is a very different thing from the religion of to-day. The difference chiefly arises from the difference of the ideas held about Jesus. To the first Christians, if this account is true, He was a gentle enthusiast, capable of mistakes like other people, but always ready to suffer for them. And the first Christians were like him. Mr. Gould finds that their characteristics were chiefly three: (1) their poverty; (2) their doctrine of the good heart; and (3) their hope. Mr. Gould does not entirely approve of all these characteristics, but he thinks, and he thinks rightly, that it would be better for the Christianity of to-day if it had a larger leaven of them than it has. But is Mr. Gould's account of the first Christians true? Our doubt about it arises from the difficulty of discovering where he has found it. It is not in the Gospels, nor in any other early Christian writing. According to Mr. Gould the Gospels and all other early Christian writings are thoroughly corrupt. It is therefore his own idea of what the first Christians must have been; and, as that, it is very interesting, but not authoritative.

The third volume has been issued of the *Transactions of the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society* (Glasgow: printed for the Society). It is a volume of very varied and very much more than local interest. Here is a list of its contents: (1) Internal Furnishings of an Early Scottish Church, by the Rev. D. McGregor; (2) Suggestions for Church Planning from Byzantine Examples, by Mr. H. D. Walton; (3) Notes on Celtic Ecclesiology, by Dr. Metcalfe; (4) Liturgy, by the late Marquis of Bute; (5) Some Recent Features in the Architecture of Scottish Churches, by the Rev. D. Watson; (6) Brunelleschi and the Italian Renaissance, by Mr. W. J. Anderson; (7) The Inscription of Avircius, by the Rev. J. Charleson; (8) Heathen Temples and Christian Worship in Rome, by the Rev. J. F. S. Gordon; (9) A Visit to Les Saintes Maries de la Camargue, St. Maximin, and La Sainte Baume, by Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan; and (10) Some Post-Reformation Notices

of Elgin Cathedral, by the Rev. Professor Cooper. The volume also contains an abstract of the Proceedings of the Society and seven illustrations.

## New Sacred Songs.

THERE is room for good sacred music, abundance of room, and we congratulate Messrs. Willcocks & Co., 21A Berners Street, W., on their recent publications. The following songs are severally noteworthy.

In *Father, I know that all my Life*, an adaptation from Anna L. Waring's hymn, Henry Coward has successfully identified his music with the spirit of the words, and has produced a composition which breathes the spirit of devotion. The chromatic effect in the second verse is particularly appropriate, and the last pages form a harmonious setting to noble words. This song should win its way rapidly.

Ernest Newton's *Sun of my Soul* (Keble's familiar words) exhibits much richness of harmony. The opening page suggests 'the pealing anthem,' and the invocation which concludes the song is magnificent. The song makes an impression at a single hearing.

In Herbert W. Schartau's setting of Dr. Faber's *Hark! Hark! my Soul* we also find the melody that lingers. The joyous exultant refrain thrown into relief by touches of pathos should of itself commend the song. The beautifully conceived *agitato* towards the end, with its consequent climax of sense and sound, is the more admirable that it is unexpected.

The *Hymn of the World* is a praiseworthy representation by its composer, Frederick Rosse, of an inspiring idea. The world's hymn of thanks to its Creator, by Edward Teschemacher, has been linked to a simple, serious, grandiose melody, through which the crash of the 'wild-voiced thunder,' now distant, now near, reverberates.

*The Pilgrim's Song*, a translation from the Russian of Count Tolstoi, by Paul England, is a pilgrim's eulogy on the beauties of nature. The music, by Peter Tschaikowsky, is full of melody, not only in the accompaniment, but also in the symphonies; and the magnanimous wish with which the song concludes, is embodied in strains of passionate longing.

*Afterward* is a poetical production by Ellis Walton for which the music is supplied by Frances Allitsen. The words are good, and the light and shade of the sentiment are adequately paralleled by variations of style and expression in the music. The song, which is woven round the 'now' and the 'afterward,' increases in intensity towards the end, until, with corresponding crescendo in the music, the climax is reached in a grand volume of tone. This song is written designedly for a contralto, the heaviness of the chords at some parts requiring strong vocal balancing.

*At Heaven's Gates*, composed by George Fred. Horan, to words by A. Valdemar, belongs to the allegorical type of song. The music is dainty and effective, and the freshness and chaste simplicity of the sentiment raise the song above the commonplace.

### The New Map of Palestine.

OF late it has come to be widely recognized that, for a proper understanding of the Bible, nothing is more essential than an acquaintance with the geography (using the term in its widest sense) of Palestine. Hence nothing could have been more opportune than the publication by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, of a *Topographical and Physical Map of Palestine*, by J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.S.E., edited by Dr. G. A. Smith. The splendid execution of the map, which for clearness and beauty leaves nothing to be desired, is what we should have expected from Mr. Bartholomew; while the name of the author of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the editor's work. The map is issued in two forms: either mounted on cloth and in cloth case, with Index, or mounted on rollers and varnished, with Index separate. In the first form it costs 10s. 6d., in the second 15s. It is on the scale of four miles to an inch, and measures 4 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. It includes the country from Beirut in the north to the Arabah in the south, and extends as far east as Damascus and Jebel Haurân. The map is based upon all the latest surveys and researches, both English and German. Without any crowding, the modern place-names are exhaustively given, these being printed in italics. In the case of identified sites, these are given also under their ancient names in

larger Roman type. Where there is any doubt about the identification, a query is added; where there is great doubt, two queries. The roads (ancient and modern) and the railways are shown. The water along the coast is shaded so as to show two belts of 500 ft. and 1000 ft. depth. Different shades of colour exhibit the contour of the country and the varying levels, the figures in the latter case being also not infrequently added. The map is divided longitudinally by letters from A to N, and across by figures from 1 to 18, into oblong spaces, and the place of any name on the map is indicated in the Index by combining a letter and a number and is thus easily found. The Index contains all names, both ancient and modern, that appear on the map. Useful inset maps are—(1) the Vegetation map of Palestine, which shows desert lands, cultivable lands, and limestone hill-lands which are covered with grass in spring; (2) a plan of Jerusalem and its environs, from the Ordnance Survey; (3) London on the same scale as the large map. A very useful feature is the Table explaining the meaning of Arabic geographical terms, such as *Ain*, *Khân*, *Khûrbet*, *Nahr*, *Wely*, etc.

It may be of interest to note a few points that have struck us in the course of a somewhat careful study of the Map and its Index. First of all, it is a most commendable feature in this map that those responsible for preparing it have resisted the temptation to multiply doubtful identifications. We are perfectly aware that there are subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Funds who reckon the value they obtain for their money chiefly by the number of biblical sites recovered, but at the risk of disappointing eager spirits, the expert will act upon the motto *festina lente*. Courage is shown also in the abandoning of a few sites that for long held sway. For instance, the placing of Capernaum at *Khân Minieh* (without any query) may, we suppose, be taken now as marking the final exit of *Tell Hâm*. Might not the query have been safely dispensed with also in the identification of the Aphek of 1 S 29<sup>1</sup> with *el-Mejdel* in Sharon? We are a little astonished to find *Hûleh* given both in the Map and the Index (without any query) as = Waters of Merom, in spite of the doubts that have been expressed as to their identity by many scholars, including Dr. Smith himself. We note with interest that Lodebir or Lidebir is identified with *Ibdar* on the ridge to the east of Gadara. The very doubtful



couple Lasssharon and Dan-jaan have sites suggested for them, namely, *Sarona* in Galilee [with ?? in Index, and without the identity being noted at all in the Map], and *Daniân* (with a query), E. of the Ladder of Tyre. In the Map it is left undecided whether Dan (Laish or Leshem) = *Baniâs* or *Tell el-Kâdi*, although in the Index it is identified (without query) with the latter. *Baniâs* is made = Baal-gad and Cæsarea Philippi. Sodom and Gomorrah are left unidentified; Zoar, in Index but not in Map, is given as = *Shaghur* (??). The problematic Bethabara (? = Beth-barah) is doubtfully identified with *Makt Abarah* on the Jordan, N.E. of Scythopolis. Emmaus of 1 Mac is = *Amwas* (?); of St. Luke = *Kulônîeh* (?). Megiddo is given without hesitation as *el-Lajjun*. The doubtful Rakkon and Me-jarkon of Jos 19<sup>46</sup> are identified (without query) with *Tell er-Rekkeit* and *Nahr el-Aujâ*. Is this not somewhat bold in view of the text of the passage? Pharpar is

hesitatingly made = *Nahr Awaj*. This appears to be the correct identification, in spite of the similarity of the name in the *Nahr Barbar*. *Râs en-Nakûrah* still holds its place as the 'Ladder of Tyre,' but Ewing's view (see art. 'Ladder of Tyre,' in *Dictionary of Bible*) is worthy of consideration, that the term included three distinct headlands.

There can be no doubt that this will be for long the map of Palestine. We expect to see it soon in all our church halls, and it will find its way into the knapsack of the traveller in Palestine, for whose convenience it is issued also in the more portable form of two separate sheets, cloth mounted, and folded to smaller size. It will also take its place as a very suitable companion to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the ordinary case form being, as was pointed out last month, folded in the same size as the *Dictionary* and bound to match.

J. A. SELBIE.

*Maryculter, Aberdeen.*

## Recent Research in the Language of the New Testament.

BY THE REV. H. A. A. KENNEDY, M.A., D.Sc., CALLANDER.

### III.

THE book which, in our judgment, marks an epoch in determining the place of Biblical Greek in the history of the language is the *Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik* of Professor G. N. Hatzidakis (Leipz., 1892). Up to the time of its appearance there was no work which really occupied the field. Mullach's *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache* (Berlin, 1856) had long been quoted as an authority. It included an introduction to Modern Greek as well as a grammar. Many of the facts presented were, of course, valuable, but the book was marred by the tendency to treat Modern Greek as identical with the ancient language, thus obscuring the modifications which accompany every historical process, and, beneath the common designation *Vulgarsprache*, concealing the vast differences existing even between the ancient colloquial language and the modern tongue spoken in Greece and the islands of the Ægean.

Professor Hatzidakis, trained in the great philological school of Delbrück and Brugmann, has set the scientific study of the later history of the language on a firm basis. He guards against erroneous generalities. He recognizes that undue emphasis must not be laid either on the written or the oral tradition, clearly understanding how manifold have been the influences shaping the development of the Greek speech. From this point of view he considers that the modern language may be traced back through its various stages to the later *κοινή*, taking the latter term in a wide sense as including not only the written but also the spoken Greek of the post-classical era. Of course this *κοινή* admits of more classical and more 'popular' varieties as we have already seen. We may point to the gulf between the language of the papyri and a writer like Plutarch. The whole subject, however, must be treated with great caution.



For even distinguished scholars are led to make hazardous assertions regarding it, as, *e.g.*, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Verhandlungen d. 32 Versammlung d. deutscher Philolog.*, 1877, p. 40), who goes the length of asserting that it was Ionians, the colonists of the East, who created the *κοινή*. This is to narrow down the whole historical vista. But further, Hatzidakis points out that the chief characteristics of Modern Greek originated at an early period. Many of these can be traced at one stage of their development in the writings of the N.T. This fact, in turn, reacts on our appreciation of the N.T. language, indeed makes a scientific appreciation possible. We know, *e.g.*, how rare the optative is in the N.T. writings. It is entirely foreign to Middle and Modern Greek. Or take the ending—*av* for *αι(ν)* in the 3rd plur. perf. There are ten clear instances of this in the N.T. The formation arose on the analogy of the aorist active and passive. As time went on, this principle was widely extended until in Middle Greek even the 3rd plur. of the imperf. passive was affected by it, and we find forms like *ἐγράφοντα*.

A large portion of Hatzidakis' work is occupied with the phenomena of form and inflexion. This is the province in which the gradual modification of the language chiefly reveals itself. But there are also many important syntactical discussions. These are based on the general principle that the language tended, stage by stage, to simplify its grammar by the laying aside of certain elements and the generalizing of others. In the case of synonyms, *e.g.*, one gradually ousts its rival. The distinctions between pronouns, so characteristic of Attic purity, at length vanish, a phenomenon of which there are many instances in the N.T. (*e.g.* *αὐτός* and *οὗτος*, *τίς* and *ποῖος*, *τίς* and *πότερος*). Most instructive examples of the modifications in syntax are the substitution of *ἵνα* with subjunctive for the infinitive, and the interchange of the indicative and subjunctive moods, both these usages being largely prevalent in the N.T. The wide extension, also, of the sphere of the accusation is one of the notable developments which have to be reckoned with in many questions of exegesis.

We are not so well acquainted with the *Historical Greek Grammar* of Professor A. N. Jannaris (Macmillan, 1897), but it appears to be a valuable and scholarly work. It is specially rich in examples of the later forms and usages of the language which

is examined according to the various periods (J. distinguishes seven) of its development. The book must have involved an astonishing amount of careful research. Our chief objection is the author's readiness to correct the text with which he is dealing, sometimes with great boldness. An immense number of facts bearing upon the sounds and inflexions of the latter language are presented in Dieterich's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte d. griech. Sprache* (Heft 1 of Krumbacher's *Byzantinisches Archiv*, Leipzig, 1898). These are derived largely from the papyri and inscriptions. He distinguishes between the Attic *κοινή*, the Egyptian, and that of Asia Minor, and arranges his results in interesting tables under these headings. We are inclined to think that often he lays too much stress on one or two isolated examples of forms, etc., from papyri or inscriptions, forgetting how much may be due to the ignorance or caprice of the scribe. It is hazardous to establish tests of usage on any save a broad basis. For the later stages of the language, it is scarcely needful to emphasize the importance of so well-known a book as the *Greek Dictionary of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (146 B.C.—1100 A.D.) of E. A. Sophocles (3rd ed., Boston, 1888). Its evidence as to vocabulary is still of real value. It is self-evident by this time that a careful study of the phenomena of Modern Greek will constantly shed unexpected light on the forms, the syntax and the vocabulary of the N.T. There is now available a thoroughly scientific grammar, based on the latest results of philological research, in the *Handbuch der neugriech. Volksprache* of Dr. A. Thumb (Strassburg, 1895), well known through his standard work on the 'Spiritus Asper.' The book contains a most interesting collection of selections in prose and poetry with a glossary.

We have already pointed out the importance of the *Inscriptions* in their relation to the language of the N.T. For they usually reflect the non-literary aspect of the written speech. At the same time, allowance must be made for a certain official phraseology which has become more or less stereotyped for epigraphic purposes. Good instances of this may be found in P. Viereck's *Sermo Græcus quo senatus populus que Romanus . . . usi sunt* (Göttingen, 1888). Accordingly, while no hard and fast lines can be laid down between the various regions, we may be sure that the inscriptions of Egypt, of Asia Minor, and of the islands of the

Ægean will afford valuable contributions to the understanding of the Greek Bible. Professor W. M. Ramsay's most suggestive papers in this *Journal* on the *Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual* show what a fruitful field lies open to research. The range of publications is very wide, and is being extended from year to year. Without specifying the two great collections, the *Corpus Inscr. Græcarum*, and the *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum*, probably those of chief importance for our subject are Letronne's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1842-48), Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1843-44), *Inschriften von Pergamon*, ed. M. Fränkel, i.-ii., (Berlin, 1890-95), *Inscriptiones Græcæ insularum maris Ægæi*, i., ed. Hiller von Gaertringen (Berlin, 1895), and the *Sammlung d. griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. Collitz and Bechtel. Convenient selections are those of P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (Leipz., 1883), and W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum* (Leipz., 1883). The language of the inscriptions has been the subject of some useful dissertations, of which the *Grammatik d. attischen Inschriften* by K. Meisterhans (2nd ed., Berlin, 1888) is a good example. Many of the forms quoted, more especially those of the Imperial Age, have their direct parallels in the N.T., as, e.g., aorists like ἔρχα and εὐράμην. In syntax, there are notable instances of such phenomena as the substitution of the preposition εἰς for ἐν, the exclamation ἰδοὺ with the nominative, proper names in the nominative with the phrase ὀνομα ἔστιν, all having parallels in the N.T., while the first is of great importance for its exegesis. The preposition σύν is found to extend its sphere and to take the place of μετά, while μετά with nouns forms a large number of adverbial phrases. περί and ὑπέρ are often used interchangeably. There are also some curious examples of incongruous gender, such as τύποι . . . ἃ ἀνέθηκε, which offer a parallel to the barbarisms of the Apocalypse. This small selection suggests how usefully the *Grammatik* of Meisterhans may be employed to illustrate the language of the N.T. A work belonging to the same category is Schweizer's *Grammatik der Pergamenischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1898), and of real importance is Kretschmer's *Die griech. Vaseninschriften* (Güterslohe, 1894), which bears on the old Attic colloquial language.

We have already hinted that the diction of the inscriptions might probably be expected to reveal

a closer affinity with the Greek of the N.T. than that of the later writers who are usually classed under the familiar heading of the κοινή. But great care is required in drawing rigid distinctions. For the whole range of the later language, notwithstanding marked differences of literary effort and culture among the various writers, discloses a wide similarity both in vocabulary and grammar common to all. As a connecting link between departments of which we have spoken separately we may mention W. Jerusalem's study, *Die Inschrift von Sestos und Polybius* (Wiener Studien, i. 1, p. 32 ff.). In this inscription of an old Thracian town, assigned approximately to 120 B.C., he traces coincidences with Polybius in the case of compound words which have lost their original force, compounds of which prepositions form an element no longer felt, prepositional phrases, words which have exchanged their general meaning for a special side of it, common words employed in a peculiar sense, uncommon words and constructions, and some official forms of speech. These give a very instructive view of certain characteristics, more especially the weakening of compounds and the anomalous use of prepositions, facts which have to be taken into account in N.T. exegesis. The extraordinary increase of compound forms is one of the most notable peculiarities of the later language. As careless talkers have a tendency to use exaggerated expressions in dealing with common things owing to their lack of sensitiveness to the true force of words, so, as the finer feeling for the expressiveness of the Greek speech gradually disappeared, the attempt was made to atone for this loss by the accumulation of various parts of speech in one word, more especially by the creation of new verbs in which prepositions formed a prominent element. Specially frequent was the use of κατά in such verbs, its compounds generally governing the accusative. Indeed, the accusative gradually encroaches upon the sphere of both dative and genitive after verbs, and there arises a widespread habit of giving intransitive verbs a transitive force. Many interesting examples of these later usages, which have a more or less direct bearing upon the interpretation of passages in the N.T., are given by Dr. F. Krebs in his dissertation, *Zur Rection der Casus in der späteren historischen Gräcität*, 3 parts (Munich, 1887-90), although, at times, he seems to go beyond the evidence.



It is impossible even to name the recent works of importance which deal with the language of the writers of the *κοινή*. We content ourselves with referring to two studies which appear to us particularly valuable. The first is *Quæstiones de Elocutione Polybiana*, by F. Kaelker (*Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, iii. 2, pp. 219-302, 1880). This is a careful examination of Polybius' use of words, his formation of sentences, and a variety of separate grammatical points such as the use of *αὐτῶν* for *ἡμῶν* (*ὑμῶν*) *αὐτῶν*, *αὐτός*=*μόνος*, *τό* with neuter adjective=noun, prepositions with nouns instead of the simple cases, etc. One important fact Kaelker brings out with great clearness, namely, that the desire to avoid *hiatus* largely influences Polybius (and Diodorus Siculus) in the selection of words. Thus, *e.g.*, he seems to make little distinction between *περί* and *ὑπέρ*, except that *περί*, as a rule, occurs after vowels, *ὑπέρ* after consonants. Kaelker gives many instances of the prevalence of this principle in style. To recognize it as a factor in the composition of later Greek would be to get rid of some refinements of exegesis in the N.T.

The second study we will name is the *Observationes Criticæ de Flavii Josephi elocutione*, by W. Schmidt, published in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. für classische Philol.*, supplement 20, 1894, pp. 345-550. We might expect, in the case of Josephus, a writer of Jewish birth, to find an unusual number of parallels to the N.T. (and LXX). But an interesting fact comes to light. After writing his *Jewish War* in Aramaic, he translated it into Greek with the assistance of some learned friends. Its language, therefore, is of a more polished type than that of the *Antiquities*. But neither in the one case nor the other are there distinct traces of the influence of a Semitic habit of mind. Rather do the abnormal constructions of Josephus most commonly resemble those of writers such as Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch, Dionysius Halicarn., and Appian. In short, he is, like his fellow-countryman Philo, one of the typical writers of the *κοινή*. Schmidt's examination of syntactical points, including the article, pronouns, the dual, and especially the cases, is very valuable. The avoidance of *hiatus* is an important matter with Josephus also. Schmidt keeps this and other favourite usages of his author in view when deciding questions of text. The whole discussion

is suggestive in revealing the gradual relaxation of strict grammatical laws which characterizes the epoch of the *κοινή*, an epoch which admits many influences from the colloquial language while still preserving a certain flavour of literary dignity.

We have left to the last one of the most important books in this department of illustration for the N.T. language from the later Greek writers. This is W. Schmid's *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, 4 vols. and index (Stuttgart, 1887-97).

Schmid discusses with extraordinary thoroughness and elaboration the language of such writers as Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Aristides, Ælian, and the second Philostratus, reviewing, at the same time, the general linguistic and stylistic principles of the age to which they belong. His theme is *Atticism*, the efforts made by the above-named writers, who are all embraced in the period between Augustus and Alexander Severus (c. 30 B.C.-240 A.D.), to raise the level of Greek prose by a deliberate return to the refinements of ancient Attic. The growth of this artificial and æsthetic movement is patiently traced until we see how the literary language, ever increasing in pedantry, is finally separated from the popular speech by a wide cleft, and becomes entirely the property of a special circle. A large portion of the book is mainly for reference, consisting as it does of elaborate tables of words illustrating the usage of the various authors. We have proved by careful testing the remarkable usefulness of these tables for the study of the N.T. diction. They are packed with important linguistic facts gathered from all quarters. The splendid index which forms vol. 5 makes reference easy and convenient. To turn up, *e.g.*, the word *λοιπὸν* (we take the instance at random) and examine the references will supply a collection of hints invaluable for the determination of several important N.T. passages. In a work of such large compass some inaccuracies are bound to occur. We have come upon one or two bearing on N.T. matters. But the book, as a whole, is indispensable to the study of the later language. Its concluding section gives a survey of the mutual relationships of the various elements in this Atticizing diction, and clearly shows that its chief ingredient is the post-Attic literary *κοινή*, which, as we have seen, is much farther removed from the



colloquial language than is the Greek of the N.T. It is much to be desired that some scholar of Dr. Schmid's eminence would discuss the colloquial language of the Imperial Age in its affinities with, and difference from, the more artificial diction of literature. This would be a vast gain towards a balanced estimate of the Greek of the sacred

writings. Its contribution to accurate exegesis could scarcely be over-estimated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There has just appeared a book of extraordinary value, *Die griechische sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, by Dr. A. Thumb (Strassburg: Trübner, 1901). This work, while giving an admirable summary of the results reached in the investigation of the *κοινή*, is itself one of the most important contributions ever made to the subject.

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

#### HEBREWS XI. 13.

'These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar, and having confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth' (R.V.).

#### EXPOSITION.

'These all died in faith.'—Or according to faith. The reference is to Abraham and Sarah and their immediate descendants, not to Noah and those farther back. The statement seems not to be the negative one, that they all died without having received the promises, still only in the region of faith, not in that of enjoyment; but the positive one, that their death, like their life, was according to faith, the emphasis falling on *died*,—all their life through, even up to death, was according to faith.—DAVIDSON.

'Not having received the promises.'—The clause does not simply state a fact . . . but gives this fact as the explanation of the assertion that the patriarchs 'died in faith': 'They died in faith inasmuch as they had not received the outward fulness of the promises—the possession of Canaan, the growth of the nation, universal blessing through their race—but had realized them while they were yet unseen and future.'—WESTCOTT.

THE not having received, so far from militating against, was a condition of the dying in faith. The promise *fulfilled* is no longer (in this sense) an object of *faith*.—VAUGHAN.

'The promises.'—The things promised (as in Lk 24<sup>49</sup>, Ac 1<sup>4</sup> 2<sup>39</sup>).—VAUGHAN.

'Having seen them and greeted them from afar, and having confessed.'—The three thoughts rise in a natural succession. They saw the promises in their actual fulfilment; they welcomed the vision with joy though it was far off: they confessed what must be the true end of God's counsel.—WESTCOTT.

'Strangers and pilgrims on the earth.'—As 'strangers' they acknowledged that they were in a foreign land: as 'sojourners' that they had no permanent possession, no rights of citizenship. At the same time they kept their trust in God. Their natural fatherland had lost its hold upon them. They waited for a 'city' of God's preparing.—WESTCOTT.

#### METHODS OF TREATMENT.

##### I.

#### The Christian's Life a Pilgrimage.

*By the Very Rev. R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L.*

Such was the life of the old saints. They lived in the world like travellers. In the land which was specially promised to them, they dwelt in tents like wayfarers or soldiers passing through a country. For they had not yet reached home, the 'city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.' Other men might build houses and pass their lives in them, Abraham was a wanderer. True, it says, 'if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned,' but 'they desired a better country.' And so they went from tent to tent, and from well to well, from one stage of the journey to the next till the end was reached.

Our life does not look like that of pilgrims. We are accustomed to a settled home, and it is difficult to imagine changes in our surroundings. Yet this settled appearance of things is only due to our own want of the power of foreseeing what must come to pass. Whether we feel it or not, we too are strangers and pilgrims; like the old patriarchs we have no 'continuing city.' Whether like them we 'seek one to come' or not, like them we are passing through things temporal to things eternal.

It is important to feel this. It was the great proof of the faith of the old saints that they felt it. But it is difficult to feel it. For God has given us all duties in life, and how can we do them heartily unless we feel settled and at home

in them? How can we feel as pilgrims and strangers, yet not become slack in our work in the world?

The two things are not contrary. Abraham's thoughts were ever on the 'city,' yet his days passed like ours. Like men now he rose in the morning and went forth to his work and to his labour till the evening. To him as to us each day brought its duty, its joy, its grief, and to each he gave its due. He was like a man who emigrates to make a livelihood in a foreign land, intending to return home to die. While there he is busy with the things of that land, yet his end in all is the land to which he means to return.

We are strangers and pilgrims whether we will or not. While we are banished from the land we hope for we have many duties to fulfil, and we must put our hearts into them, but we must remember we are travellers who cannot see the fruit of all our labours. And in the midst of our work let us remember the heavenly country. It is hard to realize in our haste and anxiety that it is but the work of travellers for whom the end of it may not come at all. But all our times are not times of hurry and effort. Then let faith enter; let us realize that we are travellers; let us look forward to the end of our journey, and consider what we shall see and whom we shall meet when we are dead.

## II.

### Faith triumphant in Death.

*By the Rev. Thomas Arnold, D.D.*

Many will *live* in faith, looking forward to gaining some object, and such faith elevates the character. The man who works steadily for some distant object is above him who can only work for the present. But there is a great difference between such faith and that which looks for its reward after death. The patriarchs all *died* in faith.

Such faith excels in two respects. (1) It is greater and bolder, being fixed on an unknown object. (2) Other faith may look to good objects—accomplishment of a great work, enjoyment of rest, old age relieved from labour—good, but not the best. This faith is content with no less than God Himself.

This faith is the greatest elevation and blessing of humanity. In quiet times it is hard to main-

tain, and we may go on for a long time without it, our view bounded by the present life. We and our dearest may live for years without any great danger of death. Yet we are always in great insecurity, and sooner or later the thought of something beyond the grave is forced upon us because the grave is at hand. And if faith has not lived in that region, fear will now dwell upon it.

Is it wrong, then, to desire peace, and be thankful for freedom from those persecutions which compelled men to consider death? It is not wrong, but our shame if this blessing is to us a curse. How can we live our peaceful lives without prospect of death, yet live and die in faith?

We are like emigrants shrinking from an unknown country, and a land of strangers. But though a man has no clear idea of the country to which he is going, he may have instructions given him, and letters of recommendation. So we cannot picture the heavenly country, but may gain knowledge of it, and of the love of its King. Drawing near to God in Christ, we become more familiar with the life beyond the grave. Death is no longer so great a barrier, for death is nothing to God, and becomes less and less to us as we are His. Enoch is a true type of all who walk faithfully with God. He walked with God, and 'was not, for God took him,'—with God on earth, with God in heaven, the barrier between melted away. The conclusion of all is: Let us pray continually. So shall we learn to live and die in faith.

### ILLUSTRATIONS.

**Pilgrims.**—In Warwick Lane there were . . . two well-known 'houses of entertainment,' the Oxford Arms and the Bell Inn. In the latter hostelry Archbishop Leighton died in 1684, during a visit to London. Although looking hale and hearty for a man of seventy, he remarked to Bishop Burnet that he was 'very near his end for all that, and that his work and his journey were almost done.' The next day he was seized with illness, and two days later expired. He had often expressed a wish to die in an inn, 'because it looks so like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world is all a pilgrimage.'—H. JOHNSON.

If anyone has ever had occasion to observe the difficulties which hinder ignorant persons from consenting to emigrate to a foreign country, even when they are in great distress here, he will be able to see a lively image of our own case, and of the difficulty which keeps us from being partakers of the patriarch's faith. Ignorant people are unwilling to

emigrate, because they know nothing of the country to which they are urged to go, nor of the nature of the journey to it. The sea with all its wonders is, in the first place, a great terror to them; but suppose the voyage over, still their minds can find nothing to rest upon. The face of the country, the climate, the society, the way of living, the work which they may be called upon to do, all are strange and incomprehensible; and whatever their distress may be at home, still they would rather endure it than wrench themselves from all that they know to venture upon a new world, in which there is not a single object animate or inanimate, from which they can expect a friendly welcome. I never can blame the shrinking from emigration under such circumstances; yet we know that where there is more knowledge, where we feel we understand what we are going to, distant and new countries are not so appalling; there are many who go to them every day with more of hope and pleasure than of fear and regret.—T. ARNOLD.

**Strangers.**—In this world all men are *sojourners* or *pilgrims*, because all men are fast passing towards the futurity beyond it. But all men are not *strangers* here. There is a large class of men to whom the world is perfectly congenial; who feel nothing strange, nothing unnatural in anything about it; who, in the pursuit and the enjoyment of 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,' are quite in their element, and just where they wish to be. Now it would be absurd to talk of such men being *strangers* in a world distinguished as the property and the domain of these three instruments of pleasure, beyond which, in one or other of their forms, they never have a wish. They may be strangers among those who are 'not of the world'; they would be strangers in heaven, where such will only find their congenial country; but upon earth they are in the very place and are surrounded by the very scenes, and can find the very society with which they could be satisfied for ever. And they are *pilgrims*, not because they wish it, but because they must. The laws of nature compel them to advance. There is a fatal and invincible necessity which carries them on, through life and away from it. But so far as feeling is concerned, they have nothing of the character

of the pilgrim about them; the very idea of pilgrimage, if ever it happens to be excited, falls heavily on the heart; every symptom of their progression seems like a punishment; they would rather remain where they are; they desire no better country; this, through which they pass with a most painful rapidity, is sufficient for *them*.—T. BINNEY.

My work is here, but not my rest,  
And not my home,  
And not the wealth I would invest  
For life to come;  
I have my treasures hid above,  
And usury of faith and love.

And if to-night mine inn be good,  
I shall be glad;  
But if to-morrow's fare be rude,  
And lodging bad,  
It shall be so much easier then  
To strike my tent, and on again.

But never backward may I look,  
Or feel regret  
That I the way of sin forsook,  
And heavenward set  
My face to find the life in God,  
And comfort of His staff and rod.

W. C. SMITH.

#### Sermons for Reference.

- Arnold (T.), *Sermons*, v. 231.  
Binney (T.), *Practical Power of Faith*, 137, 155.  
Candlish (R.), *Sermons*, 235.  
Church (R. W.), *Village Sermons*, i. 268.  
Macleod (D.), *Christ and Society*, 213.  
Newman (J. H.), *Parochial Sermons*, vi. 174.  
Pott (A. W.), *Sermons for Festivals and Fasts*, 585.  
Spurgeon (C. H.), *Gospel for the People*, No. 37.  
Stephens (T.), *Welshmen in English Pulpits*, 340.

## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., OXFORD.

PROFESSOR HOMMEL's learning and fertility of suggestion are inexhaustible. He has just done Oriental archæology a service by reprinting, with the necessary alterations and additions, his articles on Babylonian astronomy and South Arabian geography, which were buried in ephemeral periodicals. The new book bears the title of *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* (Franz, Munich). I am particularly glad that his valuable account of

'the Astronomy of the ancient Chaldæans' should be at last placed before us in an accessible form; it is by far the best work on the subject, and will serve to correct a good many misstatements which have been put forward by Assyriologists who unfortunately were not astronomers. The articles on the origin of the Zodiac and the Babylonian map of the world by which it is supplemented, are full of interest, and settle once for all the question as



to the origin of the zodiacal signs. The larger number of the fixed ones can now be identified, thanks mainly to Hommel's researches, and the claim of Babylonia to be the mother of astronomy is abundantly vindicated.

More interesting, perhaps, to the biblical scholar will be the article on the four rivers of Paradise, and the essays accompanying the articles on the Minæan inscriptions. I must, however, avow at the outset that I do not believe in Professor Hommel's attempt to find the four rivers of Eden in northern and central Arabia; his arguments are, as ever, exceedingly ingenious and marked by extensive learning, but they are not convincing. Nor do I share his conversion to Winckler's revival of the old theory of Dr. Beke, who found the Mizraim of the Old Testament in North-Western Arabia instead of Egypt. That there was a Mutsur, or 'Border-land,' in the Arabia of the Assyrian period I do not deny, and one or two passages in the Assyrian inscriptions may possibly refer to it, but in most cases the name most naturally signifies Egypt. That the dual Mizraim should have been substituted for an original Mazor in verse after verse of the Old Testament seems to me most unlikely, and Professor Hommel's endeavour to explain chap. 19 of Isaiah as referring originally to the land of Midian will, I am sure, eventually be given up by himself. That Jareb, too, in Hosea, is 'Aribi, 'the Arabs,' is possible, but we should have expected Ereb.

While, however, I cannot subscribe to Professor Hommel's new geographical theories, I readily acknowledge that they are full of suggestiveness and striking points of view. Above all, he has done well in insisting on the importance of the South Arabian inscriptions geographically and historically as well as philologically and religiously. The Assyriologist certainly cannot afford to neglect them, and Jensen's sneer fully deserves the severe words which Hommel uses in regard to it. More and more we are coming to see that South Arabia played an important part in the early history of Oriental civilization, and the genealogy of Shem as given in chap. 10 of Genesis is being completely confirmed by the progress of archæological discovery. Shem appears, under the form of 'Sumu or 'Samu, as the patron-god of the Arabian dynasty, to which Khammurabi (Amraphel) belonged; and the proper names found in the cuneiform texts make it clear that linguistically 'Arabian' and

'West Semitic' or Hebrew were at the time synonymous. The West Semitic population was mainly settled on the western bank of the Euphrates—the Arphaxad of Genesis,—but offshoots had made their way to the city of Asshur, on the Tigris, and, as de Morgan's excavations have recently demonstrated, to Elam also. Babylonia was not included in the family of Shem; its original inhabitants were non-Semitic, and in later days it was occupied by a mixed race. Moreover, in the Mosaic age, to which I agree with Hommel in holding that the greater part of the Pentateuch must belong, Babylonia was in the hands of the Kassites, the Cush of Gn 10<sup>8</sup>, where the name has been confounded with the Egyptian Kash (as in the Tel el-Amarna tablets).

One of the most interesting facts brought to light by Professor Hommel has a close connexion with the name of Shem. With the help of the Minæan texts he has proved (1) that the early religion of the West Semites was the cult of the moon and stars, and (2) that at the head of the panthéon came a triad consisting of the evening star (Istar or Athtar), the moon-god and the angel or messenger of the latter, followed by a sun-goddess who was probably either the wife or the daughter of the principal god. West Semitic worship thus stood in marked contrast to that of Babylonia east of the Euphrates, where the sun-god was a male deity and took precedence of the moon. The solar cult of Canaan, where the supreme Baal was similarly the sun, was the result of Babylonian influence in those primitive days when the art and civilization of Babylonia were brought by Sargon of Akkad to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The moon-god was addressed under different titles. One of them was 'Amm or 'Ammi, 'my uncle,' the national god of Ammon, who appears in the South Arabian inscriptions of Katabân along with Athtar, Anbây, the Nabium or Nebo of Babylonia, and the sun-goddess. In Hadramaut the moon-god has the Babylonian name of Sin, Haul, which, as Professor Hommel shows, is the Phoenix, the *hól* of the Book of Job, taking the place of Anbây. In most parts of Southern Arabia, however, the proper name of the moon-god is replaced by an epithet, or else by the colourless *Sumhâ*, 'his name.' The name of Samu-el proves that the same periphrasis was known also to the Hebrews, and indicates at how early a period the

disinclination to pronounce the name of the national deity, which found expression among the post-exilic Jews, was already felt by the Western Semites. It is more especially in the compound names of Southern Arabia that *Sumhû* is substituted for the name of the god, and it is therefore worth noting that it is in the same class of names that 'Sumu (and 'Samu) is found in the cuneiform texts of the Khammurabi period. Sumu or Shem is, in fact, the moon-god who was originally the supreme Baal of the Semites of Arabia and the West. It was only where Babylonian influence prevailed that his place was taken by the sun.

Professor Hommel's brilliant discovery throws a new and important light on the early religion of the Semitic peoples. As he justly remarks in a lecture delivered before the Society of Jewish History and Literature at Berlin in 1899, it entirely subverts the theory of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, who saw in the fetichism of uncivilized Bedâwin the primitive religion of the Semite, and declared the worship of 'the host of heaven' to be an importation from Babylonia of very late date. But the evidence of the South Arabian inscriptions is clear and decisive; so far from being a late Babylonian importation, it goes back to the earliest days of Semitic history. Long before the age of the oldest written monuments the moon-god was the supreme object of Semitic worship.

The cult of the moon-god at Ur and Harrah can now be explained. Both cities lay outside the limits of Babylonia proper, and were inhabited by a population which largely consisted of Western Semites. Here was the Arphaxad of Genesis, and here the culture of Sumerian Babylonia first influenced the Semites of the Western deserts. It is noticeable that one of the few relics we possess of the theological literature of Ur—a hymn to the moon-god—is strikingly monotheistic in tone. It might, indeed, almost have been written by the monotheist Abram. I have already pointed out in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES that the divine name of Yahum or Yahveh is found on a Babylonian tablet of the age of Khammurabi, and Professor Hommel has since collected other examples of the name from tablets of the same period. He

now suggests that Yahum, too, was once an epithet of the primeval moon-god, like 'Ammi and Wadd (Hadad) and Haubas.

However this may be, the primitive triad of gods which he has discovered reminds us of the triad which stood at the head of the Babylonian pantheon. Here, however, there was no female goddess attached to it; the Sumerian goddess was a more independent being than the Semitic, and did not so readily allow herself to be absorbed by the god. But in the Kabeiri of Samothrace we have, I think, a close parallel to the West Semitic group of divinities. Of the four Kabeiri, or 'great gods,' Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersê, and Kasmilos, Axiokersê was a goddess, a mere reflection of Axiokersos, while Kasmilos, or Kadmilos (that is to say, Kadmi-el, or Kadmos) corresponded with Anbây the 'angel,' and was accordingly identified by the Greeks with their Hermês. As I pointed out some years ago in the *Academy*, the existence of a West Semitic deity Kadmos is certified by a cuneiform lexical tablet (K 2100, Rev 4<sup>9</sup>), where the equivalents of 'god' in different Asiatic languages are given, and Qadmu is included among them. This disposes finally of all attempts to find a Greek etymology for Kadmos. Qadmu bears the same relation to Qadmi-el or Qadmu-el that Yahum does to Yahum-ilu (Joel), and Qadmu-el, I believe, is found in Gn 22<sup>21</sup>, where it should be substituted for the senseless Qemu-el. The same correction will be necessary in Nu 34<sup>24</sup> and 1 Ch 27<sup>17</sup>. Qemu-el, or rather Qadmu-el, is described as the father of Aram. Kasmilos the Kabeiros was made by some legends, which perhaps had an Egyptian origin, the father of the three other Kabeiri, instead of their brother. Axio-kersos, it may be added, was identified with Hades, Axio-kersê with Persephonê, and Axieros with Dêmêtêr. The male Athtar of the Minæan inscriptions thus becomes a goddess, as was also the case not only with the Istar of Babylonia but with the Ashtoreth of Phœnicia, and Samothrace, it must be remembered, came within the Phœnician 'sphere of influence.' That the moon-god of night should pass into the Greek Hades is very intelligible in connexion with the performance of the Kabeiric mysteries.



## Contributions and Comments.

### Ezekiel Problems.

IN the August number my name has been introduced in connexion both with the opening and the close of Ezekiel's prophecies. My criticism of attempts at explanation of each of these two parts of the book has called forth fresh defences of their position by the authors of these interpretations. It will be generally admitted that the portions of Ezekiel which we are trying to clear up present difficulties, and I trust it will command general assent that I should add a few words upon them.

1. The explanation Dr. Budde offers of the words 'in the year 30' is not freed of its own difficulties by his enumeration of the difficulties that attach to my explanation. That such exist I have not, indeed, denied. But they are not so great as Dr. Budde represents. Neh 1<sup>1</sup> remains as an indication how a writer might tacitly refer to a familiar era. It cannot be said, with Dr. Budde, that Neh 1<sup>1</sup> looks back to Ezr 7<sup>7</sup>; for Neh 1<sup>1</sup>-7<sup>5</sup> belongs to the Memoirs of Nehemiah, but Ezr 7<sup>7</sup> to the later [the Chronicler's] parts of the Book of Ezra (cf. my *Einleit. ins A.T.* p. 277; Driver, *L.O.T.* p. 549 f.). The latter could not yet have been taken into account by Nehemiah, and it is equally difficult to assert that the latest redactor of the books of Ezra-Nehemiah modified the form of expression in Neh 1<sup>1</sup>. When I said, further, that I was inclined to regard Ezk 1<sup>2f.</sup> as 'secondary,' this did not exclude the supposition that a genuine Ezekiel element has been expanded by a later hand into the present verses (2<sup>f.</sup>). This genuine element may lie in the words, 'this is the fifth year of the captivity of king Jehoiachin' (v. 2<sup>b</sup>). For the principal mark of the secondary character of v. 2<sup>f.</sup> I found in the choice of the third person, and this is found only in v. 3. The note, 'this is the fifth year,' etc., may have been written by the prophet in v. 1, but torn from this connexion by a later hand, with a view to its expansion. Hence 8<sup>1</sup> does not stand isolated.

In any case, the difficulties that beset my view form a very unreliable basis for the position maintained by Dr. Budde. But his view itself contains a germ of death in its supposition that

the very expression ('<sup>ל</sup>חַיִּי, 'of my life') on whose presence his theory depends was afterwards dropped out. Again, if the prophet had mentioned the thirtieth year of his own life, and had thus given the date of a *personal* incident, it would not be so natural for the months to be reckoned by their calendar succession, as in the case of *state* events, which are dated by the regnal year of a sovereign. So also, e.g., Smend and Bertholet have found in the words, 'in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month,' an obstacle to the referring of 'the year 30' to the prophet's own life.

2. The passage Ezk 44<sup>6ff.</sup> presents less difficulty, and I believe I have given the right interpretation to it, even although I may not have perfectly apprehended some of the points of Professor van Hoonacker in his *Sacerdoce lévitique*. It is not my intention at present to recur to the subject *in extenso*, but I may at least take this opportunity to show that the very first position maintained by Dr. van Hoonacker in the August number is a mistaken one. He says (p. 494a), 'Ezekiel presupposes (in vv. 6-8) that, according to law, the offices in question ought to have been held by the Levitical ministers of the cultus (not by lay Israelites).' Thus far the point cannot be positively controverted. As little is the following statement positively wrong: 'Ezekiel is aware that certain inferior offices in the performance of the cultus ought to have been discharged by members of the tribe of Levi, instead of being held by foreigners' (p. 494b). But the matter is put in a false light when the words just quoted, 'members of the tribe of Levi,' are transformed into 'those members of the tribe on whom inferior duties fell by law' (p. 495ab).

How does Dr. van Hoonacker arrive at this 'distinct category' of members of the tribe of Levi? He finds in vv. 10-14 mention of 'a class of members of the tribe of Levi who were not, by law, bound to these inferior offices' (p. 494b). This is right, apart from the first two words, 'a class.' It is wrong to make vv. 10-14 speak of such a class (or category) of members of the tribe of Levi as one dealt with in the historical parts of the O.T. These verses speak of an *actual* going astray of certain members of the tribe of Levi, but they permit of no conclusion as to the legal prerogatives or duties of particular divisions of the tribe. The case stands thus: If all members of



the tribe of Levi were not bound by law to discharge the lower offices of the cultus, these offices may formerly have been assigned by free choice and inclination, or as a matter of custom.

At present I do not pursue the subject further, because I hope soon to be able to form a plan whereby I may publish in a connected whole the materials I have collected for the history of the O.T. cultus.

ED. KÖNIG.

Bonn.

## Psalm xix. 5.

In his article on Ps 19<sup>46</sup>, in last December's issue (p. 140 ff.), Professor Budde seeks to defend and to justify the traditional form of the text of v.<sup>5</sup>. He is certainly right in so far as he opposes what, since L. Capellus, has been the favourite emendation of the doubtful קָנָם into קוֹמָם ('over the whole earth goes forth *their* voice'), an emendation by which, indeed, we obtain a *stichos* which stands in synonymous parallelism with the following one, but which is as jejune and empty of meaning as could be. Moreover, the φθόγγος αὐτῶν of the LXX is rather against than in favour of the originality of this reading, for the LXX elsewhere never renders Heb. קוֹ by φθόγγος but by φωνή. Hitzig's explanation of קוֹ as 'line of praises,' where the leading idea has actually to be supplied, is rightly passed over by Professor Budde in silence. He himself renders the *stichos*: 'over the whole earth reaches their measuring-line'; and sees in קוֹ a poetical designation of the arch of heaven, the heavenly meridian, so to speak, which in a sense forms the measuring-line of the earth. In this way v.<sup>5aα</sup> amounts to this, that the arch of heaven overspans the earth from one end to the other; while v.<sup>5aβ</sup> stands to this not in synonymous but in progressive parallelism, in so far as it states the consequence of v.<sup>5aα</sup>; because the heaven reaches over the whole earth, their [its] words resound throughout all the world.

Undoubtedly just, however, as Professor Budde's explanation is to the poetical form of the passage, and correctly as he deduces the order of ideas in vv.<sup>2-5</sup>, it appears to me impossible to accept of his interpretation of קָנָם. In the first place, even the suffix presents serious difficulty. If, as he says, 'the arch of heaven is, as it were, the measuring-line, the measure of the whole earth,' we should expect a suffix relating to אֶרֶץ, namely, קָנָה, and not to heaven (plur., *sc.* the daily and nightly heavens of v.<sup>3</sup>), namely, קָנָם. With the latter suffix we must, on Professor Budde's theory, understand קָנָם to mean '[over the whole earth] goes forth the measuring-line which they (the heavens) are'

(*sc.* for the earth),—a course to which I cannot decide myself. Then there are material objections. Even if the term קוֹ is used here in a poetical sense, yet its poetical application must harmonize with its literal prosaic usage, since the latter is the basis of the former. Now the measuring-line (according to Ezk 40<sup>8</sup>, cf. 47<sup>3</sup>, קוֹ was a linen cord) is naturally stretched always closely along the object to be measured, never in a wide curve about it. Hence it is not very easy to see how the Psalmist could have arrived at the notion that the heavenly hemisphere over-arching the surface of the earth—and which, besides, was thought of as a solid structure—represents the 'measuring-line' of the earth. Moreover, the usage of קוֹ elsewhere in the O.T. is opposed to Professor Budde's interpretation. The קוֹ comes into play only when there is something to be constructed (images, buildings, cities: Is 44<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>89</sup>, Zec 1<sup>16</sup>) or to be pulled down (2 K 21<sup>18</sup>, La 2<sup>8</sup>, cf. Is 34<sup>11</sup>); whereas here any reference to such activity on God's part is wanting. The reading of the Massoretic text cannot then in my opinion, in spite of its warm defence by Professor Budde, be maintained.<sup>1</sup>

I myself would offer the following proposal:—Instead of the objectionable קָנָם read קָבָם, a

derivative from the root קָבָב (cf. Arab. قَبَّ), 'to be arched,' closely allied to קָבַב. From the first of these roots are found in the O.T. the derivatives

קָבָה (Nu 25<sup>8</sup>), 'alcove' (cf. Arab. قَبَّة, 'inner chamber'), and קָב (2 K 6<sup>25</sup>), which denotes properly 'something arched or hollow,' and occurs as the name of a hollow measure (for dry, and also [see Levy], according to later Jewish tradition, for liquid materials); cf. further קָב, 'something arched,' 'arched back,' 'boss,' Assy. *kabābu*, 'arched shield.' The vowel of the first syllable of קָבָם should probably be *a* (possibly also *u*), so that קָב (or קָב) would be the stem. The interchange of ב and פ scarcely calls for explanation; cf. שָׁבָה and שָׁפָה, בַּת־שָׁבַע (2 S 11<sup>3</sup>) and בַּת־שָׁפָה (1 Ch 3<sup>5</sup>), and see the literature cited by Kittel in *S.B.O.T.*, 'Chronicles,' *ad loc.* The verb אָבָה is used here of the 'arch' of heaven [more precisely the daily and nightly heavens, which are introduced in v.<sup>3</sup> as the two forms of appearance of the שָׁמַיִם] in the same sense in which it is applied to the coming forth or rise of the celestial bodies in these heavens; *e.g.* immediately thereafter (v.<sup>6</sup>) of the sun, cf. also

<sup>1</sup> The circumstance that in Jer 31<sup>89</sup> (*Kereš*), as in the present instance, אָבָה is coupled with קוֹ (*Kethibh* קוֹ), cannot surely be made to prove anything for the originality of קוֹ in the passage before us.

Gn 19<sup>23</sup>, Jg 5<sup>31</sup>, Neh 4<sup>15</sup>, Ps 65<sup>9</sup>. Hence v.<sup>58</sup> is to be rendered—

Over the whole earth rises up their arch,  
And to the end of the world [sound forth] their words.

Cf. as a parallel Ps 48<sup>11</sup>, according to the reading of Perles, *Anal.* p. 62: 'Like thy heavens (בְּשָׁמַיִךְ) instead of (בְּשֶׁמֶךְ), O God, so extends thy fame to the ends of the earth.'

A new light is thrown by this verse upon the well-known passage Is 40<sup>12</sup>, where it is said with reference to God's almightiness: 'Who hath comprehended the dust of the earth in a thirdling (שְׁלִישׁ) measure?' Here שְׁלִישׁ stands for a hollow measure, whose capacity was probably the third of an ephah. Since the above verse of Ps 19 has shown that the heaven was conceived of as a huge hollow measure (קַב) tilted over above the earth, or as an 'arch' (קֶבֶה), it is clear that Deutero-Isaiah, when he used שְׁלִישׁ, was thinking especially of the arch of heaven as a hollow measure into which God gathers the dust of the earth and so measures it.

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## The Date of the Epistle to the Galatians upon the South-Galatian Theory.

IT is obvious that the acceptance of the South-Galatian theory involves a revision of the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. Various dates have been proposed, and it is doubtless too soon to expect unanimity of opinion or even general acceptance of any one date. The purpose of this note is to suggest a possible date, which has not, it is believed, been proposed in print, but which possesses sufficient plausibility to give it a right to consideration.

The question of the date of the Epistle is complicated to some extent by the vexed question of the relation of the history contained in Gal 2 to the narrative in Ac 15. Without entering on that question, it should be remarked that the date about to be suggested is possible only on the supposition that Professor Ramsay is right in his identification of the visit to Jerusalem narrated in Gal 2 with that referred to in Ac 11<sup>30</sup>. What then is the most probable date of the Epistle, both of the theories mentioned being accepted as true? Professor Ramsay himself has argued for the time spent by Paul at Antioch between the second and third missionary journeys, that is Ac 18<sup>22</sup>. Professor Rendall has suggested that it was written from Corinth during Paul's

stay there in his second journey. Professor M'Giffert of New York has proposed the view that it was written from Antioch just before the second journey, that is Ac 15<sup>35</sup>. Professor M'Giffert refers Ac 11<sup>30</sup>, Act 15, and Gal 2 all to the same event, thus differing from the narrative as given by Luke. The suggestion, which I would make is that the Epistle was written from Antioch by Paul before going to Jerusalem as related in Ac 15. At first thought this may seem preposterous, but it has the very obvious and signal advantage of explaining the omission in the Epistle to the Galatians of any direct reference to the decrees of the Council at Jerusalem, in a manner more complete than is possible on any theory that places the date of the Epistle after that event.

Objections to this suggestion will of course be made. Perhaps the first is that it puts the Epistle too soon after the establishment of the Galatian churches. In reply it may be urged that the apostle is himself impressed by the shortness of the time between their call and their acceptance of another gospel, and that Luke states expressly that Paul and Barnabas 'tarried no little time' in Antioch before going to Jerusalem (Ac 14<sup>28</sup>). While there is no reference in Ac 15 to the Galatian churches, there is a direct reference to the churches of Cilicia (Ac 15<sup>23</sup>), showing that the question at issue was not confined to Syria. 'The former time,' in Gal 4<sup>18</sup> seems to be sufficiently accounted for, as by M'Giffert, by the fact that on the first journey these churches were twice visited, once going and once returning. If it be objected that the date suggested is too early because of the doctrinal character of the Epistle and its relation to later Epistles, it appears to be a fair reply to say that such an objection might perhaps be urged against placing the first preaching to the Galatians at an early period, but not against shortening the interval between the establishment of the Galatian churches and the writing of the Epistle to them. The purpose of the Epistle requires that the presentation of the gospel in it should contain the same elements as the first preaching to them, and there is, therefore, no occasion to allow for an extended interval. As already pointed out, the great advantage of the date suggested is that it accounts for the omissions in the Epistle to the Galatians, and this advantage would seem to be so great as to outweigh some at least of the difficulties.

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